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OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

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ERRATA.

p. 132, l. 13, for *prowling* read *trouling*.

138, l. 20, for *courtiers* read *Curtius*.

217, l. 31, dele *not* — (*but only in a few copies.*)

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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No. XXXIX.

ART. I. *The Life of John Knox, containing Illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland; with Biographical Notices of the Principal Reformers, and Sketches of the Progress of Literature in Scotland, during a great part of the Sixteenth Century. To which is subjoined an Appendix, consisting of Letters and other Papers, never before published.* By Thomas M'Crie, Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 580. Edinburgh and London, 1812.

THERE is a kind of luck, we think, in the inheritance of fame, as well as of more substantial possessions. In the history of great transactions, there are always some fortunate names that come instantly to the lips of all the world, and stick close to the slightest and most popular recollections of the event;—while others, at least as well entitled to that distinction, are left without honour or notoriety. But this is by no means the worst of Fortune's caprices in the distribution of historical glory. It is a case at least as common, that where some great benefit has been conferred on society by the joint efforts of many, some, who have had but a light share of the labour, run away with all the praise; while the chief agents, by whose spirit and zeal the victory was hardly won, get little more than the blame which human infirmity has made inseparable from all human exertions,—and are left to answer for whatever excesses and imperfections an ungrateful posterity may discover or imagine in their proceedings.

Among the many who have suffered by this partiality of fortune, we scarcely know any one to whom harder measure has been dealt, than the eminent person who is the subject of the work before us. In the reformed island of Great Britain, no

honours now wait on the memory of the greatest of the British reformers: And, even among us zealous Presbyterians of the North, the name of Knox, to whom our Presbyterian Church is indebted, not merely for its establishment, but its existence, is oftener remembered for reproach than for veneration:—and his apostolical zeal and sanctity, his heroic courage, his learning, talents and accomplishments, are all coldly forgotten,—while a thousand tongues are still ready to pour out their censure or derision of his fierceness, his ambition, and his bigotry. Some part of this injustice we must probably be content to ascribe to the fatality to which we have already made reference; but some part at least seems to admit of a better explanation.

The Stewarts, from the time of King Charles to the very end of the dynasty, were no great enemies to Popery, and held Calvinism in mortal abhorrence;—in the last of which propensities, they were cordially seconded by the great, rich, learned and polished part of the kingdom to which they had transferred their residence. Calumnies and contumelies of all kinds were accordingly poured from high quarters, and for a long course of time, upon all persons of this persuasion; and no ordinary share of odium was consequently accumulated on the head of the great apostle and champion of the cause. Even after Presbyterianism obtained a legal establishment at the Revolution, a good deal of this feeling continued to prevail in the court and the country of England; and the Northern part of the island was partly despised, and partly commiserated, as being condemned to perpetual gloom, discord and inelegance, by the prevalence of those austere and illiberal doctrines, which had been so long imputed to John Knox and his followers. While there was little intercourse between the kingdoms, and they continued substantially divided in manners and character, as well as in name and in laws, this scorn and antipathy was not felt as a great misfortune;—and we went on, thankfully enjoying our religion, and satisfied with our attainments, without troubling ourselves very much about the opinion of our neighbours. But when, in the course of time, the two nations came to be more thoroughly intermingled—when our gentry aimed at rivalling the elegance and civility of the South;—and, above all, when our writers aspired to a participation in their literary honours, it seems to have been thought prudent to soften this cause of repulsion, not merely by representing our modern presbyterianism as a very mitigated form of the old distemper, but by admitting, in a great measure, the justice of the charges that had been brought against its original founders. Despairing, as it would appear, to conciliate the favour of our English brethren to the spirit and the doctrines which

they had reprobated so violently in the person of Knox and his associates, it was thought wiser to ward off the blow from ourselves, by giving up those victims to their doom, and assenting, somewhat too readily, to the sentence by which they were condemned.—To deliver ourselves, in short, from the imputations of bigotry and intolerance, we have contracted the habit of allowing their justice, when directed against the founders of our national establishment; and are so anxious to show that Presbyterians of the present day can be liberal and temperate, that we do not scruple to renounce all pretensions of this kind for their great predecessors.

This, no doubt, is the chief cause of the prejudices that still subsist with regard to the character of our reformer, and of the desertion of *that* cause even by those who have adopted his scheme of reformation. Two other circumstances, however, have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the same end;—one is, his supposed rudeness and personal hostility to the unfortunate princess who then swayed the sceptre of his native country; and whose cruel sufferings, and celebrated beauty, seem not only to have effaced all sense of her crimes from the mind of the public, but have actually called forth, at the distance of two hundred years, the zeal and chivalrous defiance of a more enthusiastic band of champions, than ever were mustered for her defence in her lifetime. So high indeed has this spirit been raised, by the eloquence of some of her advocates, and the general softening of her modern historians, that, among ordinary readers of the story of those times, we really believe that many more will be found who hate and abuse Knox for having made Mary weep in the issue of some of their conferences, than revere or applaud him as the deliverer of his country from the ignominious bondage of Catholic superstition. The other circumstance which has contributed to defraud Knox of the popularity he had so dearly earned, is the persuasion, that it was by his advice and instigation that the cathedrals, and other splendid religious buildings, were thrown down throughout the country, and all the visible accompaniments of devotion reduced not only to great simplicity, but to the most sordid meanness. The justice of the imputation shall be examined hereafter;—at present, it is enough to observe, that it seems an extraordinary reason for withholding his due honour from a reformer of religion, that he had not a proper regard for the productions of the fine arts.

From these, or from other causes, however, it seems to be undeniable, that the prevailing opinion about John Knox, even in this country, has come to be, that he was a fierce and

gloomy bigot, equally a foe to polite learning, and innocent enjoyment; and that, not satisfied with exposing the abuses of the Romish superstitions, he laboured to substitute for the rational religion and regulated worship of enlightened men, the ardent and unrectified spirit of vulgar enthusiasm, dashed with dreams of spiritual and political independence, and all the impracticabilities of the earthly kingdom of the saints.

How unfair, and how marvellously incorrect these representations are, may be learned from the perusal of the book before us;—a work which has afforded us more amusement and more instruction, than any thing we ever read upon the subject; and which, independent of its theological merits, we do not hesitate to pronounce by far the best piece of history which has appeared since the commencement of our critical career. It is extremely accurate, learned, and concise, and at the same time, very full of spirit and animation;—exhibiting, as it appears to us, a rare union of the patient research and sober judgment which characterize the more laborious class of historians, with the boldness of thinking and force of imagination which is sometimes substituted in their place. It affords us very great pleasure to bear this public testimony to the merits of a writer who has been hitherto unknown, we believe, to the literary world either of this or the neighbouring country;—of whom, or of whose existence at least, though residing in the same city with ourselves, it never was our fortune to have heard till his volume was put into our hands; and who in his first emergence from the humble obscurity in which he has pursued the studies and performed the duties of his profession, has presented the world with a work, which may put so many of his contemporaries to the blush, for the big promises they have broken, and the vast opportunities they have neglected. Besides the printed histories and tracts, relating to the period under discussion, the author had the peculiar advantage of possessing a large collection of Knox's letters; and he also consulted, most laboriously, the manuscript histories and collections of Calderwood, Row, and Wodrow, besides a great multitude of other manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, or in possession of the Church of Scotland. We shall now endeavour to present our readers with a short view of what has appeared to us most interesting in this valuable publication,—with such slight observations as it has suggested.

John Knox—or, as some of his contemporaries, with a laudable love of consonants, and dread of capitals, are pleased to write it, 'johanne kmnoxxe'—was born at Haddington, or at Gifford, in East Lothian, in 1505, of respectable, and even opulent parents, who after having him initiated in the elements

of learning at the grammar school of Haddington, sent him to prosecute his studies at the University of St Andrews, in the year 1524; where he became acquainted with all the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, and School divinity. Greek was not taught at that time in any Scotish University; the first public school for it having been established at Montrose in 1534, under the patronage of Erskine of Dun. Hebrew was not taught till after the establishment of the Reformation in 1560, when John Row, the Protestant minister of Perth, appears to have opened a class for it.—Those two languages Knox afterwards acquired during his residence on the Continent. At St Andrews, however, he became so great a proficient in the dialectic art, that soon after obtaining the degree of Master, he was allowed to teach a class of philosophy under the regular regent; and was advanced to priest's orders, and ordained, before he had attained the regular age for that dignity. About the year 1532, the study of St Jerome and St Augustine led him to the diligent perusal of the Scriptures; and the simple language of truth recommended itself so powerfully to his manly understanding, that, from that time forward, he renounced the study of Scholastic divinity, and began to call in question the authority of those teachers whom he had been hitherto contented to follow. Upon looking abroad, indeed, beyond the cloisters of his college, he beheld a scene of corruption that might have roused a feebler spirit to call in question the principles from which it had proceeded.

The Popery which prevailed before the Reformation, was a very different sort of thing from that which now prevails in the countries which have retained it; and the religion and practice of those who most abhor the Protestants, have been purified and reformed by their example, in a degree which makes their further reformation a matter of comparative indifference.—Before entering upon his account of Knox's labours in this cause, Mr M'Crie has presented his readers with a sketch of the actual state of religion in Scotland at that period, which we do think entitled to the serious consideration of those who may be inclined to doubt whether our deliverance was worth the heavy price which our ancestors were compelled to pay for it. As a fair specimen of the style and matter of the book, we extract a part of this summary.

'The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally depraved before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland, than in any other nation within the pale of the Western church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of

opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

'The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and Abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours: they were Privy-Counsellors and Lords of Session, as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar arts, and not infrequently taken possession of by the same weapons. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling-bards, and the bastards of bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices given *in commendam* were kept vacant, during the life of the commendatory, sometimes during several lives, to the deprivation of extensive parishes of all provision of religious service; if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings, originally endowed for this purpose. There was not such a thing known as for a bishop to preach; indeed, I scarce recollect a single instance of it, mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scotish Episcopate, down to the period of the Reformation. * The practice was even gone into desuetude among all the secular clergy, and was wholly devolved on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.

'The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set the example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices; and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry; many of whom were so mean as to con-

* 'One exception occurs, and must not be omitted. When George Wishart was preaching in Ayr, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, took possession of the pulpit, in order to exclude the reformer. Some of Wishart's more zealous hearers would have dispossessed the bishop, but the reformer would not suffer them. "The bishope preichit to his jackmen, and to sum auld boisses of the toun. The soum of all his sermone was, *They sey, we sould preiche: Quhy not? Better lait thryve nor nevir thryve. Had us still for your bischope, and we sall provyde better the nixt tyme.*" Knox, Historie, p. 44.

taminate the blood of their families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought. †

'Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds.

'The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred scriptures, except what they met with in their missals.'—'Of the doctrine of Christianity, scarce any thing remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour, with the "One Mediator between God and man;" and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary and other saints, than to "Him whom the Father heareth always."—'It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were, which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of these preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, solid, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.' p. 14—21.

Such a state of things could not well be contemplated without an eager and violent desire for reformation; and accordingly, we find, that so early as 1525 the writings of Luther had found their way into this distant country, and had produced such an effect as to give an alarm to the clergy, there being a special act of Parliament in that year against the importation of any such writings into Scotland,—'a kingdom,' it is said, 'which had alwaies bene clene of all sic filth and vice.' In

† 'The truth is registered in the acts of Parliament; in the decrees of their own councils, (Wilkin. Concil. tom. 4. p. 46–60. Keith's Hist. pref. 11.); in the records of legitimation, (Lord Hailes, ut supra, p. 249, 250.); and in the confessions of their own writers, (Kennedy and Winget, apud Keith, Append. 202, 205–7. Lesley, Hist. 232. Father Alexander Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, &c. of our Scotish-Calvinian Gospel, p. 15, 16. Wirtzburgh, anno 1628.)'

1528, Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble family, was burnt at the stake for his attachment to these new doctrines; and before 1540, the Earls of Glencairn and Errol, the Lords Ruthven and Kilmaurs, Sir David Lindsay, Sir James Sandilands, and a great multitude of other persons of respectability, had made open profession of the same dangerous faith. They narrowly escaped, indeed, the fate of their predecessor: For it is established by undoubted authority, that their names were put into a list of proscription by the clergy, and more than one earnest application made to James V. for a warrant to cut them off;—a suit in which, there is every reason to believe, they would have been ultimately successful, had it not been for the disaster which suddenly put an end to the life of that unhappy monarch.

When Knox turned towards the reformed faith, therefore, about the year 1540, he was in no want either of associates to countenance, or guides to confirm him in his career; and Mr MacCrie has commemorated, with much zeal and discrimination, the characters of the different pastors and learned men who had, at this early period, embraced the same principles. The most eminent of these, undoubtedly, was George Wishart, who had formerly been driven into exile by Cardinal Beaton, for teaching the Greek testament at Montrose, and was now earning that crown of martyrdom which he so soon afterwards received, by a course of zealous preaching through the different counties of Scotland. From this eminent person, Knox might not only have acquired all the intrepidity and heroic constancy for which he was afterwards so remarkable, but the courtesy and meekness in which he is supposed to have been deficient. * After narrowly

* We cannot resist transcribing the following simple and graphic account of this distinguished person as he appeared at Cambridge during his banishment from his native country.—It is contained in a letter (preserved by Fox) from one of his pupils in that seminary. 'About the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, five hundreth, thirty and three, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a tall man, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholye complexion by his physiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travailed. Having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantell frieze gowne to the shoes, a black Millian fustian dublet, and plain black hosen, course new canvasse for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and

escaping the vengeance of the same zealous prelate, Knox appears to have resided for some time in the family of Douglas of Long Niddrie, where he privately instructed a small congregation who adhered to him. Even in this retreat, however, he had to undergo the persecution of Cardinal Beaton; and would, probably, have shared the fate of the other enemies of that sanguinary † priest, had not the land been delivered from him by the act of a few desperate men, who seized by force upon his castle of St Andrews, and put him to death in May 1546. Knox, certainly, had no participation in this act of irregular and disorderly vengeance: but there can be no doubt that he justified it in his discourses; holding, with Col. Titus, and the illustrious *tyrannicides* of antiquity, that flagrant delinquents, when protected by the perversion of legal authority, may lawfully be put to death by private individuals.

The castle of St Andrews was retained by those who had done this act of questionable justice on its master, and soon became the only safe place in which those who dissented from his belief could assemble. Knox accordingly, along with Sir David Lindsey, John Rough the preacher, and several others, retired to that sanctuary in 1547, where he assisted Rough in adminis-

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and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monethly, some quarterly, as he liked; saving his Frenche cappe, which he kept the whole yeare of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse: for his charitie had never ende, night, noone, nor daye. He forbare one meale, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature.—Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, course new canvasse sheetes, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himself.—He taught with great modestie and gravitie.' p. 32—34.

† Such was his holy zeal for all the ordinances of the Catholic faith, that in his progress through the kingdom with the Governor, he had recently instigated him "to hang (at Perth) four honest men, for eating of a goose on Friday; and to drown a young woman, because she refused to pray to our lady in her birth." Pitscottie, 188. Knox says, that the woman "having a soucking babe upoun hir briest, was drounit." Historie, 40. Petrie's History of the Church of Scotland, part ii. p. 182.—Such was the man whose death a living author is pleased to describe "as the foulest crime which ever stained a country;" and more atrocious, of course, than the murder of Henry IV. or the Prince of Orange. Chalmers's Lindsay, Vol. I. p. 34.

tering spiritual consolation to the refugee congregation. Such was his success in the discharge of those duties, that it was resolved to give him a public call, to take upon him the office of their minister;—a proposition which he received with a degree of emotion certainly very little to be expected from the stern and assuming nature that has been so often imputed to him. When Rough, in the name of the whole congregation, solemnly charged him to undertake the sacred office to which they unanimously called him, Knox rose, in a state of great agitation, and, after a vain attempt to address them, burst into a flood of tears, and rushed out of the assembly,—remaining secluded in his chamber for many days, in continual prayer and humiliation. He did not, however, decline the task which was thus imposed upon him; but began to preach with great fervour and freedom against the abuses of Popery; and, being called to answer for certain points of his doctrine before the sub-prior, he defended his positions with so much skill, learning, and address, that the papists would never afterwards run the risk of a public disputation.

Other weapons, however, were about to be employed for the suppression of this dangerous heresy. In June 1547, a French fleet invested the castle of St Andrews by sea, while the governor attacked it by land, and, after a brave resistance, its garrison was forced to surrender. Their courage, however, had procured for them an honourable capitulation; and it was stipulated that they should be conveyed to any country they might appoint,—and set safely at liberty. But the capitulation, was violated on the instigation of the Scottish prelates. They were all kept prisoners of war; and Knox, in particular, was chained aboard the French galleys, and reduced to the most miserable state of captivity. Sickness soon came to aggravate his calamities; but nothing could break his unconquerable spirit, or subdue in him that heroic confidence in his own high destination, by which he was uniformly supported. He spent his time in exhorting and instructing his fellow prisoners, in reproving their despondency, and in debating with such of the priests and friars as curiosity brought, from time to time, to his galley. In summer 1548, the fleet was again sent to cruize off the eastern coast of Scotland; and one day, when they were becalmed off the city of St Andrews, one of his fellow prisoners called upon Knox, who, overcome with toil and sickness, had laid himself down on the benches to look up, and see whether he knew the spires and turrets before them. The fervent minister looked up, and answered, in that prophetic spirit of holy confidence and sublime resolution, which rarely fails to realize its own predictions: 'Yes, 'I know them well; I see the steeple of that place where God

'first opened my mouth in public to his glory! And I am fully 'persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not 'depart this life, till my tongue shall again glorify him in the 'same place.' After a dreary captivity of nineteen months, he was liberated, it cannot now be ascertained in what manner; and instantly repaired to England, where Archbishop Cranmer, under the auspices of the minor King Edward VI, was exerting himself with judicious zeal in advancing the cause of the Reformation.

Such are the misconceptions that prevail with regard to the character and opinions of our Scottish reformer, that we are persuaded, many well informed and orthodox sons of the church of England will be equally scandalized and astonished to be told, that John Knox was appointed one of the chaplains to their pious King, Edward the Sixth; that he was much consulted in compiling and composing the book of common prayer, in which important alterations were made on his suggestion; and was offered a valuable benefice, and even a bishoprick, by that orthodox prince and his reverend advisers. Such, however, is undoubtedly the fact; and Mr M'Crie seems, to us at least, to have all the weight of authority on his side when he says, that if the first English reformers, including the sovereign, the primate, and the far greater part of the protestant bishops, had been left to their own choice, they would have brought both the government and the worship of their church much nearer to the pattern of those of Zurich and Geneva than it was then found practicable to do. But as we have no desire to enter into any polemical discussion on the matter, we shall content ourselves with referring such of our readers as may feel any curiosity upon this subject, to the long and learned note, beginning at p. 427 of the volume before us.

During this short gleam of sunshine in our reformer's history, he was stationed for the most part in the neighbourhood of the town of Berwick, where, about the year 1552, he became attached to a Miss Marjory Bowes, whom he afterwards married; and with whom, as well as with her mother, he in all his absences maintained a regular correspondence. A great part of this correspondence has been preserved; and, eager as persons of all descriptions must be to see the love-letters of the redoubted John Knox, we can assure them, that they form by far the most illegible part of his performances; and are so overcharged with spiritual matters and godly exhortations, as to be quite unfit for every-day reading in the present worldly generation. Mr M'Crie has printed the first letter which appears to have passed in the course of this religious courtship; and certainly few ladies of the present day could have stood

such a beginning. We shall gratify our readers with a few sentences,—which we are persuaded they will think quite enough,—from the beginning of this letter.

'Deirlibelovit sister in the commoun faith of Jesus our saviour. The place of Johne forbidding ws to salut sic as bringeth not the hailsome doctrine, admonisseth ws what danger cumeth be fals teacheris, evin the destructioun of bodie and saule; whairfoir the spreit of God willeth ws to be sa cairfull to avoyd the company of all that teachis doctrine contrarie to the treuth of Chryst, that we communicat with thame in nathing that may appeir to manteane or defend thame in thair corrupt opinioun, for hie that bidis thame Godspeid, communicatis with thair syn, that is, hie that apeiris be keiping thame company, or assisting unto thame in thair proceidingis to savour thair doctrine is giltie befoir God of thair iniquitie, baith becaus hie doith confirme thame in thair error be his silence, and also confirmes utheris to credit thair doctrine becaus hie opponis not himself thairto and sa to bid thame Godspeid is not to speik unto thame commounlie as we for civill honestie to men unknawn, but it is efter we have hard of thair fals doctrine to be conversant with thame and sa intreat thame as thay had not offendit in thair doctrine. The place of Jamis teachis ws belovit sister that in Jesus Chryst all that unfeandlie profes him ar equall befoir him and that ryches nor wardlie honouris ar nathing regairdit in his syght, and thairfoir wald the spreit of God speiking in the apostill that sic as are trew christianis suld have mair respect to the spirituall giftis whairwith God had doteth his messingeris nor to externall ryches whilk oftymes the wicket possessis.'

In some of the other letters, though there is quite as little of earthly love or ornamental writing, there is more of the high spirit of the man, and a certain tone of deep and serious attachment, which is not without a certain pathetic effect when coming from such a temper. In one, which was written when his prospects for the great cause had again become gloomy, he concludes,—'Nevertheless rejoicie, sister—for the same word which forespeaketh terrible death, certifys us of the glory consequent.—As for myself, if the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for:—But I fear that yet I be not ripe to glorify Christ by my death;—but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time;—and be sure I will not forget you and your company so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature.'

The death of Edward, and the accession of Mary, in 1553, struck despair into the hearts of almost all the friends of the Reformation. But Knox knew not either despair or despondency; and when it was no longer safe for him to remain in London, he made various preregrinations through the central counties of England, preaching, and encouraging the trembling

congregations of the godly. In the end of this year he married Miss Bowes; and appears to have made a vain attempt to overcome the repugnance of her paternal relations to their union. The letters in which he communicates to her mother the unsatisfactory result of the conference, exhibit more personal feeling, and pride, and sensibility, than any thing else that he has allowed himself to write. We add a few extracts.

'Dear mother—So may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shewn unto me at all times since our first acquaintance, albeit such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care toward you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes, on the matter ye know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea despiteful words hath so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart. —God be merciful unto him. Among other his most unpleasing words, while that I was about to have declared my part in the whole matter, he said, "Away with your rhetorical reasons, for I will "not be persuaded with them." God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good oratour in my own cause.—I regard not what country consume this my wicked carcase;—and were it not that no man's unthankfulness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those, of whom not only I thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful. But so must men declare themselves.'—

'It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick; and almost I am determined not to come at all. Ye know the cause. God be more merciful unto some, than they are equitable unto me in judgment. The testimony of my conscience absolves me, before his face who looks not upon the presence of man.' p. 92, 93.

The persecutions of Mary becoming dangerous, he was induced, early in 1554, to join a troop of those who submitted to exile for the sake of conscience, and was landed at Dieppe in January of that year. From this place he afterwards proceeded to Geneva, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Calvin, and held perpetual conferences with the learned men of that country upon the points most interesting to him. Such, however, was his zeal and anxiety for his persecuted brethren in his native island, that in the course of that year he three

times performed a pilgrimage from Geneva to the shores of the Channel, in order to be within reach of their correspondence. The reformed and tolerant states of the Continent, were now filled with the Protestant refugees from England; and, in particular, a very considerable congregation was assembled at Frankfort on the Maine, who sent a deputation to Knox, entreating him to come and officiate as their pastor. He complied with some reluctance; as the deputation found him, at the age of fifty, engaged with all the ardour of youth in the study of Hebrew, and various branches of learning.—He considered it, however, to be his duty not to withhold his ministry from his countrymen, and repaired to Frankfort, where he showed the greatest prudence and temper in healing the schisms that unfortunately arose among this congregation of exiles; but which grew at last to such a height, that he was forced to quit them in the year following, and return to his studies at Geneva. From this place, however, he again set out in August 1555, and rejoined his wife at Berwick; from which he proceeded to Edinburgh, and preached many times every day to such small congregations as could be assembled in his private lodgings. He then resided for some time at Calder-house, now the seat of Lord Torphichen; and afterwards preached in a more public manner in the town of Ayr. This appearance was the topic of conversation, it seems, at the court of the Queen Regent, as Knox himself has recorded in the following characteristic sentences.

'Some affirmed that the preacher was an Englishman: A prelate, not of the least pride, said, Nay; no Englishman, but it is *Knox*, that *knave*. It was my Lord's pleasure so to baptize a poor man; the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things alike uncertain to him, to wit, my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit. For what my life and conversation hath been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papestrie, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please.' p. 131.

Having now obtained the support of many noble and distinguished persons, he was urged by the Earl Marischal and the Earl of Glencairn, to address a letter to the Queen Regent, supplicating her protection for himself and his brethren, and her attention to the doctrines they taught. Such a letter he accordingly wrote; and in a style which unites the liberal and even polite tone of a man of the world, with the zeal and earnestness of an apostolical reformer. The Earl of Glencairn delivered the letter into the hands of the Regent; but that bigoted wo-

man glanced over it with a careless eye, and handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, with an accent of scorn,—'Does it please you, my Lord, to read a Pasquil?' (*i. e.* a Pasquin or Pasquinade.) This discouraging reception was duly reported to Knox, who afterwards published the letter, with some additions; in which, though the same good tone is maintained, and to a degree sufficient of itself to refute the common calumnies about his innate vulgarity and coarseness of manner—much greater severity is displayed than he had conceived to be called for on the former occasion. The following are the terms in which he replies to the Royal scoff we have mentioned.

"As charitie persuadeth me to interpret thinges doubtfully spoken in the best sence, so my dutie to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteme the admonition of God, nor the Cardinalles do the scoffing of pasquilles, then he shall shortly send you messagers, with whome ye shall not be able on that maner to jest.—I did not speak unto you, madame, by my former lettre, nether yet do I now, as Pasquillus doth to the Pope, in behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come, in the name of Jesus Christ, affirming, that the religion which ye maintain is damnable idolatrie: the which I offre myselfe to prove by the most evident testimonies of Goddis scriptures. And, in this quarrelle, I present myself againste all the papistes within the realme, desiring none other armore but Goddis holie worde, and the libertie of my tonge."

These discouragements, and a pressing invitation from his former flock at Geneva, induced him again to repair to that city in July 1556; but early in the year following, he was so earnestly entreated by a large body of the Scottish nobility and gentry to return to his native country, that he instantly set out on his journey; but finding, on his arrival at Dieppe, that there was as yet no union nor resolution among his followers, he returned back to Geneva in the end of 1557, and in the following year, cooperated with his learned countrymen in that place in bringing out that translation of the Scriptures which is still known by the name of the *Geneva Bible*; and also gave to the world his extraordinary treatise, entitled, 'The first blast of 'the trumpet against the monstrous regiment (*i. e.* regimen or 'government) of women;' a work which was first suggested by the enormities of Queen Mary's persecutions, and afterwards brought him into great odium, both with Elizabeth and her unfortunate rival.

In the mean time, the cause of the reformation was silently making its way in Scotland: And the injudicious zeal of the Archbishop of St Andrews having led him, in the most atrocious

and illegal manner, to commit an eminent and inoffensive preacher to the flames; in April 1558, the protestant lords made a public application to the queen regent for her protection; which, having been favourably received, and the prospects of the party having been farther brightened by the death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, Knox, in July 1559, took his final leave of Geneva, and arrived in Scotland in May thereafter. His presence at once revived the spirits, and renewed the efforts of his associates; and though the queen regent soon took open part with the catholic clergy, and invited a large body of French military into the country, the only effect of this was to drive the protestants to take up arms in their own defence, and to treat for their independence at the head of their troops. The successful intrepidity of Knox, in preaching openly at St Andrews, (for the fulfilment of his prediction when aboard the galleys), had no little effect in confirming the courage of his followers, and intimidating the most active of his opponents. 'As 'for the fear of danger,' said he, when some of his friends dissuaded him from so perilous an experiment, 'let no man be 'solicitous; for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I 'seek. I desire not the hand nor the weapon of man to defend 'me. I only crave audience; which, if it be denied unto me 'here at this time, I must seek where I may have it.' He opened a negotiation with England, for assistance against the queen regent and her French auxiliaries; and devoted himself with such zeal to the great work in which he was engaged, that the day was spent in preaching and travelling, and the night in writing letters and consultations. A letter to his wife, which has been preserved, gives a striking picture of his situation at this critical period.

"In twenty-four hours, I have not four free to natural rest, and easce of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr George that I have need of a good and an assured horse; for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promissed till any that shall kyll me.——And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to trouble you, being troubled myself in body and spirit, for the troubles that be present, and appear to grow.—At mydnicht.—I write with sleaping eies.' p. 205.

The sage, though dilatory policy of Elizabeth, and the intestine dissensions which rendered France incapable of supporting her rival, at last decided the fortune of the Scotish reformation. The English commissioners concluded a treaty of alliance with the Protestant leaders in February 1560; and in April, the English army passed the Scotish border to their assistance. The French troops retired to the fortifications at

Leith:—the Queen Regent died in the castle of Edinburgh; and the ambassador of France, upon whom the management of her cause devolved by this accident, signed a treaty, agreeing to withdraw the foreign troops, and to leave their internal differences to be settled in a free parliament. This arrangement was felt at once to be a complete triumph to the cause of the Reformation. The moment the French troops embarked, the Catholic clergy, intimidated and astonished, desisted of themselves from the celebration of the rites of their religion:—the reformed service was peaceably established, wherever ministers could be found to perform it; and when the Parliament met, it had little to do, but to sanction what the nation had previously adopted. That Parliament met in August 1560; when Knox and his reverend brethren presented to it the Confession of Faith, which they had previously drawn up; and by its ratification, the Papal jurisdiction and form of worship were solemnly suppressed and abolished for ever in this country. Our author gives the following brief and emphatic account of this momentous transaction.

'When the Confession was read in Parliament, all who had any objections to it were called upon to state them, and ample liberty allowed them. The Protestant ministers were in the house, standing prepared to defend it. Another day was appointed, on which it was read article by article. The Earl of Athole, with Lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons who voted against it, assigning this truly Catholic reason, *We will beleve as our forefatheris belevit.* "The bischopis spak nothing." p. 223.

Matters, however, were not destined to remain long in this comfortable situation. The young Queen of Scotland had refused to ratify the treaty concluded by the French ambassador; and arrived in Scotland in August 1561, with the strongest prejudices against the cause of the reformers. Soon after her arrival, she commanded Knox to attend her in private; and a long conversation ensued, of which Mr M'Crie has preserved a very curious and interesting account. It is too long to be inserted here; but, though the sentiments expressed by the reformer are firm and earnest, his tone and manner appear to us to be as respectful and decorous as possible; nor can we discover in any part of this conference, the slightest traces of that coarseness or harshness with which he has in later times been so plentifully reproached. Indeed, we perfectly agree with Mr M'Crie, that there is nothing in which the character and deportment of Knox have been more grossly misrepresented, than in the accounts which have been given of his habitual rudeness and insolence to his female sovereign.

'The whole account,' he observes in a note, 'which Mr Hume has given of the conduct of the Protestant clergy towards Mary, from her arrival in Scotland until her marriage with Darnly, is very remote from sober and genuine history. It is rather a satire against the Reformation, which he charges with rebellion; the Presbyterian Church, whose genius he describes as essentially productive of fanaticism and vulgarity; and his native country, the inhabitants of which, without exception, he represents as overrun with rusticity, strangers to the arts, to civility, and the pleasures of conversation. *History*, Reign of Elizabeth, chap. 1. near the close.'—'I cannot here expose all his mistatements in the passage to which I have referred. He keeps out of view the fixed resolution of the Queen to reestablish the Romish religion, with all the perils to which the Protestants were exposed. He artfully introduces his narrative, by placing her proclamation against altering the Protestant religion before the symptoms of popular discontent at her setting up mass; whereas the proclamation was *emitted* after these, and perhaps would never have appeared, had it not been found necessary to allay the apprehensions of the people. Knox, 285. Keith, 504, 505. As a proof that the preachers "took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess," he gives extracts from an address to her by the General Assembly, without ever hinting that this was merely a draught; that every offensive expression was erased from it; and that, when it was presented by the superintendants of Lothian and Fife, the queen said, "Here are many fair words; I cannot tell what the hearts are." Knox, 315. Mr H. goes on to say: "The ringleader in all these insults on Majesty, was John Knox.—His usual appellation for the queen, was *Jezebel.*" This is a mistake. Neither in his sermons, nor in his prayers, nor in conversation, did he give this appellation to Mary, as long as she was queen; but always honoured her before the people, as well as in her own presence, even when he lamented and condemned her errors. Afterwards, indeed, when for her crimes (of which no man was more convinced than Mr H.) she was removed from the government, and he no longer acknowledged her as his sovereign, he did apply this name to her.'—'It is very true, also,' as Mr M'Crie goes on to remark, that 'the object of the historian, in the passages upon which I have animadverted, was rather to blacken the reformers than to exalt the queen, of whose character he had at bottom no great opinion. "Tell Goodall (says he, in a letter to Dr Robertson), that if he can but give up queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in every thing else; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox, and the reformers, made very ridiculous." Indeed, he confessed to his confidential friends that he had, in his history, drawn the character of that princess in too favourable colours. "I am afraid (says he to the same correspondent) that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was undoubtedly a violent woman *at all times.*" p. 492–1.

Some exception has been taken, by the loyalty of late writers, at the restrictions which her protestant council proposed to put on the power of their Catholic queen. But, in a country where there is but one *avowed* opinion as to the merits of the Revolution 1688, it is really being a little too chivalrous to insist upon such objections. The great body of the Scotish nation was as Protestant in 1561, as England was in 1688,—and far more zealous in their protestantism—and afraid, with far greater reason, of the oppressions of a Catholic sovereign :—And yet, the measures suggested by them were much less severe and decided, than those adopted by their successors, with the unanimous approbation of all thinking men. It is needless to ask, with Mr MacCrie, what a nation of zealous Papists would have done with a Protestant Princess, who had come among them with an avowed abhorrence of their faith ?—For the whole history of that age, as well as of the present, has sufficiently proved, that the sovereign who sets up his own individual will against the general sense of an European people, devotes himself to inevitable destruction.

For two or three years after this, the life of the reformer was pretty uniform ;—perpetual preaching, and laborious consultations with the leaders of the cause—with occasional scenes with the Queen—and threatenings and disputations with her Catholic advisers. The particulars of some of the former, set his real character in a striking point of view. In the issue of one of his conferences with her Majesty, having suggested, that, if she would be pleased to hear him explain the sum of his doctrine, he would gladly wait on her Grace's leisure at any time and place—but that it went against his conscience to come merely to justify himself from personal imputations—he concluded, in a polite, and even facetious tone, ' Albeit, at your Grace's ' commandment, I am heir now, yit can I not tell quhat uther ' men shall judge of me, that, at this tyme of day, am absent ' from my buke, and waitting upoun the court. ' ' Ye will not ' alwayes be at your buke, ' said the queen pettishly, and turned her back. As he left the room ' with a reasonable mer- ' ry countenance, ' some of the popish attendants said in his ' hearing, *He is not afraid!* " Why sould the pleseng face of " a *gentilwoman* afray me ? " (said he, regarding them with a ' sarcastic scowl), " I have luiked in the faces of mony angry " *men*, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour. " p. 254.

On another occasion, when the Queen pressed him to explain something he had said in the pulpit about the consequences of her marrying a Papist, she burst into a flood of tears, and vowed that she would be revenged on him.

' During this scene, ' says Mr M'Crie, ' the severe and inflexi-

ble mind of the Reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the Queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that he never took delight in the distress of any creature. It was with great difficulty that he could see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults, far less could he rejoice in her Majesty's tears: but seeing he had given her no just reason of offence, and had only discharged his duty, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears, rather than hurt his conscience, and betray the commonwealth through his silence.' p. 280.

In the year 1563, Kennedy, the Abbot of Crossraguel, challenged Knox to a public disputation on the subject of the Mass; and they met, accordingly, on the 28th September, at Maybole, attended by forty persons on each side. The particulars of the conference were afterwards published; and, though the scene was undoubtedly curious, and in some measure interesting, as being *the only* occasion on which the advocates of the ancient religion ventured to bring its merits to the fair issue of reasoning, it must be owned, that few things can be imagined more dull and disgusting than the record of this theological duel. The opening of the scene, however, is highly characteristic. 'When they 'met, Knox addressed him to make public prayer; whereat 'the abbot was soir offended at the first; but when the said John 'wold in nowise be stayed, he and his gave audience; which 'being ended, the abbote said, *Be my faith, it is weill said.*' The debate itself is entirely confined to the interpretation of the text of the Old Testament, in which it is said, that Melchizedec brought out bread and wine in presence of Abraham and his company;—the abbot contending, that those elements were brought out as an oblation to God;—and Knox, that they were produced merely for the refreshment and consumption of the visitors. In the end of the year 1563, he was arraigned before the Privy Council of treasonable practices; but defended himself with such firmness, clearness and propriety, that notwithstanding the violence of the Queen, who attended the whole examination, he was almost unanimously acquitted.

The same stormy scenes continued for several years thereafter; insomuch that, in 1567, he found it necessary to retire into England; and it was during his absence that Darnley was murdered, and the Queen so shamefully united to Bothwell, his undoubted murderer. He returned, however, soon enough to witness the effects of this ill-omened marriage—the deposition and imprisonment of that misguided princess—and the appointment of Murray as Regent. Knox preached at Stirling on the coronation of her son James VI.; though, as he objected to

the ceremonial of unction, this part of the business was performed by the Bishop of Orkney. He also preached at the opening of the parliament, in December 1567; and, under the auspices of the Regent, who was a steady and zealous friend to the cause, had, for two or three years, the prospect of a prosperous termination to his labours. The assassination of this eminent person, however, in 1570, put an end to these expectations; and affected his feelings so violently, that it seems to have been the chief cause of an apoplectic seizure which he suffered in October of that year —and from which, though he still continued to preach, he never perfectly recovered. The faction of the Queen having now obtained possession of Edinburgh, various attempts were made upon the life of the reformer; so that, in 1571, he was compelled, by the entreaties of his friends, to remove his residence to St Andrews; where his inextinguishable zeal and activity led him to persevere in those exertions, from which his advanced age and multiplied infirmities might well have excused him.— Mr M'Crie has favoured his readers with a homely, but very striking account, of those his last public appearances, from a diary of James Melville, who was then a student in that univerity.

'Of all the benefits I haid that year (1571), was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhone Knox, to St Andrews, who, be the faction of the queen occupeing the castell and town of Edinbrugh, was compellit to remove therefra, with a number of the best, and chusit to come to St Andrews. I heard him teache there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer, and the wintar following. I haid my pen and my litle buike, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up o his text, he was moderat the space of an half houre; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grew*,* and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt.—He was very weik. I saw him, everie day of his doctrine, go *hudie and fear*,† with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staffe in the an hand, and gud godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, haldin up the uther *oxter*,‡ from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, be the said Richart, and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean, at his first entrie; bot, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyk to *ding the pulpit in blads*,§ and flie out of it.'‖ p. 351.

In August 1572, it was judged safe for him to return to Edinburgh; and accordingly, though his strength was extremely wasted, he set out on this last journey. Before he left St An-

* *i. e.* thrill.
† *i. e.* slowly and warily.
‡ *i. e.* arm-pit.
§ *i. c.* beat the pulpit in pieces.
‖ Melvill's Diary, p. 23—28.

drews, a probationary sermon was sent to him for his revisal; to which he annexed this striking subscription—'John Knox—'with my *dead hand*, but glad heart, that God of his mercy 'leaves such light to his church in this desolation.' After his return to Edinburgh, he again preached several times, and officiated at the ordination of James Lawson, whom he had designated as his successor. In November, he was seized with the illness which terminated his existence; and maintained, to his very latest breath, that fervent piety and that erect spirit by which his whole life had been distinguished,—as well as all his other less notorious characteristics. The following trait must be unexpected to those who have taken their notion of him from the common representations of modern historians.

'A few days before his death, John Durie, and Archibald Steward, two of his intimate acquaintances, came into his room, not knowing that he was so sick. He rose, however, on their account; and having prevailed on them to stay dinner, he came to the table, which was the last time that he ever sat at it. He ordered a hogshead of wine which was in his cellar to be pierced; and, with a hilarity which he delighted to indulge among his friends, desired Archibald Steward to send for some of it as long as it lasted, for he would not tarry until it was all drunk.' p. 362.

He died on the 24th November, and was buried on the 26th; the Regent Morton, and all the Nobility, with a vast concourse of people, attending the funeral. When he was laid in his grave, the Regent pronounced over him this emphatic funeral oration—'*There lies He, who never feared the face of man.*'

He was of small stature, and of a weakly habit of body; very abstemious in his diet, and continually nourished a long and venerable beard. He left a widow and five children. His two sons died without issue; his three daughters were all married to clergymen; the youngest to a Mr John Welch, who was condemned to banishment, in 1605, for resistance to King James's arbitrary attempts to overturn the Presbyterian constitution of his native church. His wife, who accompanied him in his exile, appears to have inherited all the spirit of her father; and Mr M'Crie has preserved the particulars of a very curious conversation between her and King James, when, in 1622, she obtained access to him for the purpose of petitioning that her husband might, for the sake of his health, be allowed again to breathe his native air.

'The King,' it is said, 'asked her, who was her father. She replied, Mr Knox. "Knox and Welch!" exclaimed he, "the Devil never made such a match as that."—"Its right like, Sir," said she, "for we never speired (*i. e.* asked) his advice." He asked her, how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She

said, three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands; "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked (*i. e.* enjoyed) my three kingdoms in peace." She urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him the devil!" a morsel which James had often in his mouth. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profanity. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep (*i. e.* receive) his head there." p. 396.

After having detained our readers so long with those details, we think it altogether unnecessary to follow Mr M'Crie into the able and elaborate character which he has drawn of our reformer; or into his eloquent eulogium and powerful defence of the Regent Murray. There are one or two more general points, however, connected with the history of this interesting period, upon which we must make a few slight observations.

And, first, with regard to the alleged violence and brutality with which it has been said that our Reformation was attended, and, in particular, the savage and needless havoc which is supposed to have been made among the sacred edifices throughout the country, we would beg leave to remark, that a great revolution of this kind will necessarily present a very different character, according as it is effected by the zeal and exertions of the whole body of the people against the inclination of the government, or by the act of the government itself, with the mere acquiescence of the nation. Not only will *the temper* and tone of the proceeding be necessarily more violent in the former case, but *the policy* will be more severe. The assailants who have thus taken their strong places by storm from an enemy still formidable, will not only be more disposed to outrage and disorder, than if they had marched into them after dictating a capitulation and triumphant peace; but they may justly regard it as a point of prudence, and precaution, to raze the castles, and blow up the fortifications, which they cannot afford to garrison, and which may come again to be occupied by a foe that still braves them in the field. It was in a great measure, as Mr M'Crie has observed, by the magnificence of its temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the popish church fascinated the senses, and imposed on the imaginations of the people: And, without giving more than its due weight to the homely maxim which has been ascribed, we know not on what authority, to our reformer—that the best way to keep the *rooks* from returning was to destroy their *nests*—it was an obvious, and, we conceive, by no means an irrational sug-

gestion, that the reestablishment of superstition would be rendered more difficult when its trophies were broken, and its monuments overthrown.

Upon this ground alone, therefore, we conceive that the proceedings of our Scotish reformers might be, in a great measure, justified—or at least sufficiently accounted for—without supposing that there was any thing more savage, or more irrational, in their zeal, than in that of the neighbouring country, where a similar object was effected, no doubt with far less disorder, but under circumstances essentially different. It is proper, however, to observe, that very exaggerated ideas have been entertained, both of the extent of the mischief, and of the degree of accession or responsibility which can attach to Knox, or the other leaders of the cause with regard to it. The first outrage of this sort which took place, was at Perth, in May 1559, where a boy, who had been struck by a priest, retaliated, by throwing a stone at some of his brittle images on the altar; and, upon this being resented, was furiously abetted by the mob, who speedily demolished the whole imagery of the church, and did not stop till they had pulled down the adjoining monasteries of the Grey and Black friars, and the Carthusian monks. Now, Knox himself has preserved the history of this tumult; and though he certainly expresses no sorrow for the fate of the friars or the images, yet he expressly says, that the Protestant preachers joined with the magistrates in endeavouring to quell the riot; that none of the gentlemen, or sober part of the congregation, took a share in it; and that it was entirely confined to the baser inhabitants, or, as he describes them, 'the rascall multitude.'

Similar excesses no doubt occurred elsewhere, from similar causes; but it is certain that, in so far as Knox and his associates were concerned, they never advised the destruction of any thing more than the images and pictures, which they considered as inseparably connected with the *idolatry* of the old religion, and that they were particularly anxious to prevent the demolition or injuring of any of the churches, which they instantly saw would be more wanted than ever, for their own use, and that of their converted congregations. The act of privy council for the disgarnishing of idolatrous houses, did not extend to the destruction of cathedral or parish churches; and Baillie, in his answer to Bishop Maxwell, accordingly says, that 'he has 'not heard that in all the land above *three* or *four* churches 'were cast down.' That these dilapidations, at all events, were not committed by the direction, or even connivance of our Reformer, or his friends, is manifest, not only from the terms in which he speaks of them, but from the express tenor of the

orders that were issued by the Lords of the Congregation for the 'casting down the monuments of idolatrie.' Mr M'Crie has printed one of those orders, written in 1560 with the hand of Lord James Steuart (afterwards the Regent Murray), with regard to the purification of the cathedral of Dunkeld; in which, while they are ordered to 'take down the hail images,' and to 'purge the said kirk of all monuments of idolatrye,' there is an express injunction to 'take gude heed that neither the desks, 'windows or doors, be any ways hurt or broken, either glassier 'work or iron work.' It is remarkable, accordingly, that no such outrages took place at Edinburgh, where Knox himself preached daily in the ancient cathedral of St Giles; and indeed, one of the most embarrassing things that occurred, upon the first establishment of the Reformation, was the want of a sufficient number of places for public worship; nor can their meanness be imputed to any other cause than the general penury and poverty of the nation, and the difficulty of raising funds for their erection.

With regard to the injury that learning is said to have sustained, from the destruction of the monastic libraries, the truth is, as Mr M'Crie has observed, that, in this country, there were none of any considerable value. Two catalogues have been preserved of such libraries; one, of that belonging to the monastery of Lochleven; the other to the collegiate church of Stirling—both foundations of great wealth and antiquity. The first contains just *seventeen* books, *including* the missals necessary for the service; and the other twenty-nine, that is to say, four Missals, two Psalters, four Antiphonies, four Graduals, and ten Processionals. Mr M'Crie adds, that in so far as he has been able to discover, the Scotish monasteries in general do not appear ever to have possessed more than an odd volume or two of the writings of the Fathers. These losses certainly are not vehemently to be deplored: But while our English neighbours reproach us so loudly with the Vandal fury of our tumultuary reformation, which hazarded the loss of those great treasures, it would be well for them to ponder a little upon the following narrative of their own proceedings, furnished by their own writers.

'Another misfortune (says Collier) consequent upon the suppression of the abbeys was an ignorant destruction of a great many valuable books.—The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown in to the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper."—" A number of them which purchased these superstitious

mansions, (says bishop Bale) reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scoure their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots, and some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to book-binders, not in small numbers, but at times *whole ships full.* Yea, the universities are not all clear in this detestable fact; but cursed is the belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his native country. I know a merchant man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper by the space of more than these ten years, and *yet hath he store enough for as many years to come.*" Bale's Declaration, &c. apud Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 166.'

Another point upon which the publication before us enables us to correct some of the misconceptions which have prevailed but too generally with regard to the character of our Scotish reformation, relates to the neglect of scholarship and polite learning which it has been supposed to have engendered. The very reverse of this impression, however, would be much nearer the truth. Ignorance was one great bulwark of the papal superstition; and it was the bulwark which was most zealously and fondly defended. Until the reformed doctrines had made a considerable progress, neither Greek nor Hebrew were taught in any seminary in Scotland; and they were introduced and first taught by the reformed pastors. Buchanan and Knox, who were the two great champions of the cause, were among the most learned men of the age; and Row and Melvil were at least equal to any scholar that England could boast at the same period. There was no point, indeed, in which the superiority of the reformers was so painfully felt by their antagonists as their learning; and when some of the priests imprudently offered to maintain their tenets in a public disputation, the Queen answered the supplication of the General Assembly that this might be granted in her presence, by saying, 'That she would 'not so jeopard her religion; for she knew well enough that 'the Protestants were more learned.' At the grammar school of Perth, so early as 1559, both Greek and Hebrew were taught with great success. Nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in that school, and nothing but French in the family of the master. The passages of scripture from the Old Testament were always read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English—from the New Testament, in Greek, Latin and English. John Row, the master, instructed his own son so thoroughly in all these languages, that, by the time he was eight years of age, he was employed to read the Hebrew lessons from the Scriptures while the rest of the boys were at dinner. We have great doubt, whether Oxford or Cambridge could have produced

many undergraduates capable of performing the daily exercises of the pupils of this humble seminary. By the first book of discipline, enacted by the General Assemby 1563, it was provided, that there should be a teacher of Greek in every university, who should interpret some book of Plato, together with the places of the New Testament every year. This does not look like illiberal and sordid bigotry.—The truth indeed is, that the genius of the Scotish reformation was decidedly friendly to the cultivation of literature; and that its great champions were all persons of great learning and literary attainments. The decline of classical learning that became visible among our clergy upwards of a century thereafter, was so far from being a natural consequence of their Presbyterian establishment, that we do not scruple to refer it altogether to the tyranny by which that establishment was crushed, and the depression in which all its members were held during the period that elapsed from the union of the crowns to the Revolution 1688. The crown, and a great proportion of the nobility, being bent upon the establishment of Episcopacy, subjected the Presbyterian ministers to the most barbarous persecution; and by degrading them in point of fortune, and driving them from all places of honour and distinction, not only deprived them of the means of liberal instruction, but naturally led them to adopt that vehement, but low and vulgar tone which was accommodated to the rank of the greater part of their hearers, and was naturally produced by the operation of strong feelings upon minds excluded from the means of liberal information.

The last point to which we shall venture to call the attention of our readers, in reference to the singular history we have been considering, is the illustration it affords of the close connexion between the principles of religious and of civil liberty:—All the reformers were persons of liberal opinions in politics; and the establishment of the reformation was the first great step to that amelioration of the political condition of Europe, in which both catholics and protestants have since partaken, though no doubt in very unequal proportions. Mr M'Crie has stated this so forcibly and so well, that it would not be fair to deliver his sentiments in any language but his own.

'The genius of popery is in every view friendly to slavery. The Romish court, while it aimed directly at the establishment of a spiritual despotism in the hands of ecclesiastics, contributed to rivet the chains of political servitude upon the people. In return for the support which princes yielded to its arrogant claims, it was content to invest them with an absolute authority over the bodies of their subjects. By the priestly unction performed at the coronation of kings in the name of the Holy See, a sacred character was under-

stood to be communicated, which raised them to a superiority over their nobility, which they did not formerly possess, rendered their persons inviolable, and their office divine. Although the sovereign pontiffs claimed, and, on different occasions, exercised the power of dethroning kings, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, yet any attempt of this kind, when it proceeded from the people themselves, was denounced as a crime deserving the severest punishment in this world, and damnation in the next. Hence sprung the divine right of kings to rule independently of their people, and of passive obedience and non-resistance to their will.

'Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were so closely combined, that it was impossible for men to emancipate themselves from the latter without throwing off the former; and from arguments which established their religious rights, the transition was easy, and almost unavoidable, to disquisitions about their civil privileges. In those kingdoms in which *the rulers* threw off the Romish yoke, and introduced the Reformation by their authority, the influence was more imperceptible and slow; and in some of them, as in England, the power taken from the ecclesiastical was thrown into the regal scale, which proved in so far prejudicial to popular liberty. But where the Reformation was embraced by *the body of a nation*, while the ruling powers continued to oppose it, the effect was visible and immediate. The interested and obstinate support which rulers gave to the old system of error and ecclesiastical tyranny, and their cruel persecution of all who favoured the new opinions, drove their subjects to inquire into the just limits of authority and obedience. Their judgments, once informed as to the rights to which they were entitled, and their consciences satisfied respecting the means which they might employ to acquire them, the immense importance of the immediate object in view, their emancipation from religious bondage, and the salvation of themselves and their posterity, impelled them to make the attempt with an enthusiasm and perseverance which the mere love of civil liberty could not have inspired.' p. 208—211.

Among the champions of reformation, no one, certainly, ever mingled more of the spirit of political freedom with his religious zeal than John Knox; and, in answer to all that has been, or that can be said, about the seditious tendency of his doctrines, or the *dangerous* image of democracy that is held up in presbyterian church government, we have only to appeal to the decisive and notorious facts, that, oppressed as she was by the Stewarts, presbyterian Scotland was the last to throw off her allegiance to them; and that, at this moment, the part of the empire in which the democratical spirit (which is a necessary element in our mixed constitution) is the least prevalent, is that in which the church government is presbyterian. We do not mean to deny, that the doctrines of John Knox were such as would not be acceptable to courtiers and tories of the present day;

or that there is a natural affinity between genuine Presbyterianism and genuine Whiggism. All that we would insinuate is, that there is nothing so radically or violently whiggish in those doctrines, as to be at all incompatible with a monarchical constitution; and that where so many other causes—the consideration of which is not of this place—have cooperated for so long a time to depress, in Scotland, the spirit of political independence, it is owing, in a great measure, to the influence of *this* counteracting cause that we have been saved (if we are saved) from the degradation of the lowest servility.

We have neglected, all this time, to say any thing of Mr M'Crie's style and diction; but the warmth of our sympathy in most of his national sentiments, cannot induce us to disguise, that he has given us rather too much of our national phraseology. The book, to say the truth, is full of Scoticisms; and is frequently deficient in verbal elegance and purity. There is not only a want of the tone of the world about it, which may repel some idle readers, but, occasionally, great inaccuracy of language; though redeemed by traits both of vigour and vivacity. These defects are too radical, we fear, to be corrected by any assistance which we might afford the reverend author, by pointing out the passages in which they occur; and we would therefore advise him, when he writes again—as we earnestly hope he will be induced to do—to submit his manuscript to the revision of some slender clerk from the south,—who may rectify his verbal errors, without presuming to meddle with his matter.

Art. II. *Authentic Correspondence, and Documents relating to the Proceedings of the Marquis Wellesley, and of the Earl Moira, in the recent Negotiations for the Formation of an Administration.* 5th edition. Phillips, London.

The late Mr Perceval was a man of unblemished character in private life; mild, benevolent, religious, and uniformly correct in all his conduct.—With every private virtue, however, which could adorn an human being, he was unquestionably the most mischievous of all the bad ministers who, for these thirty years past, have been placed at the head of affairs, in this country;—and, with totally opposite intentions, the political years of his life were steadily employed in bringing this empire to the brink of ruin.—His religious feelings were mingled with so much bigotry, that he was quite incapable of viewing the claims of the Catholics with the eye of a statesman: He felt against their faith all the zeal of a sectary,—considered every concession made to them

as a defeat in polemical theology,—and conducted himself, in the whole of this great question, more as an angry controversialist, than a man to whom nations look up for their peace, and happiness. He was aware that the Irish are a brave, and irritable people—that they were smarting under the privation of their independent legislature—and that England was nearly drained of troops. He saw plainly that the Irish were not to be daunted; —and, with this imminent danger of exciting a civil war in the empire, he persevered:—He thought his cause was the cause of heaven;—the Irish priests think the same of their cause:—All bigots, and fanatics in all ages, have been of the same opinion.

As a minister of finance, he was profuse, and deficient in vigour: He was always afraid to look at the full expenditure of the country, to state the evil to Parliament, or to provide for it honestly and speedily. For the two or three first years of his ministry, he was too insecure in his situation, to be just to the country in this particular. His object was to keep his place; and it was kept by false pictures of prosperity, and by budgets of palliatives and momentary expedients. When he became more firm in his administration, the mischief had become too great to be told, or even contemplated with a view to correction. Though warned by his friends of the evil he was bringing upon the country, he persevered,—and left the finances, at his death, in a state of the most scandalous dilapidation.

As a general minister, Mr Perceval inflicted all the evils upon a country which can result from the combined effects of boldness, ignorance and tenacity. Of the philosophical principles of law, civil policy, or political economy, he knew very little; and rather piqued himself indeed upon despising them. He seemed to suppose, that rectitude of intention was alone a sufficient reason for self-confidence; and therefore feared nothing, because he meant well. As he was swift to conceive, and fearless to execute, so also was he slow to retract; and great part of his time was employed, and of his talent displayed, in defending the lamentable consequences of his measures;—measures, so utterly destitute of political wisdom—so rash and so inconsiderate, that they were abolished by acclamation of friend and foe, the moment after his decease.

With these faults as a politician, he undoubtedly had some excellencies. He was a very acute debater; watchful of every fair advantage against his opponent; and a judge of all those topics which may be pressed, and those prejudices which may be appealed to, in a popular assembly. His temper was good; and he never lost sight of the spirit, or manners of a gentleman; nor carried his hostility beyond the walls of the House of

Commons. With an high contempt for his rashness and ignorance, it was impossible not to admire the gallantry with which he pushed his little skiff among the precipices, rocks, and cataracts; determined to effect some narrow and mistaken purpose, or perish in the attempt. The Church, and the Court, will not easily again find a man so capable of defending, and so willing to defend, what they erroneously consider to be their peculiar interests; nor will it be easy (whatever diligence may be used for that purpose) again to inflict upon the country a minister, who will employ such a combination of birth, talent, and good private character, to bring it to the brink of destruction.

The political character of Mr Perceval we consider as fairly open to the freest discussion; and we have spoken of it as we think it deserves. It is not, we hope, necessary to put in for our share of those feelings, of which no human being is devoid, —to express our horror of assassination,—and to paint, in appropriate colours, one of the most atrocious acts which has happened in our times. Such was the amiable private character of Mr Perceval, that his death (had it happened under ordinary circumstances) would have been a cause of general sorrow. As it was, it was met with an universal burst of pity and horror—as honourable to the unhappy victim, as it was declaratory of the just state of English feelings on the great question of morals.

When Mr Perceval died, the sudden and unsubdued feelings of honesty and common sense decreed, in the House of Commons, that his associates were unworthy to succeed him. This decree put the Court upon its exertions, and produced that negotiation, the authentic documents of which are contained in the publication before us.

It is possible the Court may have been very insincere in its overtures to the Opposition, and that it may have put its offers into the form which they assumed, with the hope and expectation that they would be rejected. This may very possibly have been the case; and many persons may be in possession of information that would put it beyond all doubt: But, judging merely from the documents before us, we really cannot see that this is either a necessary, or even a legitimate conclusion. That the Court were extremely reluctant to receive the Opposition, is indeed sufficiently certain; but we must be just enough to say, that we cannot perceive any fraudulent or deceitful proceeding originating from that reluctance. What impediments they may have had in store, to frustrate the negotiation in a more advanced state, is a matter of conjecture. We are speaking of what has happened, not of what might have happened—of past events, recorded in authentic documents.

The first proposition made to the Opposition was, that they should join Lord Wellesley and Mr Canning; that Lord Wellesley should be First Lord of the Treasury; that the Cabinet should consist of thirteen;—five of the Opposition named by Lords Grey and Grenville—of Lord Erskine always acting with them—and of Lord Moira commonly acting with them. The rest Lord Wellesley was to select as he chose, from any description of political persons. Now, we are so far from considering this to be a fraudulent offer on the part of the Court, that we have really very great doubts if it is to be considered even as a very unreasonable offer. The avowed object was, to combine men of different parties—a pretty perilous and questionable object, no doubt, but one in which Lords Grey and Grenville had distinctly acquiesced. The leading questions of policy were nearly settled and cleared away; and the difficulty was, to adjust the shares of power between two parties who had never been united before—who had often been in open hostility before—and who might naturally be expected to feel, at first, some little jealousy of each other's proceedings. In these circumstances, not only an equality of power is tendered to the Opposition, but a majority in the Cabinet—or, supposing this to be doubtful, and looking upon Lord Moira as a neutral,—then as fair and equal a division as could well be made. The leaders of Opposition, however, rejected this offer, for the following reasons;—because they were not invited to discuss measures and arrangements, but to accept them; and because such a Cabinet must be jealous and disunited.—It is impossible for any one to feel more perfect and unfeigned respect than we do for the noble persons who assigned these as their reasons for rejecting this proposition; but our inflexible regard for truth compels us to say, that to us they appear altogether inconclusive and insufficient.

We cannot at all understand, why an arrangement, in itself good, should be rejected, because those to whom it is tendered have not assisted at its maturation. If Lord Wellesley had brought a proposal for a cabinet, consisting *entirely of* Members of Opposition; and if every measure had been laid at their feet, it must have been equally rejected, from this style of reasoning, because it had not been concocted in the proper manner. To us, it appears quite immaterial by whom the shares of power, and the parts of office, had been arranged, provided the arrangement itself was satisfactory and good. As to the jealousies which must exist in a cabinet consisting of men agreeing in some main principles, and acting together for the first time in a body, the hazard of them is obviously inseparable from the very nature of a mixed cabinet, as to which all

parties were agreed. The principle of uniting opposite parties in one administration, may or may not be objectionable; but, that principle once admitted, it is in vain to object afterwards to a particular scheme planned upon that principle, on account of an inconvenience which is contained in the principle itself. To have divided the power unequally, would indeed have prevented all jealousy; but would have prevented it only by converting the *fear* of neglect and subjugation into the *certainty* of those evils; and would have introduced into the cabinet, not jealous friends, but certain enemies, determined to quit their new and unequal alliance upon the first favourable occasion. If we mistake not, this principle of balancing powers in the cabinet was acted upon in the coalition between Mr Fox and Lord Grenville; a coalition begun in all the fears of mistrust, and under the loudest predictions of speedy dissolution,—but afterwards most thoroughly and cordially cemented by sameness of opinion, and of interests. Such stipulations are like the meetings of potentates in old times to make a treaty in the field. The two armies are drawn up in sight; the distances are measured out; the number of armed champions is equal; the two kings advance step by step, and every thing is prepared against treachery and deceit. To be sure, if this were to last for any length of time, war would be preferable to such a peace. But in a few days they hunt, and eat and drink together; the guards and trumpeters are dismissed; and an ignorant spectator would imagine that the two kings had lived together in a state of fraternity and osculation from the first moment they had worn their crowns upon their heads.—For these reasons, we must say, that we have some doubts as to the propriety of that decision which the leaders of Opposition made upon the first offer conveyed to them by Lord Wellesley; for, even if they rest the division of power upon the numerical strength of parties, the partialities of the Crown, and the greater probability that the strength which the Crown can always command would have been flung into the opposite scale, must not be overlooked. If the spoil is to be divided by a scale of means, through which Parliament might be influenced, no body will contend that the royal will is not one of these means; and no body will doubt to which of the two parties that will was most inclined.

Upon the second offer made by Lord Moira, we have also great doubts; though, on this occasion, the leaders of Opposition have a much better case. The state of the world is such, and we are living so much (as the common people say) from hand to mouth, that it seems, upon the whole, better that the Opposition should have secured a favourable issue to all the great

questions now in dependence, by coming into office; and, having guarded the *principle* respecting the household, that they should have relaxed in the exercise of it upon this particular occasion. It was impossible for them, or for any other human being, to doubt that the late government would have preferred even honesty and wisdom to going out of office; and at the moment of negotiation, the Catholic question, the Orders in Council, and the American war, seemed to be the price paid for the inability to turn out the officers of the household; to say nothing of the other wise and good measures which, we have no manner of doubt, would have sprung up in the eight or ten months of office which, for the sake of decency, would have been left to the Whigs, and exempted from the intrigues of the most profligate and contemptible men in Europe.

The leaders of Opposition should also have remembered, that it is hard upon the common soldiers of the party to serve for ever without pay; that their opportunities of tasting the sweets of power are very rare; that it is a very galling thing to see, for years together, their opponents getting rich and powerful, merely because they are foolish and dishonest. They should have remembered, that the great mass of men embarked in their cause must necessarily act from mixed motives—a good deal for the public, a little for themselves; and that the reasons for refusing office, to be practically satisfactory, must not be chivalrous, or finely drawn, but plain, striking, and homespun; such as may console an honest, but still a practical man, for the loss of that pleasure which he promised himself by turning some one out of place, and getting into the same place himself.

If the opposition have erred, however, they have erred as they always do err, upon the disinterested and the generous side. * Instead of giving up, like their antagonists, every principle for which they have been contending during the whole of

* It is foolish, we believe, to wonder at any thing connected with politics: And yet it is difficult not to wonder a little at the perseverance with which the courtiers have so long reiterated the cry, that the whigs have no other object but to get places and salaries for themselves, and that this is the whole purpose of their opposition. This very bright and original idea has formed the basis of their argument and the staple of their repartees for the best part of a century; and, from the air of good faith with which one hears it brought forward in all very low companies, one is almost forced to believe that there are some people upon whom it produces its effect. And yet it is not less than seventy years, we take it, since it has been quite evident, even to persons of the meanest capacity, that whiggism never could be a thriving trade in this country; and that all

this parliament, they refuse, for the sake of office, to concede any one antient or constitutional practice: And yet there is a school in politics, that would persuade the country there is no difference between public men; and, after the exalted attention to principle and character exhibited by the two leaders of opposition, we shall probably see them again exposed to the most libellous scurrility for their love of office.

Whatever doubts we may form of the conduct of opposition, we have none whatever of the conduct of Lord Moira,—of the very objectionable part which he has acted, and the very serious abasement of his political character, in the opinions of all wise

all who wished to make profit by their political talents or activity, must go to the side of the tories. The Crown (bating extraordinary accidents) must always be favourable to that side; and this, with the more lavish use of the means of influence which is permitted by their principles, renders their possession of place and emolument so much a matter of course, even in common times, that all thinking people have long ago settled it with themselves, that the lot of the whigs is merely to modify and palliate the mischievous proceedings of the tories, by their opposition, and to come in, for a few months or weeks, once or twice in a reign, to carry through some great and salutary measure, which it goes against the consciences of the said tories to adopt—and then to go back again to the unpopularity and conscious virtue, which are so obviously their portion in this world. Of late, and since the tories have condescended to be themselves the executors of what the whigs have forced upon the sense of the country, their condition is still more unprosperous and unpromising; but, taking even the ordinary and average view of their destiny, we really do not comprehend how any man who can count his fingers, can be supposed to have joined their party from a love of the privileges and emoluments of office; or how it can be intelligibly asserted, that it is merely an intemperate thirst for place and power that has ranged them in opposition to the government. Certainly, for these last ten years, the second, and third, and fourth rate men on the side of the Opposition have been more than equal, in point of talents and general estimation, to the first rate men on the side of Government; and any one of these, of course, might at any time have made himself sure of place and emolument, by merely *renouncing* those principles, which they are accused of affecting for the very purpose of attaining these objects. The imputation, in short, is not less preposterous, than it would be to say, that the Irish Catholics have no real concern for their religion; and that it is nothing but an inordinate love of high offices and situations that makes them persevere in those professions, which form the only ground of their exclusion from them!

men. To shelter the kingly power from every unfair attack, and not to suffer men, whose wisdom and authority is wanted by their prince, to make too hard a bargain for their assistance, is wise, loyal, and generous. But was any thing unusual asked? any thing which had not been established by long and universal custom?—Was the principle ever called in question? or was the practice not completely established?—Did the objection originate in the regent? were the parties themselves unwilling to resign? were they objects of national love and interest?—Why then this boasted speech of the Earl of Moira? or to what good his disturbing operations?—It may seem very wise to this considerable nobleman, and a great stroke of national policy; but we cannot reach or comprehend it. The bride and the bridegroom are ready at the altar;—the parson sees that every previous form is complied with—satisfies himself that one party will grant what the other asks; and then says, '*Because every* '*thing is ready, and because there is no impediment to so desire-* '*able an union, therefore I am determined it shall not take place.*' So inconsequential a reasoner may be a very worthy man; but he certainly has lost all right to be angry, when a compliment is paid to his good intentions at the expense of his understanding; and, generally speaking, we recommend to him, after this, not to be too delicate and fastidious about laudatory matter, but to take what is offered thankfully, and to ask no questions.

We agree with Lord Moira, that the Regent has been exposed to more invective on the subject of his household, than is fair and proper; but how would that invective have been confirmed by their dismissal, if that dismissal was a constitutional and even a customary proceeding? The real fact is, (we fear), that the excellent nobleman in question is not very averse to the pleasures of display;—he saw dimly an opportunity for doing something supra fine, by interposing between the sovereign and the barons; and if any real opportunity had offered of doing this, the Earl might have gratified his love of glory in the most successful manner, and become the idol of his country. But he interfered to prevent the prince from granting, and the opposition from gaining, what in all reason and moderation the one party ought to have given up, and the other to have possessed. Instead of protecting the just rights of his sovereign, therefore, it appears to us that he has only frustrated his excellent intentions. Employed to form a wise administration, he has given stability to the worst and most incapable men in the country;—and, appearing first on the scene, as a patriot and a friend to the oppressed Irish, he has lost the confidence of the Catholics—sunk down into a decorated courtier,—and let out that secret of

his incapacity which was before known only to a few of his intimate friends.

Whatever his Lordship's intention may have been, his conduct is the most provoking, and mischievous instance of weakness, we have ever witnessed in a public man;—his only notion appears to have been, that of making himself a protector of royalty. Whether he protected the Prince from doing what he ought to do, or suffering what he ought not to suffer, seems to be a difference which unfortunately did not strike the noble Earl. If he had been recalled to favour at the moment when the Prince was paying his bills, what would have been his conduct?—He would first have ascertained that the money was all ready—the Prince willing—and the creditors importunate. This would have been quite irresistible. The generous peer would have cast himself at his master's feet, and exclaimed with a bursting heart, '*Then your Royal Highness shall not pay a single* '*bill!*'

One man ought to pray for opportunities, and another against them. They have ruined Lord Moira,—and exalted Lord Wellesley. It is impossible to speak too highly of the spirit, honour and wisdom, displayed by this nobleman during the whole of the negociation. Nor is the supreme contempt with which he has treated his late colleagues among the least meritorious and useful parts of his conduct. To placard the imbecility of such men, is the best atonement to the public for the injury which he has done, and to himself, for the disgust he has experienced in ever serving with them. It is the fashion to display a great deal of prudery about the publication of those documents. As a practice, it is very good; and as an omen, very bad. It suspends over all such transactions the early and wholesome corrective of public opinion; and, in such transactions, the precedents for gross dishonesty are so abundant, and the temptations to it so strong, that the opinion of the public would be overlooked, and the appeal never made, if we were not goaded just now, by present distress, to look a little more closely than usual into political affairs, and to take a greater interest than common in the choice of our leaders. The only pleasing trait exhibited of these ministers, in the papers now before us, is their positive refusal to serve in any administration of which Lord Wellesley formed a part; a principle of personal exclusion, generally very reprehensible in politicians, but venial in this instance, (if credible),—because, among the infinity of human motives, it points out *one* which the present ministers consider as sufficient to induce them to give up the advantages of office.

So much for the past;—for the future, we are rather apprehensive of something worse than the ordinary mischiefs resulting

from the ordinary folly of the court. By whose counsels, what is done is done, we do not pretend to conjecture; but the symptoms are, conceit, mediocrity of talent, ignorance of the most dangerous state of the country, and an habit of viewing all political changes merely as they affect the ease and comfort of the reigning monarch:—No solicitude to preserve for him good and wise men, but agreeable men, of comfortable flexibility, whose superiority of understanding will not overcome their Prince, but leave him the puerile pleasure of supposing that he is a wiser man than his ministers. A very alarming symptom is the total loss, in the creatures of the court, of all those honourable feelings on the subject of office, which have prevailed, even in that lofty region, till within these few years. The clear line to be pursued by men of principle, upon such a question as that of the Catholic claims, is to decide at once, whether they will oppose or grant them, and to remain in office not an instant longer than they can carry their decision (be it what it may) into effect. That any set of men, trusted with the government of the country, should leave such a question to its fate (if this be not a mere pretext), is the most base sacrifice of duty to interest which this country has yet witnessed. It is somewhat alarming, that a country, already showing strong signs of impatience, should be governed by these men; while the support afforded them by Parliament strengthens the cause of the reformers, and inclines even grave and thoughtful persons to suspect, that they must, after all, resort to the perilous remedy of Parliamentary reform.

Art. III. *Sketch of the Political History of India, from the Introduction of Mr Pitt's Bill in* 1784. By John Malcolm, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's Madras Army, Resident at Mysor, and late Envoy to the Court of Persia. 8vo. pp. 480. London 1811.

An immense empire, acquired by the agents of a company of merchants—sixty millions of brave and civilized men subjected to the dominion of twenty thousand—and at the same time made braver and more civilized—and happier and more secure in their happiness, in consequence of their subjugation. These are some of the wonders that strike us at first sight, when we turn our eyes to our possessions in the East,—and speak loudly in praise both of the talents and the virtues of those by whom these wonders have been created. On the other hand, the imminent hazard of the abuse of so vast a power, exercised at

such a distance from any means of control—the danger and absurdity of investing a handful of subjects with the rights of so splendid a sovereignty—the opposite danger, perhaps not less formidable, of throwing this vast source of influence into the hands of the Crown—the injustice and invidiousness of a monopoly and exclusive privilege—and the very precariousness of that possession upon which so great a proportion of the national capital and credit have been made to depend,—are among the circumstances which abate the exultation with which this stupendous fabric is at first surveyed, and render every discussion upon our Indian policy equally perplexing and anxious.

The work before us embraces but a part of those discussions; and is confined indeed to the examination of the question, whether the restraints imposed upon the East India Company by the act 1784, both with respect to their pursuing schemes of conquest, and contracting prospective engagements with the native powers, have been salutary or pernicious; and whether the instances in which they ought to have been disregarded, have not, in point of fact, been more numerous and important than those in which they have been productive of any advantage. The Court of Directors, it is well known, have all along approved heartily of the principle in which those restraints originated, and have always been disposed to regulate their conduct conformably to that spirit. In point of fact, however, a different course of conduct has been generally pursued; and General Malcolm may be regarded as the advocate of the practice adopted by the most enterprising of the Governors-General, in opposition to the express will of the Legislature, and the avowed sentiments of the Directors of the Company. In taking this side of the question, the gallant General has certainly evinced his entire superiority to any thing like an *esprit du corps;* and shown, not only that he can judge, with the most perfect freedom, of the conduct of that body by whose favour he has been promoted to so many honourable and lucrative situations, but also that the Company, in selecting its servants for high and advantageous situations, is guided entirely by a sense of their merits and qualifications, and does not require either the sacrifice or the suppression of opinions which it may regard as hostile to its peculiar interests.

The acknowledged ability of this writer, and the various important stations he filled in India, by enabling him to procure the most authentic information, have induced us to pay great attention to the argumentative part of his work; and our desire to do justice to his arguments is augmented, by their militating against the known inclinations of the Company. One naturally expects, that an officer who has risen to such eminence in their

service, must have detected enormous abuses, or experienced the fatal effects of their impolicy, before he could adopt such views. It shall be our endeavour to submit to the public, with the most rigid impartiality, all that General Malcolm objects to that body. Our high esteem for the writer renders it impossible that we should be guilty of intentional misrepresentation; and although we shall have occasion to show that his inferences are not always legitimate, nor his deductions admissible, it is impossible to deny that his work contains many acute remarks, and many valuable suggestions.

The Introduction comprises a brief sketch of the history of the Company up to the year 1784. It is mostly taken from the writers who have been hostile to that body; and charges them chiefly with having sometimes procured their charter by corruption, and having sometimes asserted their exclusive privileges with unjustifiable severity. We believe all this to have happened: But we really do not believe, what General Malcolm appears to insinuate, that the charter could not have been obtained by fair means, or that such severities were the *natural* or necessary fruits of its existence. The arguments for a joint stock and exclusive privilege in those days of early enterprise, were, 1st, That the expensive equipments for an India voyage, with a cargo consisting chiefly of bullion, and the slowness of its returns, rendered it altogether impracticable to the capital of private adventurers. 2d, That the necessity of the vessels returning at the proper season, obliged them to erect factories, where the goods which were not sold might be deposited, and where the goods purchased for the returning voyage might be stored until the arrival of the ships. 3d, That all those factories required a civil establishment for the management of their concerns, and guards for their protection, at a great additional expense. 4th, That they were situated on the territories of many independent princes, from whom a license to trade was to be purchased, and their favour conciliated by valuable presents. 5th, That all their efforts for this purpose would have been rendered unavailing, by the misconduct of other traders, who, having no interest in the permanence of a commerce in which they might never again be engaged, would be perpetually liable to offend these princes or their subjects, from licentiousness or rapacity; whilst the civil agents were made responsible for the acts of persons over whom they had no control, although belonging to the same nation; and whatever privileges they had acquired, would again be resumed. Such, we believe, were the arguments adduced in favour of a joint stock, and exclusive privileges; and we really think them sufficiently strong and plausible, not to have required the aid of a bribe to procure them a hearing.

The whole of this discussion, however, is perfectly irrelevant to any question of a practical nature that can arise at the present day; and to judge of the present Directors, by those who governed the Company's affairs a century ago, would be just as extravagant as to judge of the principles of Mr Perceval's administration by those which actuated Lord Clarendon or Cardinal Wolsey. The actual acquisition of a vast independent territory, undoubtedly supersedes one whole class of those arguments; but it is not to be forgotten, that it was by the Company, acting upon those views of policy, that the acquisition was made; and the truth is, that it is nothing but the brilliant success of the Company which has induced us to think that we may now dispense with its existence.

With regard to the other head, of their unjustifiable severities, the conclusion which General Malcolm has drawn from it, appears to be a little partial and precipitate. 'What has been 'said,' says our author, 'of the history of the Company, 'shows, in a very strong light, not only the origin, but the 'character of their early power; and proves the urgent neces-'sity which existed, from the earliest period of their associa-'tion, for the strict and constant interference of the Legisla-'ture of the country, to check excesses by which the national 'character of England was so exposed to injury.' Now, without meaning to palliate the particular instances of misconduct to which General Malcolm refers, we may be permitted to doubt, whether the proceedings of the Company, even at that period when they are all taken into view, were not upon the whole more honourable than injurious to the national character of England; —and to ask, whether it was quite fair to keep entirely out of sight those particulars in which they were entitled to praise? —Who is there but must admire the undaunted perseverance with which the Company long struggled against every difficulty; —the neglect of government—the dissolution of all government—the powerful tyranny of the Dutch in the Indian seas—and the constant infraction of those privileges which were then, at least, indispensable to their existence;—preserving, under circumstances of extreme discouragement, their small settlement at Madras—the germ of future empire—the theatre for the future display of the military talents of a Lawrence and a Clive?—What but this undaunted perseverance, prevented the whole of the Indian trade from centering in the Dutch?—Does General Malcolm really imagine, that, without a joint stock and exclusive privileges, England would at this day have possessed one foot of land in Hindostan? Private adventurers would never have thought of more than a precarious trade of speculation,

resumed and relinquished in proportion to the facility with which commercial capital might find employment nearer home. Government never would have aimed at the establishment of distant settlements, in the centre of populous countries, where every inch of ground would be contested by the native princes. A permanent Company trading on a joint stock, influenced by remote considerations of profit, and capable of adopting and enforcing one uniform system of policy, furnished the only means of founding the mighty empire which Great Britain now possesses in the East.—But to proceed to the proper business of the work.

'It has been observed,' says General Malcolm, 'by one of our great statesmen (Mr Pitt), that any plan which could be suggested for the government of a country so situated as the British empire in the East, must be inadequate; that in such a case, no theoretical perfection could be imagined, much less executed; and that the option of a form of government, was only a choice of inconveniencies. But a conviction of the truth of this general observation, should rouse, instead of discouraging, the minds of those to whom this great and difficult work is assigned; and while it reconciles them to the necessity of changes in a system, which was declaredly deemed, by those even by whom it was established, as an experiment, it ought to elevate them to efforts proportionate to the performance of the most arduous task which has perhaps ever been attempted by human wisdom.

'It is the object of this work, to afford information to those upon whom this important labour must devolve; and to elucidate (as well as the author can) the political principles upon which the government of British India has been conducted, since the introduction of Mr Pitt's bill in 1784.'

Such being our author's intention, it becomes necessary to ascertain what the precise object of Mr Pitt's bill was,—in other words, what evils it was meant to remedy;—and really we should not have thought this a task of great difficulty. It is now about a year since we took occasion to offer a few observations on an able and instructive publication by the Earl of Lauderdale, 'On the Government of India.' That Noble Lord maintains, 'That it was the primary object of Parliament, in 'the act of 1784, to enforce the prohibition of all schemes of 'conquest and enlargement of dominion, as well as those in-'junctions in favour of moderation of conduct towards the na-'tive princes, which had uniformly distinguished the orders of 'the Court of Directors, and which had been so strongly ap-'plauded in the resolutions of the House of Commons.' In support of this opinion, his Lordship cites these resolutions; quotes the distinct and emphatic preamble of the act itself,

'That, to pursue schemes of conquest, and extension of domi-'nion, in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the ho-'nour, and policy of the nation;' and appeals to the debates in Parliament which took place when the act was passed. Not being ourselves aware of the possibility of adopting any other opinion, we very sincerely regret that General Malcolm has not stated what *he* conceives to have been the primary object of that act; since it is quite clear, that he does not consider the one stated by Lord Lauderdale to have formed any part of it; for he speaks with approbation of the statute; while his objections to the conduct of the Directors are chiefly founded upon their rigid adherence to what Lord Lauderdale asserts to have been its primary object and design, *viz.* the discouragement of all schemes of conquest, and all encroachments on the authority of the native powers.

We had hopes of remedying this deficiency, and of collecting General Malcolm's idea of the real purport of the act, by referring to his account of Mr Hastings's government, the complaints against which were known to have suggested this enactment. All that he says, however, upon that subject is as follows.

'The most strenuous advocates,' says our author, 'of this distinguished person, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge, that the whole system of the government over which he presided was corrupt, and full of abuses. The control, or rather right of superintendance, given by the act of 1774, to his Majesty's Ministers, had tended more to increase, than diminish, the radical defects of the system. The Ministers were vested with a right of interference; but had little, if any, responsibility with respect to the conduct of the Indian government. Their favour and aid were indispensable to the Governor-General; and to secure its continuance, it became necessary that, in addition to the friends of the Directors of the Company, those of the Ministers of the Crown should be served. Thus the exercise of his patronage in India became the chief, if not the only means, through which the Governor-General could expect support in England; and the canvassing nature of the constitution of that country made it unlikely, that any minister would cast away such a source of strength, as a share in the rich appointments of the East.'

This, however, it is obvious, throws no light on General Malcolm's opinion as to the real object of the act of 1784; since whatever might be the abuses it was intended to remedy, that of the excessive patronage of the minister certainly was not one of them; although we fully admit its unfavourable operation, to the extent he has stated.

'The best mode of judging every system of this nature,' says General Malcolm, 'is by its practical result: And a cursory view of the principal events which have occurred in the government of India

since the introduction of Mr. Pitt's bill, will be the best comment upon the merits and defects of a measure, which, it never must be forgotten, was deemed, as I have before stated, by its great author as an experiment; and one in which, from the difficulty of the task, human wisdom could hardly venture to anticipate success.'

But before we proceed to correct our author's opinion of the practical result of this measure, it will not be irrelevant to inquire what opinion was entertained of it by its author. If the act of 1784 was an experiment, that of 1793, in which its provisions were substantially renewed, must have been the result of a conviction that the experiment had succeeded. The practical result, then, corresponded, in Mr Pitt's opinion, with the views of the Legislature in its enactment, when his colleague declared, that the Company was 'an organ of government and of trade, 'which had experimentally proved itself to be suited to the ad-'ministration of distant provinces, the revenues of which were 'to be realized through a regulated commerce.'

We have now, we believe, gone through all the preliminary considerations to which we find it necessary to advert. The body of General Malcolm's work comprises a perspicuous and instructive narrative of the political views and negotiations of each succeeding Governor-General, from the passing of the act of 1784. To the purely historical part, we have no intention of calling the attention of our readers. Such of them as are interested in Indian affairs, will peruse it with much satisfaction. The materials are derived from the most authentic sources, and the narrative comprised in a plain and unaffected style, suited to the importance of the subject. The immediate object, however, is to determine, whether, in point of fact, the political affairs of India have been prosperously and wisely administered since the passing of the act 1784;—and, if they have not, whether the fault is imputable to the Court of Directors, to the Board of Controul, or to the Legislature itself? With this view, we shall shortly run over the several instances in which, according to our author's apprehension, inconvenience has resulted from the course of policy that was then recommended or enjoined upon its Governors.

In the year 1789, Lord Cornwallis entered into an engagement to furnish to the Nizam two battalions of Sepoys, and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans, on condition that this force should not be employed against any powers in alliance with the Company. Now, Tipu Sultan was *not* in the number of their allies. 'The literal construction of the restrictions of 'the act of Parliament,' observes our author, 'had, upon this 'occasion, the effect of making the Governor-General pursue 'a course, which was perhaps not only questionable in point of

'faith, but which must have been more offensive to Tipu Sultan, and more calculated to produce a war with that prince, 'than an avowed contract of a defensive engagement framed 'for the express and legitimate purpose of limiting his inordinate ambition.' Although we have not the good fortune to agree with General Malcolm in any part of this observation, we may remark, that the inconvenience, if any there was, resulted from the act of the legislature. He proceeds,

'It would appear from a despatch from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Mallet, under date the 28th of February 1790, that he felt strongly at this moment the injurious operation of those restrictions, which had prevented his cultivating, at a less urgent and more favourable period, the alliance of the Peshwa.

'Some considerable advantages have, no doubt, been experienced,' his Lordship states, 'from the system of neutrality which the legislature required of the governments in this country; but it has at the same time been attended with the unavoidable inconvenience of our being constantly exposed to the necessity of commencing a war, without having previously secured the assistance of efficient allies.

'As we have been almost daily obliged, for several years past, to declare to the Mahrattas, and to the Nizam, that we were precluded from contracting any new engagements with them for affording them aid against the injustice or ambition of Tipu, I must acknowledge, that we cannot claim, as a right, the performance of those promises which the Mahrattas have repeatedly made, to cooperate with us whenever we should be forced into a war with that Prince.'

Now, it is very true, that Lord Cornwallis, in these passages, has stated, with his accustomed candour and ability, the inconveniencies resulting from the restrictions imposed by the act of 1784. But, can we for a moment imagine that the possibility of their producing such inconveniences, totally escaped the political sagacity of Mr Pitt? Must we not in fairness conclude, that after weighing the *chance* of being forced into war without allies, against the *certainty* of being involved in hostilities by defensive engagements, he and Parliament chose that measure which seemed attended with the fewest inconveniences? There can be little doubt, that, after all his experience, if Lord Cornwallis had been employed to frame an act for the government of India, the prohibitory clause would not have been omitted. The truth is, that no system of policy can reconcile incompatible advantages. Would we secure powerful allies? We must promise them our assistance in return. Would we avoid all occasions for war? We must contract no engagements likely to involve us in it. We cannot have *both* these desirable things at

the same time; and when a permanent system of policy is to be adopted, the only thing to be considered is, which of them, in our particular position, is likely to be most frequently desirable; or which of them is indispensable to our prosperity.

In speculating on the causes which induced Lord Cornwallis to treat with Tipu, instead of annihilating his power, our author assigns the disorder of the finances of his government, and the anxiety of the Directors for peace. But the first must surely involve some misconception. At that period, the Indian debt did not exceed seven millions, or less than one year's revenue. Whilst, after discharging the interest, and the whole of the civil and military disbursements, a clear surplus remained, exceeding one million Sterling, applicable to commercial purposes.

The next evil resulting from the system of neutrality, prescribed by the legislature and cordially approved of by the Court of Directors, our author shall state himself.

'The independent power of Madhuji Sindia, which was first recognized by the British government in the treaty of Salbhye, was matured during the government of Lord Cornwallis; who declaredly governed by that system of neutrality which the legislature had so rigidly prescribed, and does not appear to have thought himself at liberty to make even a political effort to prevent that Chief's aggrandizement. The consequence was, the complete establishment of Sindiah's power over the northern parts of Hindustan; the possession, by that Chief, of the person of the Emperor of Dehli; the formation of a large and formidable corps of regular infantry under European officers, chiefly French; the erection of founderies and arsenals; in short, the accumulation of those vast powers and resources, which enabled his immediate successor to carry on a war at the same moment in the Decan and Hindustan against the British government and its allies.'

Now, we are ready to admit, that if the power of Sindia had appeared as formidable to Lord Cornwallis as our author represents it, it would have been his duty to have deviated from the system of neutrality he had adopted. But we venture to affirm, that he never considered it in this light. Whoever recollects that all the power of Sindia was then unable to effect the reduction of a few Rajput princes, seated in the centre of his newly acquired dominions, and of no very warlike character, may judge of his probable success in an attempt on the English dominions.

The government of Lord Cornwallis commenced in 1786, and terminated in 1793. In conformity to the plan of his work, General Malcolm only adverts to his Lordship's foreign policy. But this formed but a slight feature in his administration.

Times of public prosperity supply few materials for the historian. It is the justice and good faith which marked all his public acts; the substitution of a permanent revenue for a fluctuating assessment; the foundation which he laid for permanent judicial arrangements; the patient investigation of the complaints of the natives; the speedy redress which ensued, however powerful the delinquent; the rigid economy which regulated all his measures; the superintending mind which pervaded every branch of the service, and seemed to inspire all those who acted under him with the same ardour in the promotion of his great and benevolent designs,—that form the real character of that nobleman's administration. We admit, that his government furnishes no criterion to judge of the wisdom of Mr Pitt's act. No plan could well be prejudicial, the execution of which was entrusted to such hands.

The government of his successor, Lord Teignmouth, was marked by the same undeviating observance of the system of neutrality prescribed by the letter and spirit of the act under which he held his appointment. This affords our author a fair opportunity, of which he avails himself with great ability, to state the inconveniences resulting from that system; and accordingly, it is to that system that he attributes the revival of the military resources, the hostile projects, and the active intrigues of Tipu Sultan. He also ascribes to it the diminution of the Nizam's power, and of his confidence in the support of the British government; the subversion of the Peshwa's authority by Dawlet Row Sindia, and the alarming increase of his power, already too formidable to the Company. The establishment of bodies of regular infantry, inured to discipline under French officers, in the service of the Nizam and Sindia, is attributed to the same forbearance. The policy, of which General Malcolm approves, would have averted all those sources of alarm. Ever alive to the transactions of surrounding states, no change should be in contemplation without the interference of the English government, either by remonstrances or preparations. No dispute should occur without the Governor-General appearing either as party or umpire. The military force necessary to support this meddling policy, should at all times be in readiness to act; and each remote danger be a justifiable ground of immediate war. By adopting the converse of the celebrated Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1782, we should nearly arrive at the system of policy we would describe. Not that we have any idea that General Malcolm, whose benevolence we believe to be as eminent as his talents, would ever give his sanction to such maxims, when presented in the form

of abstract propositions. Yet, in proportion as we recede from a system of neutrality, we shall find daily more causes for interference, fresh claims for protection, and new wrongs to revenge. Who is there so blind as not to perceive that it leads, by a natural, but inevitable progression, to the entire subjugation of all India? —But is this, then, we may be asked, so alarming a consequence? Certainly; if our opinion be correct, that every addition to the territories acquired by, or before, the Dewanni grants, endangers their stability in the same proportion that it ensures their misgovernment;—in other words, that beyond these limits the security of our possessions is in the inverse ratio of their extent. We advert here simply to political considerations, without attending to the dictates of good faith or justice; or weighing the possibility of establishing a good practical government, beneficial to the inhabitants. Our alarms are solely founded on the great probability of intestine commotions, convulsing to its centre an empire so unwieldy, and combined by such slender associations. Of Lord Teignmouth's government it may be correctly affirmed, that its policy was in strict unison with the intentions of the Legislature; and that, whilst that policy was persevered in, the advantages expected from it were realized, whilst no bad consequences were experienced.

After what we have already stated, it is almost superfluous to add, that the administration of Lord Wellesley, which lasted from April 1798 to August 1805, realizes the '*beau ideal*' of our author's conceptions; and that the Legislature, the Company, and all former Governors-General seem to be arraigned by the gallant General chiefly for the purpose of extolling that policy, and holding it out as a model to all other governors. Now, we happen to think, that it is possible to join in the encomium, without acquiescing in the justice of the censure; and are ready, in truth, to approve of much of Lord Wellesley's proceedings, —at the same time that we entertain the opinion we have taken the liberty to express, of the conduct of his predecessors. The truth is, that although we utterly deny that it would have been either wise or justifiable in Lord Cornwallis, or his immediate successor, to deviate from the strict system of neutrality prescribed by the Legislature, we are ready to admit, that at the period when Lord Wellesley assumed the functions of government, a new and highly important element, that was not at all contemplated when the act 1784 was passed, began to mix itself in all calculations of national policy;—the probability of the French landing a military force on the coast of Malabar,—the possibility of a large army reaching the banks of the Indus by land. We are not of the number of those who have considered this danger as visionary, at any period, from the establishment of the exe-

cutive directory in 1795, until the commencement of the war in the peninsula of Spain. And our opinion is founded on the following data: 1*st*, On the universal opinion in France of the practicability and expediency of the measure; and that such an attempt entered into the plans of the government. 2*dly*, On the exaggerated importance which every individual in that country attaches to the connexion subsisting between England and India. 3*dly*, On the exalted enthusiasm generated by the Revolution, which, during its shortlived effervescence, seemed to ensure success; and to render enterprises more desireable, in proportion to their hazard and difficulty. 4*thly*, On the invasion of Egypt, and the overtures made by Buonaparte to Tipu Sultan, from that country. 5*th*, On the proof which this expedition afforded of the practicability of a French squadron eluding the vigilance of a British fleet. 6*th*, On the attachment of a considerable portion of the French army to commanders disgusted with the ruling power; men who, though dangerous at home, might safely be trusted to promote the national interests abroad. And, 7*th*, On the expense and solicitude with which every measure was adopted, calculated to facilitate an overland expedition. But it is needless to say, that whenever the appearance of a French army on the scene, is admitted to be an event neither impossible, nor very improbable, the political situation of India must undoubtedly have presented to Lord Wellesley a subject of anxious contemplation. Tipu Sultan was decidedly hostile to the English, and attached to their enemies, whose maritime possessions furnished a secure debarkation, in a territory where they would be received as deliverers. Sindia and the Nizam were the only other powers in India whose military force was considerable: But the most formidable portion of that force was under the direction of French officers; and although this circumstance might not be very important in the actual circumstances of India, it became of immeasureable consequence when connected with the idea of invasion. Our allies, in the natural progression of affairs, had declined into a state of miserable dependence; and, to render the resources of Oude and the Carnatic either available or permanent, the most efficacious measure which could be adopted, was the supercession of that authority, which we had ourselves been the means of creating and supporting.

Upon the whole, then, our view of the policy which has been pursued in India since 1784, may be summed up in the following propositions, which we rather think may be safely adopted by all who are at liberty to regard nothing but truth and justice in the formation of their political opinions. 1*st*, That the sys-

tem of neutrality prescribed by the Legislature in 1784, and so cordially approved of by the Court of Directors, was at that time the wisest and most applicable to the posture of the Company's affairs. 2*d*, That during Lord Cornwallis's government, no circumstance occurred which required, or would have justified, a deviation from that policy;—Tipu's attack on the lines of Travancore being a case provided for in the act: and the assistance he derived from the Nizam and Mahrattas, in the hostile operations which ensued, fully demonstrated that defensive treaties were not necessary to secure efficient allies. 3*d*, That the inconveniences which might have resulted from Lord Teignmouth's perseverance in the same pacific system were remote and contingent; whilst any attempt to obviate them must, in all probability, have terminated in an expensive warfare. 4*thly*, That the invasion of Egypt by Buonaparte, about the time that Lord Wellesley assumed the reins of government, materially changed the political aspect of affairs: that a more active system of policy then became requisite: that the embassy sent by Tipu to the Mauritius, with the evasive and unsatisfactory replies of that prince to our remonstrances, completely justified the hostile measures so ably planned and executed, which terminated in his overthrow.

Thus far, as we have already said, we are disposed to join in the eulogium of that nobleman; but after these admissions, it must be recollected, that the subsequent measures of his busy administration were the effect of choice, and not the result of necessity. To judge of their propriety, reference must be had to the actual strength which they have superadded to the British dominion; and this must be weighed against the financial embarrassments they have entailed on the East India Company. The manner in which they have affected the national character for justice, moderation and good faith, should also constitute an important element in such a discussion. That the period was arrived when a strict adherence to neutral policy became impracticable, is our decided conviction. But whether Lord Wellesley did not do more than was necessary; whether all he did was really useful; and whether it might not have been done at much less expense,—are inquiries which our limits forbid us to enter upon.

Whatever political advantages may be supposed to have resulted from the measures of Lord Wellesley, one fact was incontrovertible, that nothing could avert the speedy ruin of the East India Company, but an immediate recurrence to those principles of economy which could alone render territorial possessions in India of any value. The character of his successor

abundantly demonstrated the sentiments of the ruling authorities at home, on that subject. On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in August 1805, he found that Sindia had infringed the treaty concluded with his predecessor, by an act of the most hostile nature; that Holcar, though discomfited, still menaced the security of the Company's possessions with predatory incursions; and that, in the extensive theatre on which hostile operations had been pursued, a number of petty chiefs, by the aid which they afforded, had obtained claims on the justice, or the generosity, of the English government, which could only be satisfied by a perpetual state of military preparation, and the hazard of a renewal of hostilities with their more powerful neighbours. The short interval which elapsed between the arrival of this patriotic nobleman, and his death, afforded only an indication of the sacrifices he was willing to make to secure an honourable and lasting peace. To disengage the Company from the complicated difficulties of their situation, was the task bequeathed to his successor,—with the knowledge of the views and principles on which, if a life so important to his country had been prolonged, Lord Cornwallis would have acted.

Sir George Barlow assumed the reins of administration in October 1805,—and, at the close of the year, had terminated the war, which had continued with little interruption during the six years preceding, and of which every part of India, with the exception of the English possessions, had been, in its turn, the theatre. To avoid whatever might occasion a renewal of war; to relinquish possessions situated so as to invite incursion; to decline defensive alliances; and to substitute compensations in territory for claims of protection, were the avowed principles, on which, as far as circumstances permitted, his negociations proceeded. In his anxiety to avoid occasions for future wars, he is accused of having impaired the national character for good faith, by withdrawing his protection from the Rajah of Jayapur, and from the petty chief of Bûndi. We are unable to judge how far this accusation is well founded; but the difficulty of reverting to a system of pacific neutrality, after having roused to arms every independent chief in India, is too apparent to require proof.

After having said so much in favour of the old-fashioned measures of neutrality and moderation, we think it would be unjust to General Malcolm if we were to conclude, without allowing him to state, in his own energetic language, the nature and objects of the very opposite policy he would recommend in the government of our eastern empire.

'There would hardly appear' (says he) 'to be a greater, and

more noble object for the exercise of human wisdom; or one more worthy of all the attention of a great state, than that of establishing and maintaining, through the action of its influence and power, union and tranquillity over a considerable portion of the globe; and of bringing to nations, whom it found involved in continual discord and war, the blessings of harmony and peace. This we may never be able completely to effect; but there is no danger in a course of prudent policy, which keeps so great an object in view: and a state of perfect security against external attack would be the reward of its accomplishment. When the unparalleled successes, which attended Lord Wellesley's administration of India, placed the British power upon so commanding an eminence, his ardent mind naturally contemplated the attainment of this great end.'

Now, in spite of our perfect conviction of the entire sincerity with which those sentiments are expressed, and our deep sense of the distinguished talents of the author who has expressed them, we will confess that we can scarcely refrain from smiling, to find him thus repeating the ordinary *formula*, in which ambitious conquerors have in all ages proclaimed their love of peace and of their brethren. When Alexander had subdued the world, and, after annexing what portions of it he thought fit to his own dominions, parcelled out the rest to tributary sovereigns, it was doubtless his intention, that a long period of peace and uninterrupted tranquillity should ensue. Why do we complain at this moment of the turbulent ambition of Buonaparte? What but peace, under his control and influence, is the object of all his exertions! We may rest perfectly assured, that, if ever his will shall become the law of Europe, it will not contain within its limits a more powerful advocate for tranquillity and concord. The truth is, that independent states are generally extremely ungrateful to the great men in their neighbourhood, who take the trouble of forming plans for their future welfare. They have an unlucky propensity to being happy in their own way, and to managing their own affairs themselves. The benevolent plans of the French emperor for the improvement and happiness of the human race, are perversely counteracted by every nation who can, and who dare counteract them. The administration of Lord Wellesley was a period of uninterrupted warfare. We are perfectly aware of the millennium which was intended to succeed to all this disturbance; but we never could tell exactly when this millennium was to begin.

The last chapter of General Malcolm's book is a corollary deduced from the historical information communicated in those which precede it, and also suggests a variety of considerations on other topics which may be deserving of attention at the expiration of the charter. The first subject to which he adverts is the nature

of the constituted authorities at home. This portion of his work is by no means remarkable for perspicuity. We collect from it, however, that in our author's opinion, although the adoption of all political measures ultimately rests with the Board of Controul, they may suffer in their execution from the privilege the Directors retain, of stating their sentiments on their expedience. This privilege, therefore, we conclude, General Malcolm is disposed to abolish. 'The opposite causes of action, which influence those two authorities, must often make it difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile them to the same course of action. His Majesty's ministers will naturally view every political measure adopted in India, as it appears likely to promote the general interests of the nation, more than as it immediately affects the separate interests of the Company; to which the attention of the directors will, on the other hand, be almost exclusively turned: And it must be difficult to conciliate their approbation to any political measure, which has the least injurious operation, of even a temporary nature, upon their commerce or finances.'

For our own parts, we cannot help believing, that what is best for India, is best also for England, as the sovereign or administrator of that country.—But the important thing to be considered is this,—that although a steady and consistent system of policy be expedient in all cases, it is really indispensable in the government of such a country as India, by any European nation. Every fluctuation, whether of internal regulation or of foreign policy, unhinges the minds of the natives; they consider each as only a prelude to still wider deviations from a system which they had been taught to regard as permanent. It reminds them of the novelty of the rule, of the inexperience of their rulers, and gives a character of instability to all our institutions, absolutely fatal to their successful operation. Now, it is a fact equally curious and certain, that amidst the opposite views, and conflicting principles of the different administrations that have succeeded each other during the present reign; amidst the warlike and pacific plans, the economical or profuse arrangements, the meddling or the neutral policy successively adopted by their governors abroad,—the orders of the Court of Directors have uniformly breathed the same spirit of moderation, and attention to economy, which distinguishes them at present.

We do not pretend to say, that a body, nominated as the Court of Directors is, would naturally strike one, as being particularly well fitted to direct the councils of a great empire, situated on the other side of the globe: and it is very likely

that similar, or still more beneficial effects, might result from transferring the task to some other body equally unconnected with the fluctuation of party politics.—But in whatever way the management of this distant empire is to be engrafted on the general government, we do think that the existence of some such intermediate body is essentially necessary to resist the torrent of innovation to which it would otherwise be exposed.

The President of the Board of Controul is one of his majesty's ministers. Each change of administration may therefore be expected to furnish a new one. But to obtain even a slight acquaintance with the political state of India, the military arrangements, the judicial and financial regulations, and the commercial establishments, would be the work of months; to enable even a mind of the quickest perception to legislate upon them, that of years. It may fairly be doubted, whether many of the noble persons who have filled that station had acquired, when they left office, the information necessary to enable them to form a correct opinion, on any one point on which it was their province to decide. The late and the present Lord Melville, from the length of time they have filled that station,—and Mr Tierney, from the attention he had previously bestowed on the Company's affairs, were perfectly competent to appreciate any measure proposed: but the convenience of ministerial arrangements very seldom bend to the consideration of what appointment is most conducive to the prosperity of India.

We cannot quit the valuable work on which we have ventured so long to comment, without entreating the attention of those to whom it belongs, to the important and judicious suggestions of General Malcolm, on the means of securing the attachment and fidelity of the native army, and particularly the native officers, who form the principal link in the chain that binds India to England. These suggestions appear to us to be founded in a deep and thorough knowledge, not only of the peculiar character and prejudices of those orientals, but of human nature in general; and prove the author to be as amiably attentive to the comfort and happiness of the individuals under his command, as he is professionally zealous for their efficiency and honour.

ART. IV. *The Speech of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in the House of Lords, on the Catholic Question, on Tuesday, April 21st, 1812. With Proofs and Illustrations.* Asperne, London.

WE have already written so much upon the Catholic question, that no common author could have induced us to resume

the subject: But when the Sons of Kings write books, silence would be disloyalty, and unwise neglect. It is of the utmost consequence for ordinary men to be made acquainted with the political opinions of personages so much elevated above their own sphere: It teaches them whom they may censure, and whom they must respect; it enables them to appretiate fairly the chances of improvement; and shows them where they are to look for counsel and conduct in the great emergencies of the State.

The speech of his Royal Highness now before us, evinces a considerable share of talent, and a still greater portion of reading, and industry; but it evinces still more strongly (what is of much higher value), a thorough knowledge of, and a profound regard for the interests of civil and religious liberty, and a rooted hatred of every thing which has the appearance of intolerance. It is impossible to say how much we respect, in a Royal Personage, the good sense, and goodness of nature, which cherish these feelings, and the honesty which makes them public;—they are creditable in the humblest individual; and infinitely more creditable to one who lives in a station where justice is so seldom palatable, and where truth so seldom penetrates.

'If on us, then, my Lords (says the Royal Duke), this task is to fall; if to us, in the midst of those difficulties, our fellow-subjects appeal for support, comfort and redress; let us show to the world at large, let us prove by our actions, let us convince Europe, more particularly appalled at this momentous crisis, that there does still exist a free country, an independent nation, in whose bosom, wisdom, justice, and generosity, still love to dwell, and fondly build their nests; that from that country, a light can, and will, go forth, to dispel and expose the dismal, the pestilential, and atrocious effects of tyranny, oppression, and atheism; and that those benefits, which elsewhere have been allowed by the all-wise, all-merciful, and all-powerful Director of human events to appear as originating in accident, and have been managed with the most refined Machiavelism, owe their rise and progress in this blessed island to a more pure, a more dignified, a more noble cause—to real unfeigned Christian charity, founded on the blessed word of our Saviour, who came to save, not to destroy man.

'I am well aware, my Lords, that the man who ventures to speak the truth to contending interests, must expect the resentment of the fanatics on both sides;—those men who, losing sight of all religion, transfer the name to the secondary objects of their idolatrous doctrines, and veil their polluted politics with the sacred mantle of Christianity.

'To their resentment I know I am exposed; but the man who eels the *amor patriæ*, who disinterestedly and sincerely has the prosperity, glory and welfare of the nation at heart, should brave the

danger, if he thinks he can be of any use; and, arming himself with the courage of a Curtius, plunge into the gulf, should his country and his duty require it of him.

'Inspired with these sentiments; fully acquainted with the political causes, which placed that branch of the family, to whom I have the honour to belong, on the throne of these United kingdoms; and professing the religion of the country as by law established, with which I am satisfied,—considering it the most perfect, as long as I believe, and I am convinced, that it is the most charitable,—I think myself called upon to explain to your Lordships, the motives and considerations which determine my vote upon this great question.' p. 5, 6.

We sincerely hope these remarks were delivered in the hearing of those Bishops who, in the discharge of their official functions, are said to be using every possible exertion to exasperate their clergy against the Catholics, and to spread the spirit of religious hatred into every corner of their dioceses; a practice most disgraceful to the individuals who are guilty of it; and which admits of no other cure, than a more equal distribution of the profits of Episcopal Sees.

His Royal Highness then proceeds to lay down the rules of toleration; contending that the wisest and soundest policy is to leave all religions quietly to themselves; that the State has no right to exercise its authority over the private opinion of any individual; but merely to notice those acts which may endanger and disturb the regularity and good order of a civilized community. He then states, that the *temporal* supremacy of the Pope is so far from admitted by Catholic princes, that it has in all ages been vigorously resisted by every king who had the smallest possession of power, or pretension to spirit. Of this, many striking instances are produced;—among which, we were most pleased with the very laconic threat of Charles the VI. of France to Pope John the XXII. John, it seems, had caused to be preached some doctrines favourable to the Milesium; and Charles, to whom these doctrines were unpleasant, instead of putting forth his clergy against him with visitation charges, and the ponderous illegibility of controversial books, sent him in one line the spirit of polemical writing—*Retracte—ou je te ferai ardre.*

The Royal Duke then proceeds to refute the usual notions entertained by Protestants of what the Catholics mean by the infallibility of the Pope. He examines the charge of their authorized treachery to heretics—states the strong affinity between the Catholic and Protestant religion—and urges, very forcibly and properly, the inconsistency of fighting for Spanish and Portuguese Catholics, while we are denying a participation of ci-

vil rights to our own Catholics, and accusing them of every horrid principle which can degrade and vilify human nature.

'Did we not' (says this honest and enlightened Prince) 'send our troops to prop up in Italy what we constantly wish to extirpate, oppress, and coerce here?

'Did we not succour the Pope with our fleet and armies?

'Do we not act with, and assist the Portuguese and Spanish Catholics, endeavouring to protect them against the grasping ambition of France, which has aspired to monopolize all other powers in the world; or, at least, to make them subservient to her own political views?

'What are we fighting for?—the maintenance and defence of Catholic religion and property all over Europe.

'Why then, my Lords, at the very moment we are making these protestations and exertions, in the same breath should our acts at home belie the sincerity of them?

'My Lords—I may be warm on the subject, but I am pleading the cause of some millions of people, who are deprived of many rights of citizens, and of course the greatest part of their interests in the constitution, to which they were born; which is certainly not conformable to the declared principles of the Revolution.' p. 22.

How noble and honourable are these sentiments in the mouth of an English Prince! and at a time, too, when he might have gained so much favour from millions of foolish persons, by feeding antiquated prejudices, and gratifying malignant feelings of exclusion. The conduct of the Duke of Sussex, on this occasion, cannot be too highly estimated, or too long remembered. Princes are surrounded by so many sources of corruption—they are so apt to be debauched by the love of popularity—to mingle in the low intrigues of a Court, or to give themselves up to the love of pleasure—they are so obnoxious to the temptations of ostentation, indolence, obliquity and sensuality—that their wisdom, their industry, and their bold love of justice, can scarcely ever receive a sufficient tribute of public praise. We most earnestly exhort his Royal Highness to proceed as he has begun: He will infallibly gain the approbation and respect of all wise and good men; and they, in the end, are the makers of fame.

As for the cause which his Royal Highness has so ably and honourably defended, we cannot but be of opinion, that it has gained ground very considerably within the last year. The divisions, in the two Houses of Parliament, render it clear to those who are its enemies from the love of office, as well as to those who are its enemies from principle, that it must ultimately, and ere long, be completely triumphant. Hitherto, all investigation into the wrongs complained of by the Catholics has

been entirely resisted. The investigation, however, will now probably be conceded: And though every effort which cunning and bigotry can suggest will undoubtedly be put in practice to effect a disagreement upon the terms of the emancipation, this will fail, like every other effort: And the Catholic Question and the Slave Trade will remain ever memorable instances of what courage, perseverance, and the love of justice, may always effect in a country where freedom of discussion is still permitted upon such subjects.

ART. V. *Sixth Report of the Directors of the African Institution; read at the Annual General Meeting on the 25th of March* 1812. *To which are added, an Appendix and a List of Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 178. London. Hatchard. 1812.

IT gives us sincere pleasure to resume, from time to time, our notices of the proceedings of this excellent and useful Institution; both because we thereby obtain fit opportunities of keeping the attention of our readers directed towards the important subjects of Africa and the West Indies, and because we always find materials for extending our knowledge of that unexplored continent. The latter reason will be found peculiarly applicable to the present publication, which is inferior, in importance and originality, to none of those that preceded it.

Before proceeding to the proper subject of this article, we must remark, that a change appears to have taken place in the office of Secretary of the Institution. We regret to find that Mr Macaulay is no longer able to continue the discharge of those duties, which he had with distinguished ability performed, at great personal loss and inconvenience, since the beginning of the Institution. Any praise of ours, however, would be unavailing, after that honourable testimony borne to his merits in the unanimous resolution passed at the General Meeting, which is inserted at p. iv. of the volume before us. Mr Macaulay had formerly refused a similar testimony of regard, voted at the General Meeting of 1810; about which time, he also, with a disinterestedness rare indeed, abandoned to the actual captors his share of a large pecuniary penalty incurred by a slave trader. He is succeeded in the office of Secretary by Mr Harrison of Queen's College; a gentleman of distinguished reputation at the University, and who having recently quitted the Bar, is enabled to bestow an undivided attention upon the duties of his new employment.

Our attention is, as usual, first directed to the execution of

the Abolition laws—the great pillar of African civilization—indeed, the point from which the course of improvement in that vast continent may be said to spring. That the English traders are at last checked, we believe, cannot be doubted. They will not risk a conviction of felony, and sentence of transportation to Botany Bay. The American government, too, having abolished the traffic, and the decision in the noted case of the Amedie having shown British cruizers in what manner they may enforce the American prohibition,—few vessels bearing that flag are now engaged in it, compared with the former amount. But, on the other hand, a prodigious slave trade is still carried on by those famous allies of ours, the Portuguese and Spaniards. Cuba is daily extending her cultivation—the Brazils are more and more crowded with miserable victims. In short, so thriving is this enormity, that the Directors do not hesitate to state, from their own information, that between 70,000 and 80,000 negroes were carried over in the year 1810. This dreadful commerce was confined chiefly to the coast between Cape Palmas and Benguela. The Portuguese treaty confines the trade in vessels of that nation to places actually in possession of the Portuguese crown; and had it not been for the small island of Bissao, (a place of no earthly value, except for the purposes of the slave trade), this traffic must have been wholly destroyed to the northward of the equator. This islet, however, has become an *entrepôt* for all the slave merchants whom the vigilance of our cruizers has driven from the other parts of the coast; and though the treaty nominally excludes the Portuguese from every part of the coast north of the equator, except Bissao, this denunciation is of little avail, while they can smuggle over negroes from all parts of the coast, in canoes, to Bissao; from whence they have a right to transport them in open day to the Brazils. Mark the baneful effects of this exception. Bissao is situated at the mouth of the Rio Grande. An intelligent naval officer lately visited its banks; and he describes the devastation which prevails there, as exceeding all belief. He distinctly states, that 'the country, on both banks, 'is quite unpeopled by the slave trade.'

Now, there is nothing like putting the case home to ourselves. Suppose the French had got possession of the little island called the Bugio, at the mouth of the Tagus; and, without any pretext even of a quarrel with Portugal, were to assemble an immense force in that river, sufficient to overpower all resistance, and every night were to send some hundreds of boats to scour the shores, and carry off two hundred of the stoutest and healthiest and happiest of the people in Lisbon,

and its neighbourhood; and suppose this were to last, without interruption, for two years, so that those banks which used to swarm with Portuguese, became a perfect desert, the few whom the French left having perished helplessly by famine and disease. Suppose, moreover, that instead of carrying off all the captives to fight or serve in France and Germany, the spoilers hurried them away in the most crowded vessels, where they were laid in chains on their backs, and scourged or screwed every time they made a noise; till, after eight weeks of such misery, they arrived in the worst of climates, and there, were lashed to pieces under a burning sun until they died, or only survived to suffer and labour more, and curse the strength of constitution which kept them from a speedier release by death.

If such a case as this were brought distinctly before us, should we not awaken all Europe with cries against France, and for the liberation of Portugal? Should we not say, that all the other oppressions of the French—all their common invasions—their spoliations and conscriptions, were a mere trifle compared with this; that human nature had put on a new shape; and that iniquity now visited us in a form which completely obliterated the recollection of every previous enormity? We will not stop to inquire what the Spaniards and Portuguese would themselves say to the matter; but certain it is, that the case we have been putting is exactly that which they are at this moment exhibiting to the world, with aggravations which each circumstance of the fact, that we might add to our own enumeration, would accumulate. All that we have supposed themselves to suffer, from the French, they are at this moment daily and hourly making a people endure, to the full as virtuous and deserving as they are. Every horror that we have fancied the enemy to enrage all Europe, by exhibiting in the Tagus, our faithful allies—the friends of Spanish and Portuguese liberty, whom we are supporting with all our treasures and forces, in a struggle with comparatively insignificant evils, are hourly perpetrating in Africa, against the most innocent and peaceful creatures in the world, without ever exciting one moment's indignation in any part of Europe.—So inconsistent are the feelings of statesmen;—so ignorant or inobservant are nations of all that passes at a little distance;—and so important are the mistakes of names, by which men are led, and the sanctions of use and habit by which they are restrained!

But neither governments nor people must escape under cover of such reflections as these. It is fit that they should be roused, and taught greater consistency. They have no right to plead ignorance, or habit, or inadvertency. When they are reminded that these Africans are as much human beings—as much their fellow-creatures as if they wore a dingy brown, instead of

a shining jet black hue,—bore the features of European ugliness, instead of the marks of African beauty,—and inhabited the filth of Lisbon, instead of the uncultivated richness of the Rio Grande; then it is too late to mete out a different measure of justice or of feeling to the two races, and to sit quietly by, while the one treats the other like brute beasts. We are now at war with France, literally, because she has carried away one prince from Spain, and driven another out of Portugal;—and those Spaniards and Portuguese allies of ours, are every day carrying off princes as independent as either Ferdinand or the Braganzas; and, in addition to this, laying waste their whole territories, and actually extirpating their nations. While we make such sacrifices for Spanish and Portuguese rights;—while by our assistance alone—God knows how costly to ourselves—those liberties are saved from the common enemy; is it too much to ask leave to remind the Spaniards and Portuguese, that others as well as themselves have rights; and that the charm of liberty and independence are not confined to the Peninsula—where, to say the truth, they never have been very much enjoyed!

But it is said, we defend the Peninsula not merely from principles of justice, and from an abstract hatred of oppression, but because we consider our own interests as affected by the fate of the Spaniards and Portuguese;—and, indeed, the strange contrast of our East-Indian and our European systems of policy may seem to favour this idea. Be it so:—Admit that our motives are not quite pure—quite free from interested views—Have we then no interest in checking the slave-trade of foreign nations?—Are our West-Indian colonies nothing to us?—Or have we forgotten, that all their distresses are owing to the unnatural extension of culture by means of the African commerce? The rapid cultivation of Cuba and Brazil is as hostile to our own planters, as the free culture of the cane in our own colonies: And is it not hard upon them, that all our efforts to extirpate the trade should be confined to ourselves, while foreigners are in truth reaping the benefits of our abolition, and preparing to glut the markets with their produce?—Surely those settlements for which we have made such sacrifices, to the importance of which we have borne such unceasing testimony, by almost confining our attention to their defence and extension in every war, have not all of a sudden lost their value in our own eyes, at the very moment when their real interests are identified with those of the species itself, and the great cause of humanity and justice. This view of the subject, we confess, appears wholly subordinate in our eyes; but, se-

condary though it be, we allude to it merely to show that there is ground of interest, as well as principle, to bear out those who contend for an immediate and powerful effort to induce our allies to give up the guilty commerce of Africa.

It is however necessary here to remark, that although a considerable part of the Spanish and Portuguese slave-trade is carried on by the subjects, and with the capital of those countries, especially of the latter; and though the whole, or nearly the whole of it, be for the supply of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies; yet, in many instances, British subjects and capital, and in still more, the subjects and capital of the United States, are concerned, under the colour of the foreign flags. The high risks now attendant on such speculations, must prevent British subjects from embarking in them; and accordingly, the Directors express their confident expectation, that the Slave-trade Felony act, when carried into effect on the Coast, will take away this branch of the traffic. In America, however, the temptations of profit held out by the trade, have still to struggle only with the risks of capture, condemnation and penalties; the laws of the United States not yet regarding it as a crime. We cannot but think, that a proposition to adopt our law upon this subject would be favourably received in Congress; and if it were acceded to, and a law passed declaring slave trading felony, then it is plain that English and Americans could no longer venture to continue the crime; for our cruizers would see the law executed, by detaining for trial all persons of either nation found implicated. A large amount of what is now carried on for the Spanish and Portuguese colonies would thus be destroyed—and the English abolition rendered more effectual. The remainder would consist entirely of that which is *bonâ fide* driven by Spanish and Portuguese subjects and capital.

Before leaving this topic, we shall give a specimen of the frauds of this trade, not merely to gratify the reader's curiosity, but in the hope that it may meet the eye of some of our cruizers, and convey hints to their vigilance and zeal in detecting and repressing the traffic. It is in the case of the brig *Amelia*, alias *The Agent*, condemned at Sierra Leone. The following is the letter of instructions found on board of her, from the joint owner at Charleston to the acting partner who sailed in her. The whole concern being American, this letter will show how it was disguised.

'The voyage on which we have jointly embarked, and which is now left to your discretion, is *of a very delicate nature*, and requires the *greatest prudence and discretion*. In order to qualify the agent to bring a cargo from the Coast, it will be necessary to put her under

Portuguese colours: this, with the assistance of Messrs Sealy, Roach, and Toole, of Bahia, for whom I enclose you a letter of introduction, you will easily be able to effect. They will procure for you some *honest* Portuguese merchant, who, for a small sum, shall undertake all that is necessary for owners to do. A captain of colour, one officer, and part of the crew, in compliance with the laws, must be Portuguese; but the Portuguese captain, at the same time that he must be instructed by the pretended owner, to appear for him on all occasions in protecting the ship and property, must also be instructed not to interfere with the navigation of the ship, except at your request; and he must be put entirely under your orders. As you shall have to grant a bill of sale for the brig, when she is apparently sold, you must be very cautious to take a counter bill of sale; and again, as collateral security, a bottomry bond on the vessel for 10,000 dollars, with a power of attorney from the sham owner to you, to sell and dispose of her in any manner you shall think proper. I would wish you, besides, to take a very strong declaration in writing, witnessed by Sealy, Roach, and Toole, that the sale made by you is merely fictitious; that the cargo and her earnings are *bonâ fide* your property; which declaration must be couched so as to be a perfect quit-claim from him and his heirs for ever. The next thing I have to recommend to you, is to conduct this business with every possible caution and secrecy, and to prevent as much as possible the knowledge of it to reach either our consul or ambassador, as they might perhaps write home on the subject, and even any of the American captains who may happen to be there at the same time with you. You must therefore appear very cool and indifferent in the business, to let nothing transpire of your future plan, and act as if you were only thinking of returning home. After you have made your brig a Portuguese, you will have to take in a cargo fit for the Coast, and proceed there with every possible despatch. I enclose you a memorandum of the articles which I think will answer best for the trade, to which memorandum I have added a few observations to regulate you for the articles that you could not find, and which might be replaced by others. To this list, however, I do not wish by any means to confine you; I leave it, on the contrary, to you to improve it or curtail it, according to the information which you will be able to collect, as that trade is much followed at Bahia. Negroes are often very plenty there; and if they can be bought at from eighty dollars to one hundred dollars, I would just as well end the voyage there, and give up the trip to Africa.'—

'It now remains for me to direct how you are to do with your people after you have sold the brig. The very first thing is to discharge all the people, paying their wages, and making the best terms possible with them in writing; as by the laws of the country the owner is obliged to find them a passage home and wages till they arrive. It is very essential that none of your people, except those who are to stay with you, should have the least suspicion of your fu-

ture plan: I would recommend, therefore, that before you enter on any of your transactions, you would see these people out of the country, that they cannot come and talk here of what you have done. I would rather lose some little time, nor would I mind some little expense, to get rid of them cleverly. The ship's log-book should afterwards be kept in Portuguese: no English writing, touching the voyage, should be on board: the fewer entries in the log-book the better, to be done under your eyes. She should have no colours but Portuguese on board; your present flag thrown away when the brig is sold; and all the papers sent back (under cover) to me: your register, however, you had better bring back yourself.

'Wishing you a *prosperous* voyage.' p. 36.—39.

We may remark in passing, that Mr Toole, one of the house to whose care this *honest* gentleman is consigned, and who is to aid his undertaking, and help him to evade the American laws, is American vice-consul at Bahia!—we ought to say *was*; for of course he must have been removed, upon these particulars coming out. Our readers may be desirous of following the adventure, of which they here see the beginnings. It had a most tragical termination. After following the preceding instructions, and getting himself completely furnished with Portuguese captain, crew, papers, and flag, the owner and real captain arrived at Angola, and *took in a lading of two hundred and seventy-five slaves*; that is to say, packed those miserable beings, chained and ironed, into a space where they could not turn themselves; and, by the most cruel discipline, was bringing them over for infinitely worse miseries in the Brazils, when they rose upon him and his crew, got possession of the ship after a stout resistance, in which many negroes were killed, and put their oppressors, (with a degree of unmerited humanity highly honourable to the poor Africans) into a boat, with sails and provisions. Unable to navigate the ship, however, their provisions ran short, and the greater part of them perished of hunger. When they were taken and carried into Sierra Leone, their wretchedness surpassed all description; but, by kind treatment, the survivors were restored, and a piece of ground has been given them, where they are building a village, and living in comfort and freedom. The following is the deposition of one of the crew.

'*Ned Brown*—Declares he is a native of Cabenda, and was put on board the brig Amelia, as a slave, by Prince Conzee, his father. It is the custom of his country, for a man, when in want of money, &c. if he has three or four children, to sell one or more of them, and keep the others. His father sold him and his sister together: his sister is now here. When he went on board the brig, he found a man, named Jack White, a slave of the captain's, who had come from Charleston in the brig. Heard that White, when in America,

had stolen some articles, for which his master had to pay. His master had given him a severe flogging for this; and also flogged him several times, when at Cabenda, for drunkenness and fighting. White took off his clothes and showed the slaves his back, saying, 'See how my master has flogged me: when he has taken you to white man's country, he will flog you the same.' When the brig got to sea, White urged the slaves to rise.

'One morning a noise was heard forward. The captain called upon me on hearing the noise, and asked what was the matter? I said I did not know. The Captain then went upon deck, with the mate and the rest of the people: they had only three muskets, and a pair of pistols belonging to the captain. It was rather dark, and the slaves kept crying out, 'Jack, Jack!' The captain then spoke to the mate, and told him to keep an eye upon Jack, and shoot him. The slaves then came to the barricado with large pieces of wood; and Jack White attempted to break the barricado with a large hammer. The mate saw him, and shot him through the jaw: the ball cut away his tongue; and when he fell down, he seized hold of the cable with his teeth, and died in that posture. I was told that Jack White opened the hatches, and let the slaves upon deck: they were not in irons, having been let out some days before. The captain soon after went down below, and ordered the boat to be lowered down from the stern, which was done. None of the sailors were killed: nine of them, and the captain, went into the boat; and I opened the cabin windows, and handed them two baskets of bread, a piece of ham, nine bottles of porter, nine bottles of wine, and two jars of water. I wanted to go with him, but the captain would not let me, saying, 'You are a black man; the slaves will not kill you; and you see I have a small boat and too many people in her.' They then hoisted two sails in the boat, and went away. Three of the Portuguese sailors ran into the women's room; and the boatswain, a mulatto man, ran up to the top of the mast. When the boat was gone, the slaves found them, and wanted to kill them; when I advised them 'not to do so; for if you kill them, where will you take the vessel? you do not know how to make sail.' They then consented to spare their lives, on condition of their taking care of the vessel. A great number of the slaves were killed, about thirty, before the captain ran away. They were four months at sea before they came to Cape Mount: for the greatest part of the time they had nothing to eat but a very little farina (i. e. cassada dried and ground to flour), and water to drink. A very great number of the slaves (principally boys and girls) died of hunger.' p. 39, 40.

After noticing the successful pains which have been bestowed by the British naval force on the African station, to the northward of Cape Palmas, where, but for Bissao, not any remains of the slave trade would be found, and mentioning that a similar

force has recently been despatched to the southward of that point, with every prospect of similar success, the Directors proceed to the subject of the enormities committed in some of the West India Islands. Into this part of the subject we need not enter at large; having, since the last report, had an opportunity of discussing it fully. We may remark, however, that scarce an arrival takes place from the West Indies, without bringing additional proofs of the absolute necessity of vigilant attention on the part of government to the due execution of the laws respecting slaves. Nor does there seem any real cure for the great evils which now deform our colonial system, except the one which we formerly took the liberty to point out—a strict attention to the choice of persons who shall fill colonial offices. A rule ought most rigidly to be laid down against ever naming to any of those important stations any person having West India property. However pure a man's motives and dispositions may be at first, he cannot avoid being more or less infected with the spirit or interests of the body to which he himself belongs. If he is a planter, and a master of slaves, how can he avoid leaning towards the master and the planter, in a question where the *esprit du corps* is so highly excited? We speak not here merely of instances in which men filling great public stations have grossly misconducted themselves, and sought the gratification of their own views by the abandonment of their highest duties. Instances of this sort we know full well there have been;—and we fervently hope the delinquents may be brought to justice. But we allude also to the various occasions on which a far lighter degree of guilt—the effects of a prejudice not quite inexcuseable in favour of the class to which a man belongs—may yet produce the worst consequences. It is our humble, but very decided opinion, that no planter should ever be appointed either governor, commander, judge, or revenue officer in the islands. The only chance that the laws have of being fairly enforced, is from the efforts of functionaries, counteracted, as they always must be, by the body of the colonial society.—Chuse them from that body; and this chance utterly fails.

We now come to the most interesting part of this Report, a branch of the labours of the Institution, which, we rejoice to say, becomes more and more promising daily,—the improvement of the continent of Africa by direct means, and, as preparatory to these, the extending our knowledge of it. The present Report is peculiarly attractive in this respect, and promises speedily a yet more considerable contribution of information. For dwelling with more than ordinary delight on this department of the subject, we may find some excuse in the circumstance, that it

recals to our recollection the commencement of our labours ten years ago,—when we began our series of articles upon topics connected with Africa, by following the adventurous and unfortunate track of Hornemann. This retrospect gives us no feelings but those of pure satisfaction; because we verily believe, that we have in some small degree been useful to the great cause of humanity; and that Africa has been, in a manner, benefited by the progress of this Journal.

The Commission of African Inquiry, sent out by the government, has, it would appear, been at length closed; and their Report made. This was retarded by various unforeseen occurrences, particularly by the death of Mr Ludlam, one of the commissioners; and Captain Columbine, another of their number, unfortunately died before his return, which has deprived the Institution of much important information. Before his death, however, he had drawn up a Report, in which Mr Dawes, the surviving commissioner, concurred; and it has been laid before government with his additional remarks, and by government communicated to the Board of Directors. This Report, and the notes and other communications from the Commissioners, furnish the most important parts of the information contained in the appendix to the work before us.

The first branch of the Report of the Commissioners relates to the state of the slave trade, and the means of curbing it. We have already adverted to this part of the subject; but the Commissioners state a fact which deserves farther attention. By the captures in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the transport of about 2,800 Africans had been prevented; and by the condemnation in that settlement of other vessels, with cargoes (as they are called) on board, 1,088 persons had been released. Of these 471 were men; 196 women; and 421 children. 'A considerable number' (add the Commissioners) 'of the nearest and dearest kindred, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, who had been kidnapped or stolen at various times, and put on board different vessels, have been thus unexpectedly restored to each other at Sierra Leone; and whenever any of them have desired to return to their own country, and such return has been deemed practicable, they have been allowed to do so; being first provided with a paper under the hand and seal of the governor, certifying that they are to be considered as his people, and under his protection; which is looked upon, according to the customs and law of Africa, to be a sufficient security against further molestation.' An observation is subjoined, of great importance to the question of African civilization. 'All the people thus returning home,

'must naturally be more than ever the enemies of slavery, as 'they cannot fail, in the last four eventful months of suffering and 'liberation, to have acquired some new ideas of freedom, which 'will of course be gradually diffused amongst their friends; and 'seeing that all white men are not their enemies, but that one 'European nation considers the Slave-trade as unlawful, and is 'determined, if possible, to put an end to it, the natives may 'by degrees feel some encouragement to liberate themselves 'from this horrible thraldom. The right of making slaves 'seems formerly to have been confined to the kings or chiefs; 'but on the west coast of Africa, where power is so diffused 'that it is difficult to say with whom any tolerable share rests, 'the constant practice at present is, for the people in general 'to kidnap each other, wherever one party is personally strong-'er than the other, and has connexions sufficiently numerous 'to secure his victim.' (p. 69.) It seems most plain, that the agents of government, and the African Institution, cannot do more for the improvement of that continent than to pursue the hint here afforded. Let them kindly treat all the slaves whom they may release, and then send them back to their own districts; carrying with them, to their barbarous countrymen, a recollection of our humanity, and of the horrors of the slave traffic, together with such improvements as our intercourse may have taught them.

Several remarks on the colony of Sierra Leone then follow. Its misfortunes are well known; but, of late, it has been prospering as well as might reasonably have been expected. The climate is much better for European constitutions than that of almost any other part of the Coast. There are now 400 houses within the walls of Freetown, containing 1917 inhabitants, beside above 2500 negroes, freed by sentences of the Admiralty Court, and residing there under the protection of the government. There is a considerable number of European forts on the Coast, apparently very useless, except for slave-trading purposes. From Apollonia to Acra, a distance of only 64 leagues, there are no less than twenty-seven; and the expense of the British forts is about 25,000*l.* annually. We believe it is in the contemplation of government to dismantle all these except one or two, which will be put in a respectable state of defence.

The notes of the Commissioners form the most valuable part of this publication, and throw very considerable light upon the state of the African continent. We have first to notice an account of the tribe of Kroomen, by the late Governor Ludlam. The Kroo country extends along the Grain Coast, between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, from 4° 54′ to 5° 7′ north latitude. The chief town, Settra Kroo, is in longitude 7° 48′ west. This

district, though small, is extremely populous; and the natives are of a migratory disposition. Above 800 are employed as labourers at Sierra Leone; and they are to be found at every factory and town along the Coast for a space of 350 miles. They are employed as factors or intermediate merchants, boatmen and sailors; and, while the slave trade was carried on upon this Coast, they had their share of its occupations. After the age of forty, they return and settle at home. Their country produces grain, particularly fine rice, pepper and cattle; but their staple article is their own labour, with which they purchase goods, and return to their home with the produce. To find this in Africa is a singular anomaly. Wars are rare among this people; and they never sell one another, nor kill their captives; nor do they punish any offence by slavery, though witchcraft is a capital offence, and the only one that is invariably so among them. While the slave trade lasted, they used to kidnap the *Bushmen*, or natives of the interior, and sell them. The following passage we recommend to those speculatists who dream about natural and fixed incapacities of the Africans.

'When hired by the month, their wages depending on the time they are at work, not upon the work performed, they are apt to be very indolent, unless carefully superintended. But they are fond of task work, or working by the piece; and exert themselves exceedingly when the reward is proportioned to the labour. When I first arrived in Africa in 1797, it was deemed a gross absurdity to imagine that a Krooman would do any kind of work unconnected with boats and shipping, as in that way alone they had hitherto been employed; and it was supposed their prejudices against innovation could never be overcome. Necessity forced us to try the experiment; and we now find that Kroomen will employ themselves in agricultural labour, or in any other way by which they can get money. They seem to think, at the same time, some kinds of work much more creditable than others. The washerwomen at Sierra Leone have lately employed their hired Kroomen in carrying home baskets of wet clothes from the brook. I have heard them grumble very much under their burdens, because "man was made to do woman's work;" nevertheless, as they gain money by it, they are disposed to put up with the indignity.

'In their expenditure they are most rigid economists: a little tobacco is the only luxury which they allow themselves. In every other respect they are contented with the barest necessaries. They are allowed nothing more for their subsistence than two pounds of red rice a day, (which makes only from one pound and a half to one pound and three quarters when clean and fit for use), and of this they will sell half when rice is dear. Though extremely fond of rum when given to them, I believe that they never buy it. I speak generally; for some will never drink it though offered to them.

Their clothing I have spoken of already: probably it does not cost them ten shillings in a year. The residue of their gains is converted carefully into such goods as are most valuable in their own country. In eighteen months or two years, a sufficient stock having been collected, the Krooman returns home with his wealth. A certain portion is given to the head men of the town; all his relations and friends partake of his bounty, if there be but a leaf of tobacco for each; his mother, if living, has a handsome present. All this is done in order "to get him a good name:" what remains is delivered to his father "to buy him a wife." One so liberal does not long want a partner: the father obtains a wife for him; and after a few months of ease and indulgence, he sets off afresh for Sierra Leone, or some of the factories on the Coast, to get more money. By this time he is proud of being acquainted with "white man's fash-"ion;" and takes with him some raw, inexperienced youngster, whom he initiates into his own profession, taking no small portion of the wages of the *élève* for his trouble. In due time his coffers are replenished; he returns home; confirms his former character for liberality; and gives the residue of his wealth to his father to "get him another wife." In this way he proceeds perhaps for ten or twelve years, or more, increasing the number of his wives, and establishing a great character among his countrymen; but scarcely a particle of his earnings is at any time applied to his own use.' p. 93, 94.

One of the most singular parts of their character, is their extreme love for their own country, and their confident belief in its vast superiority over all others. Every action of their lives bears a reference to it. All their exertions are to obtain wherewithal they may return and live there. Like the Swiss, the Scotish Highlanders, the Piedmontese and the Gallicians, they ramble from it only to love it the better, and to enable them to live, where alone they can be happy, at home.

'The indifference of Kroomen' (says Mr Ludlam) 'to European arts and European comforts, made me once think them a very dull race of men, to say the least. I was struck when I first came to Africa with the different manner in which a Krooman and a Mandingo man (a Mohammedan) viewed an English clock. It was a new thing to both of them. The Krooman eyed it attentively for about a minute, but with an unmoved countenance, and then walked away to look at something else, without saying a word. The Mandingo man could not sufficiently admire the equal and constant motion of the pendulum; his attention was repeatedly drawn to it; he made all possible inquiries as to the cause of its motion; he renewed the subject next morning, and could hardly be persuaded that the pendulum had continued to "walk," as he called it, all night. In general, I think, the case is nearly the same. They have little or no curiosity about things which are of no use in their own country; they are careless about our comforts and luxuries; none of them have

been rendered necessary by habit, and they would often be inconsistent with the principal objects of their pursuit. But Kroomen are sufficiently acute and observant, where the occasion calls their minds into action; but it is rather from a general view of their character and conduct that I say this, than from particular specimens of ingenuity. They have not the use of letters, and will not permit their children to learn; they talk miserably bad English; living by daily labour, which is paid for in European goods, they have no occasion for manufactures of their own. They have but few opportunities, therefore, of displaying peculiar talents. They make their own canoes, several of their implements of agriculture, and some trifling musical instruments: I know not of any thing else worthy of notice. I ought not to omit, however, that they sometimes plead in their own defence with much art. The evidence against one of the very last I examined on a charge of theft was so strong, that few men would have had the boldness to deny the charge. The culprit, however, began a long speech with expressing his sorrow that I was not born a Krooman, and proceeded to enlarge on the superior ability I should in that case have possessed to distinguish between truth and falsehood, in all cases wherein Kroomen were concerned; not forgetting the security against deception which I might possibly have obtained by means of those fetishes of which white men knew not the value or the use. Had I possessed but these advantages, I should have known, he argued, how much more safely I might rely on his veracity than on all the evidence produced against him; although it was backed by the unfortunate circumstance of the stolen goods being found in his possession.' · p. 99, 100.

The next communication of the Commissioners, is a sort of journal of observations by Mr Ludlam during his voyage to the Gold Coast; and it contains a number of details, chiefly useful in a geographical and nautical point of view. The natives in most parts of the Coast are fond of designating themselves by English names. Thus, we find one king called King George; probably out of the respect in which our royal family's known attachment to the slave trade (before it was prohibited and made a felony) caused them to be held in that country. Others call themselves by appellations somewhat less dignified; such as, *Pipe of Tobacco*, *Bottle of Beer*, and so forth.

The next article is a very curious one. Governor Columbine, having a desire of opening some direct communication with the native princes, found an agent admirably well suited to his purpose in the person of John Kizell. He was a native African, and son of a chief. When a boy, he had been made a prisoner, and sold on the Coast. Every effort had been made by his father to reclaim him by ransom; but he was carried to Charlestown in North America. He had inlisted, with many others,

under Sir H. Clinton's proclamation, and served in the American war. He came out to Africa with the Nova Scotian Blacks. Being an intelligent man, of excellent character, and the warmest lover of his country, the Governor employed him in a negotiation, for the purposes of the abolition, with the chiefs in the Sherbro river. The object of this judicious mission was to turn the natives, if possible, from those slave trading habits which the long endurance of European iniquity has made so prevalent amongst them. The article now before us contains some most interesting extracts from his sable Excellency's diplomatic correspondence. We can freely recommend his style to the European Kizells—our Malmsburies and Freres—or the paragraph writers of the East—as no bad models of conciseness and perspicuity. The following passage exhibits, among other things, the material difference between African and European princes.

'I went to Sumano with the head man. I gave him the things you sent for him: he was glad, and all his people. I then showed them your letter. The young people were thankful for the word they heard, but there were some that did not like it. I then asked them, 'From the time your fathers began to sell slaves to this day, what have you got by it? Can any of you show me how much money you have; how much gold; how many slaves, and vessels, and cattle; how many people you have?' They said, None. Then I turned to their king; I asked him in what was he better than his people? He said he was the poorest: he said he only talked palavers when any one brought them to him to talk. I then asked him, what they gave him for his trouble? He said, Nothing. I then told him, 'Our king wants to make you rich; and you must hearken to what he says.' He said, that my king talked right; he wanted the country to be free. He then promised that he would give land for that good work, but that he cannot do any thing before he sees all the rest of the kings.' p. 115.

Our diplomatist found himself, as happens elsewhere, counteracted by rival powers, viz. the slave traders, whose interests were much endangered by his mission. The following account is humiliating to all who have real English feelings in their bosoms.

'I then went to Safer. There were 100 people there with the king. When I came, the first word was, 'Are *you* come? It is you that have got all the slave vessels taken out of our river. You are come to make war on us:' with much more to this effect. I told the king I was sent to him: why would he not hear what I had to say before he began to make these charges? There was a young man with the king, who said, 'Kizell, says he, is sent to you: why will you not wait till you hear what he has to say?' The king said this was right. I gave the governor's letter to him. He said, I

should not read it to him: he had a white man that could read it to him. He sent for Crundell; and when he came, the letter was given to him. Crundell looked at it, and immediately cursed and swore, and raved: he told the king and his people that the Governor was a nuisance: 'He is like Buonaparte: he wants to take the country from you. As for Kizell, he is the worst man the Governor could pick out at Sierra Leone to send to you. Kizell is a troublesome, undermining man. The people of Sierra Leone want to take the country, as they have taken my goods from me,' (probably alluding to the capture of slave ships). I then got up and called Mr Taylor, a mulatto man, who was present, to bear witness to all that Crundell had said, as he would, sooner or later, be called to account for it. I told him I knew *he* did not want the Slave Trade to stop: he wished to kill the people's children and to drink their blood. He said he did not know what I meant. As for selling slaves, God had ordered them to sell slaves: If God did not like it, why did he not put a stop to it? I told him that God had ordered him not to swear: why did he not obey him in this too? Mr Taylor then told him, that what he had said against the Governor was not right: the Governor loved the people, and did not like they should continue in slavery: the letter he had sent was a friendly letter: if Kizell had not been a trusty man, the Governor would not have sent him; 'Yet you, Crundell, tell the people not to hear him.' Crundell asked, why had they not rather sent *him* the act, and desired *him* not to sell slaves? but now he *would* sell slaves. I told him that *he* knew the law already, but that he wanted to fatten on the people's blood.' p. 116, 117.

In all his negociations, Kizell found the utmost aid from the old treaty between the King of England and the Sherbro chiefs. But they did not fail now and then to complain of the British Monarch for the slave trading policy of his government. 'I 'told them,' says he, 'to look at Tasso: all the young peo- 'ple of that place had been sold: the town was now broken up, 'and had none but old people in it. As I spoke, they all hung 'down their heads. They said, "All the letter says is truth: "all you say is the truth; we can say nothing against it." 'Then I said they must leave off these practices. They said, "They knew that the Kings of England and Sherbro were "friends in the old time; the old people had told them so: *but "the King of England had thrown them away, and had sent his "ships to buy them, although the agreement was, that they were "not to be sold, as they were his people.*" This was rather a home observation, and might have puzzled a more experienced and regular diplomatist. But our ambassador got out of the difficulty as well as Talleyrand himself could have done. He told them, 'I have heard so too; but it is a subject on which I

'can't give an answer. You must send a man to the Gover-'nor, and he will give you an answer.' The following picture of the character and condition of the people, and of their king, is curious. We also see in it the effects of the slave trade but too visibly.

'I will now describe how the natives live in this country. They are all alike, the great and the poor; you cannot tell the master from the servant at first. The servant has as much to say as his master in any common discourse, but not in a *palaver*, for that belongs only to the master. Of all people I have ever seen, I think they are the kindest. They will let none of their people want for victuals: they will lend, and not look for it again: they will even lend clothes to each other, if they want to go any where: if strangers come to them, they will give them water to wash, and oil to anoint their skin, and give them victuals for nothing: they will go out of their beds that the strangers may sleep in them. The women are particularly kind. The men are very fond of palm wine; they will spend a whole day in looking for palm wine. They love dancing; they will dance all night. They have but little, yet they are happy whilst that little lasts. At times they are greatly troubled with the Slave Trade, by some of them being caught under different pretences. A man owes money; or some one of his family owes it; or he has been guilty of adultery. In these cases, if unable to seize the party themselves, they give him up to some one who is able, and who goes and takes them by force of arms. On one occasion, when I lived in the Sherbro, a number of armed men came to seize five persons living under me, who, they said, had been thus given to them. We had a great quarrel: I would not give them up: we had five days' palaver: there were three chiefs against me. I told them if they did sell the people whom they had caught at my place, I would complain to the Governor. After five days' talk, I recovered them. Sometimes I am astonished to see how contented they are with so little; I consider that happiness does not consist in plenty of goods.—

'The king is poorer than any of his subjects. I have many a time gone into the houses of their kings. Sometimes I have seen one box, and a bed made of sticks on the ground, and a mat, or two country cloths, on the bed. He is obliged to work himself if he has no wives and children. He has only the name of king, without the power: he cannot do as he pleases. When there is a *palaver*, he must have it settled before the rest of the old men, who are all looked upon as much as the king; and the people will give ear to them as soon as they will to the king.' p. 125—127.

So various is the condition of kings in different countries! From this and other parts in Kizell's letters, a king is in these tribes really regarded as a sort of evil or burthen; if we may use the expression—a *bore*. Thus he says, when a present comes to

the king, 'he gets but little of it. If he is old, they will some-'times tell him he has long eaten of the country, and it is time 'for the young people to eat as he has done. If the present 'consists of rum, they all must have a taste of it, if there is not 'more than a table spoonful for each. If tobacco, and there 'is not enough to give every one a leaf, it must be cut so that 'all may have a piece. If it is a jug of rum, the king gets one 'bottle full.' What a country this for poor kings to live in! The trade is really not fit for a gentleman. No revenue—no privy purse—no favourites—no droits of admiralty—no sums for outfits, for fêtes, for separate households. Even the word of the poor prince goes no further than another man's; and, at a *palaver*, his promise is not listened to with more, if so much, attention!

So much for the king or prince.—We also have some anecdotes of her majesty the queen, which we doubt not are sufficiently characteristic.

'I quitted that place, and went to Kittam to Queen Messe. I gave her the articles you sent for her. All the old women and young people came to hear what I had to say. I then showed your letter to her. *She said the present sent was not enough.* I interrupted her, and said the Governor did not send me to blind her eyes, but to open them; and to persuade her no longer to sell her people. On hearing this, all the young people gave a shout, and the women clapped their hands for joy. I saw she did not like it; but she said nothing. I told her it was she who had sold all her people, and that we meant to put a stop to it in the country if we could. All the young people shouted again, and said, 'the old people knew that *they* could not be sold, but that it was the young people who must be sold.' Then she said to me, 'if you come to stop the Slave Trade, will you give me the old price for wood, rice, goats, and all other things, as in the old time?' I told her, 'I was not sent to fix prices; every man knew the price of his own goods; but as for you, you have changed the old price of your goods for that of your sons and daughters; the price you ought to have got for your goods you now get for your people.' The young people said, that was the truth. One old man got up; he said the letter was good, and they must give an answer. Then they appointed a day for me to come. On that day I went to meet them; but not one was to be seen, except three old men who were sick! I was much displeased, and told them to tell Messe, that as she and her people thought the Governor not worthy of an answer to this letter, or of attention to this messenger, I would tell him of it: They had given us a great affront.' p. 141, 142.

Let us now see something of their parliaments and courts of justice. We have already had an opportunity of noticing how nearly they resemble some other countries in their love of long speeches. Every thing seems to be done thereby; and

their length reminds us of the treason trials in 1794, when certain eminent lawyers were known to *palaver* (as it is called in Africa) eleven or twelve hours at a time. Kizell seems to have formed an high opinion of the eloquence and legal talents of his Sherbro friends. 'If,' says he, 'the people of this country 'had the same learning as Europeans, the best lawyer could 'not excel them in words and speeches. They are a sensible 'people to talk to in their palavers. They will sometimes talk 'a palaver so well, that you would be both pleased and asto-'nished with them. If you were to hear two of them speaking, 'and how ably they open a cause before they begin to enter in-'to an argument about it, you would be surprised. In their 'palavers (councils or courts), they use a great deal of ceremo-'ny at the first; presenting mats, kola, or palm wine, to the 'old men. They then relate their story; the old men and the 'women sitting down to listen. A man stands by him who 'speaks, and repeats what he says as loud as he can; indeed, 'both speak very loud. When he has finished his speech, he 'sits down. His adversary then gets up, and begins, as be-'fore, with much ceremony, thanking the man who spoke a-'gainst him for what he said. Having told his story, all the 'old men get up and say, they must retire and consider the 'matter before they give an answer. If the party losing the 'cause is unwilling to give it up, then the other will ask him, 'if he will go before the king to talk the palaver? If he says, 'Yes; then they must go to the king with their people.

'The old men are much respected: the king, with their ap-'probation, appoints a time to hear the palaver; but before it 'begins, both parties must deposit a like sum (twenty, thirty, 'or forty bars) to await the king's sentence. Then the two 'men are called on, and all the old men and the women sit as 'before, while the accuser relates his complaint; another man 'repeating all he says after him. Every thing he says looks 'like truth, and very clear. But when he has done, the other 'party will get up and deny all that has been said, and give to 'things a very different appearance. They have no jury, as we 'have; their old men settle all. Having heard all the plead-'ings, the old men go out in what is called the devil's bush, * 'and determine who is in the right.' (p. 131, 132.) We may remark, in this account, some of the *etiquettes* known in our legal and parliamentary oratory.

Beside these communications from the Commissioners, the Appendix contains extracts from the correspondence of Mr

* A kind of consecrated grove.

Meredith and the missionaries, which are well deserving of attention; but we are prevented, by the length of the former extracts, from doing more than refer to them, as well as to all the parts of Kizell's correspondence which we have not noticed. A fact recorded by the worthy missionary we cannot refrain from noticing. He states, that in 1807, the number of slave factories on the Rio Porgas and adjoining rivers, was *seventy-two;* but that, in February 1812, when he left Africa, this number had been reduced to *eighteen;* and it was supposed, that the operation of the Slave Trade Felony Bill * would soon put an end to the greatest part, if not the whole of these.

The Report of the Directors, after noticing the successful cultivation of many articles, as indigo, hemp, cotton, introduced into Africa by the care of the Institution, concludes with a very interesting notice on the celebrated Mungo Park, and one scarcely less curious respecting Paul Cuffee, the African navigator. We shall present our readers with the substance of these accounts.

The last accounts of Mr Park, from himself, were from Sansanding on the Niger, whence he transmitted his journal to the government. The Institution are about to publish this immediately, for the benefit of his unfortunate family; and we cannot sufficiently felicitate the public on the propriety with which the care of this publication is committed to the real friends of Africa, instead of being left, like the former travels, to the advocates of the slave trade. † Let us, in passing, entreat every one of the readers of this Review, for the sake of justice and humanity, to contribute their mite to the publication; so that a fund, worthy of the cause in which he fell, may be raised for the family of the most enterprizing traveller of the age. Along with Mr Park's journal, will be published that of Isaac, a native Mahometan, who having accompanied him to Sansanding, was afterwards sent by Governor Maxwell to procure some account of his fate. He returned to Senegal after an absence of twenty months, and made his report in writing. From it, we extract the following account of Mr Park's death, as given to Isaac by Amadee-Fatouma, who accompanied him from Sansanding on board a large schooner-rigged canoe, in which he had undertaken the navigation of the river to its mouth. Amadee-Fatouma accompanied him till two or three days after he had reached the kingdom of Haoussa.

'Next day' says he 'Mr Park departed, and I slept in the village (Yaour). Next morning I went to the king, to pay my respects to him.

* Mr Brougham's Bill, the 51st of the King.

† The first volume was edited, and in part written by Bryan Edwards.

On entering the house, I found two men, who came on horseback. They were sent by the chief of Yaour. They said to the king, "We are sent by the chief of Yaour to let you know, that the white men went away, without giving you or him (the chief) any thing. They have a great many things with them, and we have received nothing from them: and this Amadee-Fatouma, now before you, is a bad man, and has likewise made a fool of you both. The king immediately ordered me to be put in irons, which was accordingly done, and every thing I had taken from me. Some were for killing me, and some for preserving my life. The next morning, early, the king sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river's side. There is before this village a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high: there is there a large opening in that rock, in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through: the tide-current is here very strong. The army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr Park came there after the army had posted itself: he, nevertheless, attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr Park defended himself for a long time: two of his slaves, at the stern of the canoes, were killed. They threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water. Martin did the same; and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe, stood up and said to them, 'Stop throwing now; you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don't kill me.' They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

'I was kept in irons three months. The king then released me, and gave me a female slave. I immediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr Park and all of them had died, and what I have related above.' p. 22—24.

Of course, the Directors do not vouch for the accuracy of this narrative, but give it as they have received it from Isaac. —With respect to Captain Paul Cuffee, he is an American black, who having, from the condition of a poor slave, raised himself to ease, and even affluence, by his unwearied industry and abilities, came over to England in his own vessel, the Traveller, manned by blacks entirely; and had several interviews with the Directors and other friends of African civilization, in order to ascertain in what way he could best contribute to the improvement of his countrymen. He had first gone under license to Sierra Leone, and from thence came to Liverpool last July. His information was very material; and his conversa-

tion left the most favourable impression of his intelligence and integrity on all who knew or saw him. The Directors have taken the proper steps to profit by his communications, and by his important assistance in the prosecution of their great work.

We now conclude this article with once more offering the sincere and hearty tribute of our good wishes to so laudable an Institution, as that whose proceedings have been before us. It has already done much; but we trust that it may yet do so much more towards the happiness of the race, and the diffusion both of important knowledge and good principles, as will throw its past history into the shade. We shall most anxiously await the appearance of the promised travels of Mr Park and his guide, and shall lose no time in exhibiting an account of them to our readers.

ART. VI. ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY, GEOMETRICAL ANALYSIS, *and* PLANE TRIGONOMETRY. *With an Appendix, and Copious Notes and Illustrations.* By JOHN LESLIE, F. R. S. E. Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition, improved and enlarged. Edinburgh; Printed for J. Ballantyne & Co.; and for Longman & Co. London. 1811.

A QUESTION has been sometimes agitated, whether it is most advantageous, for the study of Geometry, to possess a number of elementary treatises; or to have one standard book, like that of Euclid, to which the student may always be referred. Those who support the latter opinion may argue, that it must facilitate the acquisition of science, to have one series of propositions on which the authors in the higher branches of the Mathematics are continually to found their demonstrations; that this removes the necessity of every individual providing himself with a number of elementary books, in which, though the form may vary, the matter must be nearly the same; and that it saves the time that would be employed in consulting and comparing them. If this argument be admitted, no one can hesitate to fix on the Elements of Euclid as the standard to be adopted. The generality with which this book is now diffused over the world, so much greater than that of any other scientific work whatever, is a sufficient reason for this preference, even if it were less admirable for its intrinsic excellence. It has been translated into all the languages, both antient and modern, in which there is refinement enough for the expression of abstract truth; and may be read in every tongue, from

its native Greek, to the semi-barbarous dialect of a Tartar horde. This distinction it owes to the great perspicuity and rigid accuracy of its demonstrations, and the skilful arrangement of the propositions, by which each is placed, where it most readily receives the support of those that go before, and most readily transmits it to those that come after. These qualities, in which it is not equalled by any work of the same extent either in antient or in modern times, have rendered the Elements of Euclid the most popular of all the books of science, and at the same time the most correct. To this every association is added that can render a work venerable. It is the production of a man distinguished among the first instructors of the human race; it was almost the first ray of light that penetrated through the darkness of the middle ages; and men still view with gratitude and affection the torch which rekindled the sacred fire, when it was nearly extinguished in the earth.

It may however be argued, on the other hand, that it is beneficial to the student to see the truths of science placed in different lights; as it may lead him to distinguish between what is necessary, and what is arbitrary, in the arrangement of thought. The same lessons, too, are not equally suited to every intellect; and on these accounts, it may be of advantage that different elementary works should exist. We are very much inclined to this latter opinion; and have no doubt at all, that one who had studied Geometry in Euclid, might read the Elements of Simpson, of Bossut, and still more of Le Gendre, with great advantage. The truths of Geometry might thus be expected to obtain in his mind their natural order—or an order founded on necessary connexion, and independent of all arbitrary or accidental association.

These different views, or others similar to them, have led the nations of Europe to decide differently on the question which we are now considering. Here, in Britain, where we have so strong a tendency to continue in the same track, we have, with a few exceptions, persevered in our attachment to the work that first led our ancestors in the ways of science. In France, where fashion is in all things no less variable than despotic, a great number of elementary treatises of Geometry have successively come into vogue, and fallen into neglect. The consequence has been, a series of treatises, some of them very inferior, but gradually improving, so as recently, in the hands of Le Gendre, to have reached a degree of excellence, that in many respects surpasses even that of the Greek Geometer.

At the same time, however, that we think it beneficial that

there should exist different elementary works in Geometry, we must observe, that to succeed in them is a task of considerable difficulty; as they are to be compared, not with ideal forms, but with such as have been actually realized. Mediocrity is unpardonable, where great excellence has already been attained; and the Greek Geometry has furnished a standard, which it is fatal to come short of, and hardly possible to surpass.

The volume before us contains the Elements of Geometry in six books,—of Geometrical Analysis in three,—and of Plane Trigonometry, in one tract of twenty-six Propositions. The Elements are confined to the properties of straight lines and circles, and do not extend to the intersection of planes, or the comparison of solids. An Appendix is added to them, in two parts; the first containing Problems, resolved by a ruler without compasses, and the second Problems resolved by compasses without a ruler. To the whole is added a series of notes and illustrations, copious, as it is said in the title, and, it may be added, miscellaneous. The whole is very handsomely printed in an octavo of 500 pages. The figures are from wooden cuts on the margin, remarkable for correct and neat execution. In giving an account of this volume, as the matter of all elementary books of Geometry must be nearly the same, we shall confine our remarks to the points in which it differs from others of the same kind, and to the things most conspicuous either for excellence or defect.

In the Elements of Geometry, the clearness and precision with which the simple ideas are explained that are to be the subjects of investigation, is a matter of great importance. In the performance of this, the learned Professor has departed considerably from the methods usually pursued; and we must confess, that he often seems to have done so with very little advantage. He begins with explaining what he calls *Principles*; from which he proceeds to the Definitions, and thence to the Propositions, leaving out the axioms and postulates altogether. It would be difficult to tell what those principles of geometry are that fall not under any of the heads just mentioned; and accordingly, they are, in fact, nothing else than definitions, or explanations of certain terms, viz. a point, a line, and an angle. The reason of calling them Principles, rather than Definitions, is not explained. In the first edition of the book they were omitted altogether: the author probably found this inconvenient, and was taught by experience that, before he began to reason to his students about straight lines and angles, it was best to explain to them what straight lines and angles are. Unwilling, however, it would seem, to make any change in the order of

the definitions, he has chosen to introduce those omitted under a head entirely new. The definitions he has given under the appellation of *principles*, are in a loose oratorical style, very little suited to the simplicity or the precision of mathematical language; a fault, we regret to observe, that pervades the whole of this treatise. 'A solid is bounded by surfaces, a surface 'is circumscribed by lines, and a line is terminated by points. 'A point marks position, a line measures distance, and a sur-'face represents extension.' This studied variation of language, in a matter where simplicity and accuracy are the only objects that should be thought of, is in bad taste; and an antithetical form is given to the last sentence at the expense of truth. A thing cannot, with any propriety, be said to represent that which it really is; a surface is extension in two directions, as a line is in one; and if either of them can be said to represent extension, so may the other; but it is wrong to apply the term to either. There is a similar inaccuracy in saying that a line measures distance; a line (a straight line) is distance, and not the measure of it. When two things have always the same ratio, the one may be said to measure the other; but nothing is ever said to be a measure of itself.

Under the head of Principles, a straight line is defined to be 'one which, through its whole extent, stretches in the same direction.' We cannot help thinking that this is a very objectionable definition, both on account of the metaphorical term *stretches*, and, still more, on account of the term *direction*, which stands just as much in need of being defined as the word *straight*. As a proof that this definition is bad, it is sufficient to observe, that it is useless; and that no property of straight lines, or straight-lined figures, can be deduced from it, or is attempted to be deduced, even by the author himself.

In the next paragraph, however, a property of a straight line is laid down that might have been used as the definition, and as affording a criterion, whether a line is straight or not, which is easily applied. It is not given as a definition, however, but as a proposition, for which a reason is assigned; and, what must seem singular, the reason assigned is not the true one.

'Two points ascertain the position of a straight line; for the 'line may continue to turn about one of the points till it falls 'upon the other.' Now, the reason here assigned, is not that which makes two points determine the position of a straight line; for in fact any line, whether straight or crooked, may turn about one point till it pass through another; but it may then, by turning about itself, vary its position indefinitely, and may describe a superficies, unless it be a straight line; in which case, it cannot, by turning, generate a superficies. This pro-

position may be expressed, as Euclid does, in the form of an axiom, by saying, that two straight lines cannot comprehend a space; and this is in fact the way in which he supplies the defects of his definition of a straight line. It might, however, easily have the form of a definition. *If there be two lines such, that they cannot any how enclose space, each of them is called a straight line.* This, indeed, either in the form of a definition or an axiom, is the foundation on which all our reasonings on the properties of straight lines do ultimately rest; and is used in these Elements, as in Prop. 2. 3. 21., and in the corollaries to the 4th and 10th Definitions, &c.

The definition which our author has given of a *right angle*, is, we believe, perfectly original. 'A right angle is the fourth part of an entire circuit or revolution.' This trespasses against all the rules of logic, and has not any one of the requisites of a definition. As a right angle, whatever it be, is certainly a modification of an angle, the definition of it ought to have involved the generic term *angle*, which had been previously said to be the opening of two lines. It does not appear, then, from this definition, that what is called a right angle, is an angle of any kind. Further, the words *circuit* and *revolution* have neither of them been defined, and are words, as commonly used, of very indefinite signification. A body makes a circuit when it moves in any line that returns into itself, from any one point to the same point again. The circuit may therefore be a circle, an ellipse, or an oval of any kind; and the fourth part of such a line, if we take this definition literally, must be accounted a right angle. The word *revolution* is still more indefinite; it is, strictly speaking, a mode of motion, and does not even belong to the same *category* with the *species* that it is made to comprehend. What can have led a man of talents, as we most readily acknowledge this author to be, into such palpable inconsistency, we cannot conjecture, unless it has been the desire of bringing forward something new on a subject too plain to admit of it. The error is the less excusable, that the definition of a right angle, as commonly given, is one which every learner is satisfied with, as he feels an addition made to his knowledge, by the precision with which it enables him to think of angular position, as well as to speak of it. It is the last of all the definitions which a cautious logician, or a skilful geometer, would attempt to change. *

* The author says in a note—'I have confined the epithet *right* to angles, and *straight* to lines.' He might have observed, however, that this appropriation of the terms is not new, as it is invariably followed by Dr Simpson, and, we believe, was first introduced by him.

Another definition respecting angular space, though not so faulty as the preceding, is certainly liable to objections. It is that of what the author calls a *reverse angle*, which, he says, is the '*retroflected divergence* of the two sides, or the defect of the angle from four right angles.' *Retroflected divergence*, is an obscure and affected expression, which combines the fault of being figurative, with that of being unnecessarily abstract. A simple and good definition is contained in the other part of the sentence—'The defect of the angle from four right angles, is named a reverse angle.' The words '*retroflected divergence*' are therefore purely ornamental.

In these definitions we have only had to remark faults; in some that follow, we have to take notice of real improvements. The common definition of a square, which, after Euclid, almost all geometers have given, is, that it is a figure, with four equal sides, and four right angles. Now, there are here more conditions than are necessary to determine the figure; and it is not of itself obvious, that they can all be united in the same subject. It is sufficient to determine the figure, that the sides be all equal, and one of the angles a right angle; and it is not certain, that the figure so determined, can have all its angles right angles, till it is shown that the sum of all the angles of a quadrilateral is equal to four right angles. Mr Leslie has therefore very properly introduced a definition of a square that contains nothing superfluous, and he has done the same as to the oblong; in the definition of which, as given by Euclid, a similar fault is to be found. These are no doubt improvements; at the same time, it may be observed, that the superfluous conditions in Euclid's definitions will hardly be felt as imperfections, if the definitions of a square and an oblong are not introduced till after the 32d has been demonstrated; in the corollary to which, it is shown, that all the angles of a quadrilateral are equal to four right angles. In the 46th Prop. where Euclid gives the construction of a square, he is careful to prove, that the figure he has described has four equal sides, and four right angles. The same may be said with respect to the oblong. Neither definition should be introduced till it has been shown that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. In this way Euclid's definitions may without inconvenience be retained.

We have already remarked that the definitions are not followed here, as in the common Elements of Geometry, by any enumeration of postulates or axioms. The reasons of this proceeding are indicated in the first of a series of notes and illustrations which the author has subjoined to his Elements. 'The

founders of mathematical learning among the Greeks were in general tinctured with a portion of mysticism, transmitted from Pythagoras, and cherished in the school of Plato. Geometry became thus infected at its source. By the later Platonists, who flourished in the Museum of Alexandria, it was regarded as a pure intellectual science, far sublimed above the grossness of material contact. Such visionary metaphysics could not impair the solidity of the superstructure, but did contribute to perpetuate some misconceptions, and to give a wrong turn to philosophical speculation. *It is full time to restore the sobriety of reason.* Geometry, like the other sciences, which are not concerned about the operations of mind, must ultimately rest on external observation. But those ultimate facts are so few, so distinct and obvious, that the subsequent train of reasoning is safely pursued to an unlimited extent, without ever appealing again to the evidence of the senses.—The axioms are rejected, as being totally useless, and rather apt to produce obscurity.' p. 395.

The charge of mysticism here made on the founders of the Mathematical science among the Greeks, appears to us injurious and ill-founded in the extreme. With respect to us, Euclid is the founder of the Greek Geometry; and we know of no elementary work, in that science, of higher antiquity. But surely our author must himself acknowledge, that Euclid's writings contain nothing mysterious, obscure, or paradoxical; and that they are those of a man who, being fully aware of the value of the truths he had to unfold, has never sought to enhance that value by any artificial means either of concealment or display. It is true, that the later Platonists were infected with mysticism, and that Proclus, in particular, is an example of that extraordinary perversion of the intellectual powers, from which geometry itself cannot always preserve its followers. Nothing, however, of this sort attaches to the men to whom that science is really indebted for its progress; to Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, or even Pappus, the latest of the Greek mathematicians.

But perhaps if we inquire more carefully into what is reckoned mysticism by our author, we shall not be inclined to consider it as a reproach. He evidently belongs to that school which affects to see nothing in geometrical reasoning, but an appeal to observation. He tells us so in the passage just quoted: and in the 11th note, speaking of proving the equality of triangles by *superposition*, the method that he himself employs, he calls it an appeal to external observation. The sobriety of reason,

then, consists in adopting this dogma; and the mysticism of which the Professor complains, is the persuasion that geometrical reasoning is a process purely intellectual, and resting ultimately on truths which the mind intuitively perceives. Of this sort of mysticism, we acknowledge that we must plead guilty, as we believe that it was the opinion generally received among mathematicians, till Dr Beddoes, who was no mathematician, found out that they were all ignorant of the evidence on which their conclusions rested.

That a man who was not a geometer, and unacquainted with any sciences but chemistry and physiology, should hold such a doctrine, seems to us not very wonderful; but that a mathematician should adopt the same hypothesis, is indeed surprising. Our author might have remarked, when he made the observation just quoted, viz. that the superposition which geometers resort to for proving the equality of triangles, is a mere conclusion from experience; that there is this very important difference between it and an ordinary measurement,—that the mere experimenter only shows that the things *do* coinside,—the geometer shows that they *must*. On this argument, however, we mean not at present to enter: the practical conclusion which our author deduces from it, that axioms and postulates are of no use in geometry, and are to be entirely rejected, is what more immediately concerns us; as it is thus that the *sobriety* of reason is now to be restored.

We confess, however, that we do not clearly see how the rejection of these propositions is a consequence of the origin here assigned to them. On the contrary, it seems to us, that this origin is a strong reason for enumerating and recording them carefully. If they were, as they have been usually supposed, truths perceived intuitively, and congenial to the mind itself, they might be omitted, as being always present to the thoughts, and always ready to be applied. But if they are facts known only from observation, and derived from the memory, we may more readily require to be reminded of them; and they ought to be set down in books of geometry, as the inactivity of matter and the equality of action and reaction are, in the beginning of books of natural philosophy.

It is certain, also, that these propositions, however denied, do acquire additional evidence from being expressed in general terms. Thus our author himself, though such an enemy to axioms, sometimes throws a proposition that he means to be taken for granted without any demonstration, into the form of an axiom, that it may appear more evident.

At proposition 23d, we find him stopping to enunciate this proposition, which he gives without proof. 'In passing through 'all the degrees from greater to less, a varying magnitude must 'evidently *rencounter*, as it proceeds, the single intermediate li-'mit of equality.' Here is a proposition thrown into a general form, merely to give it more evidence; and it might as well have been set down at the beginning of the book, as in the body of a demonstration. This, however, might have exposed it to too strict a scrutiny, for which it is not well prepared, either by the simplicity of the idea, or the accuracy of the language in which it is conveyed.

It appears indeed to us, that so far from there being any inconvenience in prefixing, to an elementary book of science, a list of all the propositions that are to be taken for granted in the course of it, that it would be extremely desirable to have it done in all books of reasoning whatsoever, moral and political, as well as physical and mathematical. What an advantage to know, before hand, in all cases, the precise extent of the demands which an author is to make on the credulity of his reader? How much time would it often save to the latter, and how instructive would it often prove to the former, who might become alarmed at the magnitude of an account when it appeared altogether, which, when seen in detail, or article by article, was supposed of inconsiderable amount? We would even recommend the practice to be followed in books of history and travels; and have no doubt that the adoption of it would be attended with the most salutary effects.

One of the great difficulties in elementary geometry is found in the doctrine of parallel lines, the avenue by which it is usual to pass to the demonstration that the three angles of every triangle are, together, equal to two right angles. It is easy to prove, if two straight lines make the alternate angles with a third line equal to one another, that these lines are parallel, or that they cannot meet, however far they are produced either way. The converse of this, however, is not easily demonstrated, viz. if two straight lines are such as not to meet when produced, that they must make the alternate angles equal with any third line which cuts them. A criterion for determining, from the position of two lines in respect of a third, whether they will meet or not, is the thing wanted. Euclid assumes a criterion, and lays it down as an axiom, that when the interior angles which two lines make with a third on one side of it, are less than two right angles, the lines will meet if produced on that side. This has been objected to with some reason, as a proposition not self-evident, and not to be assumed without proof.

A great many attempts to remedy this defect have been made, both in antient and in modern times; but none of them perhaps with complete success. The work before us adds one, in our opinion, to the number of the failures, though the author seems completely satisfied of the contrary. It must be remarked, that if it were proved that through the same point there cannot be drawn more lines than one parallel to a given line (a proposition that may perhaps be assumed as an axiom), we should be in possession of a criterion equivalent to that which has just been mentioned; and the doctrine of parallel lines would no longer have any difficulty. This is here attempted to be made out, by conceiving a line to move angularly round a point, so as to cut a certain line, first on one side of a given point, and then on another. It is true (Prop. 23. B. 1.) that the axiom above referred to is introduced, viz. 'That in 'passing through all degrees from greater to less, a varying mag-'nitude must evidently *rencounter*, as it proceeds, the single li-'mit of equality.' Now, all that is proved, even by the aid of an assumption involving so many ideas quite foreign to the elements of geometry, is, that a line is parallel to another when it makes with a third line the exterior angle equal to the interior and opposite;—a proposition about which there is no difficulty; one which Euclid, and every geometer after him, has demonstrated, without having recourse to the idea of motion, of variable quantities, limits, &c. It still remains to be proved, that no line, but that just mentioned passing through the same point, can be parallel to a given line. It is asserted in the corollary to the proposition, that this is proved; but we confess that we are quite unable to perceive by what argument. We must therefore repeat, that there is here a failure with respect to the doctrine of parallel lines; a censure in itself not very heavy, considering on how many it falls; but aggravated in the present case, by the confident tone of the author with respect to himself, and the contemptuous manner in which he speaks of others. 'Euclid,' he says, 'has merely evaded the diffi-'culty, by styling the fundamental proposition an axiom.' Now, in our apprehension, Euclid has proceeded very fairly; he has stated a proposition, which his readers must take for granted, otherwise he does not profess to be able to demonstrate the theorem in question; and when that proposition is conceded, nobody doubts that the demonstration founded on it is correct. The learned Professor has introduced an axiom, quite new in the first rudiments of geometrical science; and, after it is granted, has failed in demonstrating the theorem referred to. There would be more colour here for the

charge of evasion, than in the case of Euclid: we do not mean, however, in the most remote way, to insinuate an *intentional* evasion. We believe it to be no more than a mistake, in a matter where many have been mistaken.

The subject of parallel lines has led our author into another error, that seems to us of a much more considerable amount. The difficulty of the ordinary method of proceeding induced Le Gendre, in his Elements, to attempt one quite different, by proving that the third angle of a triangle is determined from the other two, independently of the magnitude of the intervening side. He has done this in a manner that has ever appeared to us extremely ingenious, as well as perfectly sound, and on which we bestowed the praise we thought that it deserved in a former Number of this Journal (Oct. 1809, p. 3.) The thing has appeared quite in another light to the author of these Elements, who professes to give a complete refutation of Le Gendre's argument. He begins with stating that argument, which we must take the liberty to say he does very unfairly; and he is afterwards, as might be supposed, tolerably successful in the confutation of it. His account of the reasoning of the French geometer is in Note 9, p. 403. 'The vertical angle 'of a triangle depends wholly on these data, the base and its 'adjacent angles. Call the base c, its adjacent angles A, B, 'and the vertical angle C. This third angle being derived 'from the quantities A, B, and c, must be a determinate function of them, or formed from their combination. Whence, 'adopting this notation, $C = \phi : (A, B, c)$. *But the line* c *is of 'a nature heterogeneous to the angles* A *and* B, *and therefore 'cannot be compounded with these quantities.* Consequently 'C = φ : (A, B) or the vertical angle, is simply a function of 'the angles A and B at the base; and hence the third angle of 'a triangle must depend wholly on the other two.'

Now, if Le Gendre had actually reasoned as loosely and fallaciously as he is made to do in the sentence we have printed in italics; and had really affirmed that a quantity cannot be compounded with others to which it is heterogeneous, his argument would have merited all the contempt our author expresses for it, and must have been pronounced unworthy not only of the first geometer in Europe, but of the lowest pretender to mathematical science. How the learned Professor could suppose, for one moment, that the distinguished mathematician, of whose merit he seems well aware, could have been guilty of so gross a blunder, we find it difficult to explain.

We shall give Le Gendre's argument in his own words, and afterwards a commentary on them, which we are not afraid to submit, either to his examination or that of his antagonist.

The notation is the same as above. 'On a vu que C doit 'être entierement determiné par les seules données A, B, c, 'sans autre angle ou ligne quelconque; mais la ligne c est he-'terogene avec les nombres A, B, C, et si on avait un equation 'quelconque entre A, B, C et c, on en pourrait tirer la valeur 'de c en A, B, C, d'où il resulteroit que c est egale à un 'nombre ce qui est absurde. Donc c ne peut entrer dans la 'valeur de C, et on a simplement $C = \varphi : (A, B)$.'

In this there is no assertion that heterogeneous quantities cannot be compounded together; the force of the argument lyes quite in another quarter. The quantities A, B, C are angles; they are of the same nature with numbers, or mere expressions of ratio, and, according to the language of algebra, are of no dimension. The quantity c, on the other hand, is the base of a triangle, that is to say, a straight line, or a quantity of one dimension. Of the four quantities, therefore, A, B, C, c, the first three are of no dimensions, and the fourth or last is of one dimension. No equation therefore can exist involving all these four quantities, and them only; for if there did, a value of c might be found in terms of A, B and C, and c would therefore be equal to a quantity of no dimension; which is impossible. It would be equal to a quantity of no dimension, because every function of quantities of no dimension, must itself be of no dimension. The quantity c then does not enter into the determination of C; so that C is determined by A and B alone, which was to be shown. It is evident, therefore, that it is not on the mere heterogeneity of the quantities A, B, C, c, that the argument turns, but upon that particular kind of heterogeneity, in which all the quantities but one are of no dimensions. No other kind of heterogeneity would lead to the same result.

Hence the fallacy of another statement of the author of these Elements, which he has given as a still more triumphant refutation of Le Gendre. The argument of the latter is applied, as we have seen, to the relation between the three angles of a triangle, and any one of the sides. 'Now,' says our author, 'sup-'pose that the three sides, and one of the angles of a triangle are 'considered, the case is quite similar to the preceding; and the 'reasoning that applies to the one must apply also to the other; 'and we must therefore conclude, that there cannot be an equa-'tion between these four quantities;' which is contrary to the fact; and inconsistent with the well known theorems which give the angles of a triangle in terms of its sides. The truth, however, is, that the two cases here proposed are by no means parallel; for though they are the same in what relates merely to the circumstance of heterogeneity, they are different in what relates to

the number of dimensions, the point on which the whole argument turns. The quantities given in the latter case are a, b, c, C, where C is of no dimension, and the other three each of them of one. Now, from three quantities of one dimension it is easy to form a quantity of no dimension at all; so that there is no reason why the value of C may not be found in terms of the three lines a, b, c. The common theorem in trigonometry, which gives the cosine of an angle in terms of the three sides, viz. $\cos. C = \frac{a^2 + b^2 - c^2}{2ab}$, is an example of this, the cosine of C being evidently exhibited as a quantity of no dimension.

Mr L. has entered into a disquisition on the principle that gave rise to Le Gendre's error; but as we have shown, in a manner that we think will prove convincing even to himself, that Le Gendre has fallen into no error, but has reasoned with perfect accuracy, and, as we think, with great ingenuity, it is unnecessary to enter any farther into the argument.

The subject of the greatest difficulty that falls within the compass of the Elements, is, without all doubt, the doctrine of proportion, if it is treated in a manner perfectly general and accurate. There are indeed two ways in which this subject may be treated, one applicable to number only, or commensurable magnitude, another applicable to all magnitude, both commensurable and incommensurable. It is the latter only that is difficult: the former is easy; and, to any one tolerably familiar with the elements of algebra, presents nothing to retard the progress of investigation. The value of these two methods, in a scientific view, is extremely different: and that which leads to universal conclusions must be admitted to have an infinite preference to the other. To demonstrate a truth which is itself quite general in one particular case only, is doubtless a very imperfect way of delivering the elements of science. Nevertheless, for the sake of those who are just entering on the study of geometry, on account of the difficulty of the general methods, it may be useful, by way of introduction, to begin with one that is less general and more easy; but this ought not to supersede the use of the more accurate and scientific mode of demonstration.

In the work before us, it is the first of the two methods only that is pursued; the idea of proportion is confined to quantities that have a common measure, and excludes incommensurables altogether. 'Four quantities are said to be proportional 'when a submultiple of the first is contained in the second, as 'often as a like submultiple of the third is contained in the 'fourth.' (B. 5. def. 10.)

It is indeed possible to interpret this definition so as to in-

clude incommensurables, by supposing the word *contained* to signify, that the less is found in the greater, with or without a remainder. But this is not the sense in which the word is taken in the demonstrations that follow. The sixth proposition, applicable to number only, demonstrates the equality between the products of the extremes and means of proportional numbers; and as all the subsequent propositions depend on it, they are in strictness applicable to number only. All this is no doubt very useful as an introduction to mathematical study; but it is a matter of very easy performance, and does not entitle the author to make light of those geometers who have had a higher aim, and who have attained it by methods more difficult and laborious. The learned Professor, speaking of Euclid, has said, 'The great object which the framer of the Elements had proposed to himself, by adopting such an artificial definition of proportion, was to obviate the difficulties arising from the consideration of incommensurable quantities. Under the shelter of a certain *indefinitude of principle*, he has contrived rather to *evade* those difficulties, than *fairly to meet* them.' (Note 34. p. 420.) The first remark in this passage is certainly true; the last appears to us unjust in the extreme; and nothing but our respect for the learned author prevents us from saying, that it is most unworthy of a geometer. That Euclid has sought to shelter himself, by any principle whatever, from fairly meeting the difficulties of his subject, we cannot but consider as a most unmerited reproach. If indeed, by great ingenuity, and by views both original and profound, he has overcome with facility those difficulties which to others would have proved insurmountable—if to have done this can be called evasion, we will admit that it may fairly be imputed to the Greek geometer. But no demonstrations are more satisfactory or convincing, than those in his fifth book; and we are sure that this assertion will be confirmed by every person who has studied it with attention. It is easy to throw out an indefinite charge like the preceding; but let the author of it take any particular proposition—let him analyze it carefully, and point out to the world where the evasion and unfairness of the argument consists. Such charges ought always to be accompanied with an accurate reference to particulars; otherwise, from whatever source they come, we may say as Barrow did to a former assailant of Euclid, 'Thou wouldest do well to show us where, O Ramus.' If the result of such analysis shall be, the detection of sophistry and error in Euclid's theory of proportion, our author will have a very flattering inference to draw by a comparison, not only with Euclid, but

with Barrow, Simson, and many others who have hitherto passed in the world for great geometers.

So far is Euclid's definition of proportion, and his methods of demonstration, from meriting the censures which are here so inconsiderately thrown out, that we believe no one can explain the properties of proportionals, universally and directly, more easily than he has done; nor do we believe that any definition can be given, on which it is so easy to reason correctly, as that which he has employed. A more simple definition, indeed, than his, and one equally applicable to incommensurables, might be given, viz. four quantities are proportionals, when the first is found in any multiple of the second (with or without remainder), as oft as the third is found with or without remainder in the same multiple of the fourth. This definition, however, though simpler than Euclid's in the enunciation, will not, on trial, be found nearly so applicable to the purposes of investigation. His definition is in reality an accurately geometrical description of the equality of two quotients, understanding the operation of division to be either accurately performed, or to be carried on *ad infinitum*, according as the circumstances require. The three conditions involved in Euclid's definition, though they give it an appearance of complication, enable one to make the transition more easily from the abstract doctrine of proportion to its application to geometrical figure, than can be done by any other way of treating the subject. Let any one, for example, compare the first proposition of the sixth book, where Euclid proves, that triangles of the same altitude are as their bases, with any demonstration of it derived from such a definition of proportion as our author has given, and the advantage will be found astonishingly on the side of Euclid. In the work before us, this proposition is the 25th of the sixth, and is demonstrated in a manner not at all rigorous, and applicable to commensurable quantities only. Even in that state, it is not simpler than Euclid's; and to make the demonstration complete, it would require a second part to be added, suited to the case of incommensurable magnitudes, as is done by Thomas Simpson, in his scholium annexed to this proposition, which is the 7th of the fourth of his Elements; and this addition the author himself considered as possessing such a degree of difficulty, that he says it may not be amiss for the learner to omit it entirely. If Euclid's method is pursued, no such difficulty occurs; and we very much wonder that Simpson, who was not scholar enough to discover, in the 5th book of Euclid, those Platonic heresies which appear to have excited the indignation

of the learned professor, should not have adopted a definition that would have spared him the necessity of a double and indirect demonstration.'

For similar reasons, we cannot admit the first proposition of the 6th of these Elements, that 'parallels cut diverging lines 'proportionally,' to be rigorously demonstrated, except when the lines are commensurable. The accommodation of the reasoning to incommensurables, which is attempted in the second part of the proposition, is by approximation,—a process that should not be introduced into geometry but when absolutely necessary. It is so far from being necessary here, that when the true idea of proportion is established, the demonstration, in the case of incommensurable magnitudes, is as easy as when one magnitude is exactly the double or the treble of that with which it is compared.

On the subject of this same definition, our author further remarks, 'the pertinacity of modern editors of the Elements 'in retaining such an intricate definition, appears the more 'singular, since, omitting all the books relative to the pro-'perties of number, they have not given the slightest intima-'tion respecting even the existence of incommensurable quan-'tities.'

Here we are inclined to join with our author, not in blaming the editors of the Elements for retaining Euclid's definition of proportionals, but for omitting to introduce any thing concerning the nature of incommensurables. This is undoubtedly a defect, and we are glad to see it corrected in the work before us; the existence of incommensurable magnitudes being proved, in the last proposition of the 5th book, by the comparison of the diagonal of a square with its side. The same thing has been done by Le Gendre in his Elements. Euclid himself made the doctrine of incommensurables the subject of his 10th book, the longest and most elaborate in the Elements. The modern editors have left out this book, of which a great part is no doubt unnecessary, but of which as much ought, certainly, to have been retained, as to give to beginners some idea of a relation among quantities very extensive, but not very easily conceived. In censuring the inconsisteney of these writers, Mr L. did not remark that he had himself been guilty of a like inconsistency, only much more considerable. He has treated of proportion so as to exclude incommensurables altogether; and he has then proceeded to define and explain the nature of incommensurable magnitudes. This is a much greater inconsistency than the other. One man lays so broad a foundation for his house,

that he has room for an additional apartment, which however he does not build: Another lays so narrow a foundation, that he has no room for an addition, which he nevertheless insists on making. Which of these two does the most trespass against the rules of architecture, and of common sense, we leave the reader to determine.

On this subject we must again repeat, that what Mr L. has performed in his 5th book does by no means authorise him to talk lightly of the labours of Euclid. His demonstrations are adapted to numbers only; to any one versed in algebra, to make out such demonstrations is a work of no difficulty, and can give him no title to despise the slower and more laborious process by which the theorems he has demonstrated, in one particular case, are extended to all cases whatsoever. This last is done in so masterly and original a manner in the 5th of Euclid, that we think few mathematicians have ever raised a nobler monument to their memory than that which this book contains. Notwithstanding the attacks of our author, it is not likely to be soon demolished; it has weathered the vicissitudes of opinion for two thousand years, and notwithstanding this new attack, we still conclude as Barrow did, more than a hundred years ago, *nisi machinis validioribus impulsa in æternum durabit.*

Though we cannot help thinking, that there is a great defect both in the doctrine of proportion as here given, and in the transition from the general doctrine to the proportion of geometrical lines and figures, we are very ready to commend the series of propositions which composes the 6th book. Several propositions are there introduced, which have not usually found a place in the Elements of Geometry; and though perhaps, in strictness, they are not quite of such general application as absolutely to belong to that place, yet we are glad to see a number of curious and valuable propositions that are to be found only in rare or expensive works, brought into a situation where they may be read by every body. Such, for example, are the 9th and 10th of the 6th book, the former of which is the 156th, and the latter the 154th of the 7th book of Pappus Alexandrinus. The construction in the 19th proposition is from the 157th of the same; but, though undoubtedly elegant, is not so easy and elementary as some others. The 31st is a very useful proposition for giving the area of a triangle in terms of the three sides. It was first introduced into the Elements, we believe, by Clavius. It has been since very often omitted, or only given as a trigonometrical proposition. The proposition in the 42d note is from the

French geometer Fermat. As these propositions, though not common, are not new, it would have been better if the author had referred to the original sources from which the knowledge of them is derived. The book concludes with an approximation to the area of the circle, which no doubt does, strictly speaking, belong to this part of geometry. The method pursued for obtaining the approximation is a very good one; but, we fear, is despatched with much too great brevity to be easily intelligible to a beginner.

It is with considerable regret that we conclude our remarks on these books, where there is so much commendable matter, with a censure that applies very generally to the style in which they are composed. The simplicity characteristic of mathematical language is but too often wanting; and a puerile affectation of ornament, not at all suited to geometry, is substituted in its room. This is the more to be regretted, that it is precisely the fault against which the student should be put upon his guard.

This want of simplicity arises either from an affected change of expression, or from the unnecessary introduction of metaphorical language. It is said, for instance, of a line which is to be carried round a triangle, and to turn about the angular points, so as to describe the angles of the triangle in succession, that it is to *turn* about the first point, to *open* at the second, and, finally, to *wear* about the third. (Notes and Illustrations, p. 405.) In the 24th proposition of the 3d, it is said of a straight line that is proved to be within the circle, that, 'being 'extended, it would meet the circumference again before it *ef-* '*fected its escape.*' Again, at note 39th, the scale called the Vernier, by means of which the larger divisions on the limb of a mathematical instrument are subdivided into parts much smaller than could be done by actual division, is denominated a *parasite* scale. Was it an allusion to the ordinary meaning of the word *parasite* that led our author to this conceit? He might have remarked, that the analogy fails entirely, as the small scale is most rigorous in detecting the errors of the great one. Perhaps the idea was suggested to him by the use that Heliogabalus is said to have made of certain *parasites* among his courtiers, whom he fixed to the circumference of a water-wheel, just as the vernier is to the circumference of a quadrant; and amused himself, when the wheel was driven round, with observing how his favourites looked when they were alternately plunged into the river and raised into the air. The Roman emperor, among his other titles to be remembered by posterity,

may add that of being the first who applied the *parasitical* scale to circular instruments. All this, however, is little suited to the gravity of science; and we hope that, in the third edition of these Elements, the straight line above mentioned will not appear as a prisoner escaping from confinement, nor the Vernier be disgraced by the name of Parasite.

Another fault in the language of this book, lyes in the obscurity of the general enunciations, which makes them often extremely difficult to follow, without the commentary which the particular enunciations afford. An affectation of brevity is the principal cause of this,—although the proper object is never to be obtained by sparing words to the author, but by sparing time and labour to the reader. An appearance of conciseness may be given, by leaving out words, which, if they had been introduced, would have made the subject intelligible in much less time, and with much less exertion. In an elementary work nothing is to be more carefully avoided than brevity of this description.

It should also be considered, that the language of Geometry requires nothing but accuracy and perspicuity, united to as much conciseness as is consistent with the latter. The works in that science, by the adaptation of their parts, may exemplify *quantum series, juncturaque pollet;* but can hardly illustrate any other of the rules of the critic or the orator. They admit no expression purely ornamental, and reject every thing that can withdraw the attention from the main object. To metaphor and variety of expression they are peculiarly averse; and the geometer must never forget, that the transparency of a medium may be injured by the flowers scattered on its surface, no less than by the mud diffused through its mass.

The elementary books of Geometry now run over, are succeeded by an Appendix, as before remarked, containing problems resolved by straight lines without circles, and others by circles without straight lines. The first are taken from a tract of Schooten, who was professor of mathematics at Leyden early in the 17th century; and the second from a very modern treatise by Mascheroni, an Italian author, formerly mentioned in this Journal. Though both these treatises are very ingenious, we doubt whether they ought to be considered as elementary. The natural means which a geometer is provided with for resolving plain problems, are straight lines and circles; and it is only for those who have made considerable progress in the science, voluntarily to give up a part of those means, that they may more effectually display the resources of their own ingenuity. This, therefore, is not an employment for those beginning

the study of Geometry. If, indeed, the field of mathematical knowledge were so limited, that one was at a loss for subjects on which to exercise himself, there might be reason for introducing this sort of *jeu d'esprit*; but when there is so much to learn, that is either necessary or useful, we should think it wrong to apply much time to either of the subjects of this Appendix, till long after the elements have been learnt. Some of Schooten's problems may indeed be useful in practical Geometry, when it is required to draw perpendiculars or parallels on the ground, without instruments, and where circles cannot conveniently be described. We should have thought it, however, much more important, after the six books on plane figures, to introduce the doctrine of planes and of solids, which are of so great consequence in all the practical applications of the mathematics, and without which, indeed, the elements of Geometry are extremely incomplete. The properties of solids bounded by planes, and of the three round solids, as they are called, the cylinder, the cone, and the sphere, are indispensable, and ought to be introduced in an elementary course of mathematics, as soon as the requisite *data*, that is, the properties of plane figures, have been sufficiently explained.

The Appendix we have just mentioned is followed by three books on the Geometrical Analysis, which it is impossible to view in any light but that of a great acquisition to elementary Geometry. These books occupy 130 pages, and contain the solutions of a great number of problems, investigated according to the method of the antient or geometrical analysis. In this method, the solution required is supposed to be found; and from thence the reasoning proceeds, till it comes to some truth that is known, or some problem that has already been resolved. By reversing the order of this reasoning, the geometer proceeds from the point where his analysis terminated, to the point where it began; and thus he obtains what is called the synthesis, or the demonstration that his solution is true. In drawing up these books, we consider the Professor as having done a great service to science, and as contributing to keep alive the knowledge of a most beautiful and interesting branch of the Mathematics, which has been too much overlooked, during the improvement of the more general and more powerful methods of algebraic investigation. The great beauty of the antient geometry, the elegance of its demonstrations, and the simplicity of the conclusions to which it often leads, render it extremely valuable. The analysis is extended, in the third book, to the propositions called Loci, and those called Porisms, in the lan-

guage of the antient Geometry. A few things perhaps might be changed for the better. In the first book, the progress from the simpler problems to the more complex, might have been more gradual: The first might have regarded the different sections of a line, and might have proceeded so as to supply, in a great measure, the place of Euclid's *data*; a book certainly too prolix, but of which an abridgment, thrown into the form of a series of problems, would form an excellent introduction to this part of Geometry. We also think, that it would have been better to deduce the *maxima* and *minima*, or determinations of the problems, directly from the solutions, than to have formed them, as at the end of the third book, into separate propositions. In the first of these ways, they are more interesting than in any other, as they contribute to enlarge our views of science, and at the same time to render them more correct, by distinguishing between the regions of possibility and of impossibility, and marking the *maximum* or *minimum* which is the boundary between the two. The definition of a *maximum* and a *minimum*, given at the beginning of the second book, is quite incorrect. The *minimum* of a variable quantity may be greater than the *maximum*; and the quantity may be in a state, where its value is greater than the *maximum*, and in one where it is less than the *minimum*. This, though it may seem a paradox, is perfectly understood in the higher Geometry; for the truth is, that a variable quantity becomes a *maximum*, not on account of the absolute greatness of its value, but when its value is greater than those nearest it on either side, and a *minimum* when it is less.

We shall only further remark, that as many of the problems and solutions in these books are taken (as they must necessarily be) from other authors, a more precise reference to the originals than is implied in the general acknowledgment of the Notes, would have been proper; and the author, by pointing out when he was indebted to others, could not have failed to render his own inventions more conspicuous.

A very full and accurate treatise on Plane Trigonometry follows the books on the Geometrical Analysis. The Arithmetic of the Sines is very properly introduced, and its foundations demonstrated in the usual manner. Some practical applications of trigonometry to the problems of surveying are also given. As it is particularly important, in trigonometry, to avoid typographical *errata*, we must take the liberty of mentioning that, in the 4th analogy of the table of the solutions of oblique angled triangles (p. 378), the last term is made cos. $\frac{1}{2}$ B, instead cos. B.

The notes that follow occupy no less than 100 pages; they are very miscellaneous, and not confined to elementary geometry. Besides what belongs purely to that subject, they treat of the trigonometry of the Brahmins; the solution of triangles by algebraic formulæ; of levelling; of the trigonometric survey of Britain; of the method of measuring heights by the barometer; the mean temperature of different latitudes; and the circle of perpetual congelation, &c.

This display of knowledge, in a book destined only to explain the elements of geometry, may seem somewhat out of place; and we must confess, that we see no great advantage to be derived from it, as the subjects cannot be treated in detail sufficient to be understood by the persons to whom the book is *professedly* addressed. If, however, it shall in any instance awaken a curiosity which may lead to more full and minute examination, it will make a full atonement for what might otherwise be reckoned unnecessary and ostentatious digressions.

A theorem for the reduction of small spherical triangles to plane triangles, which was discovered by Legendre, is demonstrated in the 77th note, with a degree of simplicity that, so far as we know, is not to be found either in the original, or in any other investigation. If each of the angles of a spherical triangle, the sides of which are small arches, be diminished by one third of the spherical excess, or of the quantity by which its three angles exceed 180°, the sines of the remainders are proportional to the real lengths of the opposite sides. This proposition, so useful in trigonometrical surveying, is here proved in a manner as elementary as its nature can admit; and we are glad to terminate a criticism, which has led us so often to find fault, with an expression of entire approbation.

Art. VII. *Tales of Fashionable Life.* By Miss Edgeworth, Author of Practical Education, Belinda, Castle Rackrent, &c. &c. 3 vol. 12mo. pp. 1450. Johnson, London. 1812.

The writings of Miss Edgeworth exhibit so singular an union of sober sense and inexhaustible invention—so minute a knowledge of all that distinguishes manners, or touches on happiness in every condition of human fortune—and so just an estimate both of the real sources of enjoyment, and of the illusions by which they are so often obstructed, that it cannot be thought wonderful that we should separate her from the ordinary manufacturers of novels, and speak of her Tales as works of more se-

rious importance than much of the true history and solemn philosophy that comes daily under our inspection. The great business of life, and the object of all arts and acquisitions, is undoubtedly to be happy; and though our success in this grand endeavour depends, in some degree, upon external circumstances, over which we have no control, and still more on temper and dispositions, which can only be controlled by gradual and systematic exertion, a very great deal depends also upon creeds and *opinions*, which may be effectually and even suddenly rectified, by a few hints from authority that cannot be questioned, or a few illustrations so fair and striking, as neither to be misapplied nor neglected. We are all no doubt formed, in a great degree, by the circumstances in which we are placed, and the beings by whom we are surrounded; but still we have all theories of happiness—notions of ambition, and opinions as to the *summum bonum* of our own—more or less developed, and more or less original, according to our situation and character—but influencing our conduct and feelings at every moment of our lives, and leading us on to disappointment, and away from real gratification, as powerfully as mere ignorance or passion. It is to the correction of those erroneous theories that Miss Edgeworth has applied herself in that series of moral fictions, the last portion of which has recently come to our hands; and in which, we think, she has combined more solid instruction with more universal entertainment, and given more practical lessons of wisdom, with less tediousness and less pretension, than any other writer with whom we are acquainted.

When we reviewed the first part of these Tales which are devoted to the delineation of fashionable life, we ventured to express a doubt, whether the author was justifiable for expending so large a quantity of her moral medicines on so small a body of patients—and upon patients too whom she had every reason to fear would turn out incurable. Upon reflection, however, we are now inclined to recal this sentiment. The vices and illusions of fashionable life are, for the most part, merely the vices and illusions of human nature—presented sometimes in their most conspicuous, and almost always in their most seductive form;—and even where they are not merely fostered and embellished, but actually generated in that exalted region, it is very well known that they 'drop upon the place beneath,' and are speedily propagated and diffused into the world below. To expose them, therefore, in this their original and proudest sphere, is not only to purify the stream at its source, but to counteract their pernicious influence precisely where it is most

formidable and extensive. To point out the miseries of those infinite and laborious pursuits in which persons who pretend to be fashionable consume their days, would be but an unprofitable task; while nobody could be found who would admit that they belonged to the class of pretenders; and all that remained therefore was to show, that the pursuits themselves were preposterous; and inflicted the same miseries upon the unquestioned leaders of fashion, as upon the humblest of their followers. For this task, too, Miss Edgeworth possessed certain advantages of which it would have been equally unnatural and unfortunate for her readers, if she had not sought to avail herself.

We have said, that the hints by which we may be enabled to correct those errors of opinion which so frequently derange the whole scheme of life, must be given by one whose authority is liable to no serious dispute. Persons of fashion, therefore, and pretenders to fashion, will never derive any considerable benefit from all the edifying essays and apologues that superannuated governesses and preceptors may indite for their reformation;—nor from the volumes of sermons which learned divines may put forth for the amendment of the age;—nor the ingenious discourses which philosophers may publish, from the love of fame, money, or mankind. Their feeling as to all such monitors is, that they know nothing at all about the matter, and have nothing to do with personages so much above them;—and so they laugh at their prosing and presumption—and throw them aside, with a mingled sense of contempt and indignation. Now, Miss Edgeworth happens fortunately to be born in the condition of a lady,—familiar from early life with the fashionable world, and liable to no suspicion of having become an author from any other motives than those she has been pleased to assign.

But it is by no means enough that we should be on a footing, in point of rank, with those to whom we are moved to address our instructions. It is necessary that we should also have some relish for the pleasures we accuse them of overrating, and some pretensions to the glory we ask them to despise. If a man, without stomach or palate, takes it into his head to lecture against the pleasures of the table—or an old maid against flirtation—or a miser against extravagance, they may say as many wise and just things as they please—but they may be sure that they will either be laughed at, or not listened to; and that all their dissuasives will be set down to the score of mere ignorance or envy. In the very same way, a man or woman who is obviously without talents to shine or please in fashionable life, may utter any quantity of striking

truths as to its folly or unsatisfactoriness, without ever commanding the attention of one of its votaries. The inference is so ready, and so consolatory—that all those wise reflections are the fruit of disappointment and mortification—that they want to reduce all the world to their own dull level—and to deprive others of gratifications which they are themselves incapable of tasting. The judgment of Miss Edgeworth, however, we think, is not in any very imminent danger of being disabled by this ingenious imputation; and if we were to select any one of the traits that are indicated by her writings as peculiarly characteristic, and peculiarly entitled to praise, we should specify the singular force of judgment and self-denial, which has enabled her to resist the temptation of being the most brilliant and fashionable writer of her day, in order to be the most useful and instructive.

The writer who conceived the characters, and reported the conversations of Lady Delacour—Lady Gerakline—and Lady Dashfort (to take but these three out of her copious *dramatis personæ*), certainly need not be afraid of being *excelled* by any of her contemporaries, in that faithful but flattering representation of the spoken language of persons of wit and politeness of the present day—in that light and graceful tone of raillery and argument—and in that gift of sportive but cutting *medisance*, which is sure to command such unbounded success in those circles, where success is supposed to be most difficult, and most desirable. With the consciousness of such rare qualifications, we do think it required no ordinary degree of fortitude to withstand the temptation of being the flattering delineator of fashionable manners, instead of their enlightened corrector; and to prefer the chance of amending the age in which she lived, to the certainty of enjoying its applauses. Miss Edgeworth, however, is entitled to the praise of this magnanimity;—for not only has she abstained from dressing any of her favourites in this glittering drapery, but she has uniformly exhibited it in such a way as to mark its subordination to the natural graces it is sometimes allowed to eclipse, and to point out the defects it still more frequently conceals. It is a very rare talent, certainly, to be able to delineate both solid virtues and captivating accomplishments with the same force and fidelity;—but it is a still rarer exercise of that talent, to render the former both more amiable and more attractive than the latter—and, without depriving wit and vivacity of any of their advantages, to win not only our affections, but our admiration away from them, to the less dazzling qualities of the heart and the understanding. By what resources Miss Edgeworth is enabled to perform this feat, we leave our readers to discover,

from the perusal of her writings;—of which it is our business to present them with a slender account, and a scanty sample.

These three new volumes contain but three stories;—the first filling exactly a volume, the second half a volume, and the last no less than a volume and a half. The first, which is entitled 'Vivian,' is intended to show not only into what absurdities, but into what guilt and wretchedness a person, otherways estimable, may be brought by that 'infirmity of purpose' which renders him incapable of resisting the solicitations of others,—of saying *No*, in short, on proper occasions. The moral, perhaps, is brought a little too constantly forward; and a little more exaggeration is admitted into the construction of the story, than Miss Edgeworth generally employs;—but it is full of characters and incidents and good sense, like all her other productions. The mere outline is as follows.

Vivian is a young man of good family, fortune, talents, and dispositions,—the only child of an amiable widow, who spoils and over-educates him at home,—teaches him to depend entirely upon her will,—and then sends him to the university to acquire steadiness of character. Here he fortunately falls in with a tutor who has that, along with all other human excellencies; and, forming an ardent friendship with him, becomes so far sensible of his own infirmity, as to determine to get the better of it, and to do nothing at the request of any person, but especially of his mother, without satisfying himself that it was right. When his studies are finished, he comes home to his country seat; where the first mark of his independence is to fall in love with a most amiable young lady, whose family and fortune, however, do not correspond with his mother's ambitious views for him. His importunity, however, and Miss Sidney's merit, at last overcome her repugnance; and the match is nearly settled, when he allows himself to be persuaded by a certain Lord Glistonbury in the neighbourhood, first to transform his comfortable mansion into a gothic castle, and then to stand for the county on the independent interest. Both projects are attended with monstrous expense—but they succeed; and Vivian is built up in turrets and battlements,—and returned by a narrow majority to parliament. This last piece of success forces him go to town before the lawyers can complete the marriage settlements; and here the attentions of Lord Glistonbury, and the *agremens* of his house, lead him to spend so much of his time there, that it is universally reported that he is to marry his eldest daughter; and he is in great danger of being prevailed upon to verify this rumour, when he is drawn into a sort of

Platonic intrigue with a beautiful Mrs Wharton, whose husband treats her with great neglect, and who chuses to confide to Vivian the secret of her domestic misery. While he is resolving every day to break off this dangerous connexion, he happens to send one of the sentimental epistles intended for the disconsolate matron, by mistake, to Miss Sidney,—who instantly renounces him with great dignity. He has the grace to take a fever on the occasion; but no sooner gets well, than he thinks it necessary to go and satisfy Mrs Wharton of the impropriety of their intercourse; the result of which laudable attempt is, that he elopes with her to the Continent, where he has very soon the satisfaction of learning, that the whole affair is merely the *denouement* of a profligate concert between her and her husband, —the one intending to get a large sum of damages, and the other to get a rich husband in her penitent seducer. He then comes back to England, and goes down to Glistonbury castle, when he speedily falls in love with his Lordship's youngest daughter, a very beautiful, romantic, and extraordinary young lady,—who refuses him because she is in love with his former tutor,—and by whom she is in her turn refused, because he is in love with Miss Sidney. Vivian then finds, that the eldest daughter is in love with him; and, considering that his former attentions give her a sort of claim upon his honour, is easily persuaded to marry her; which he accordingly does, to the great satisfaction of the whole family. Not being very comfortable at home, he now makes a figure in parliament; and is beginning to find considerable consolation in patriotism and popular glory,—when his father-in-law is unfortunately offered a Marquisate by the ministry, upon condition of his changing sides; and is so earnest and persevering in his solicitations to his son-in-law to perform the same simple evolution, that poor Vivian is at last induced to comply;—when he is insulted, among others, by his old friend Mr Wharton, to whom he sends a challenge, and is shot dead by him at the first fire.

The chief fault of this story is, that the reader cares little about the hero; and ceases to feel either respect or interest for him, the moment he detaches himself from Miss Sidney. The ladies of the Glistonbury family, too, are a good deal caricatured; and we rather think Miss Edgeworth overrates our progress both in personal and in political profligacy, when she supposes it possible that such a man as Wharton could be received in any society after the exposure of his infamy in regard to his wife; or that even an old politician, like Lord Glistonbury, could openly pass from the patriotic to the ministerial side, without any sort of

pretext for the conversion, except the promise of a marquisate. The great merit of the tale, on the other hand, consists in the skill and perverted ingenuity with which the author has made her hero find apologies and good reasons indeed for his versatility on almost every occasion; and the address with which she has represented him as rejecting at other times the most reasonable and affectionate advice,—just in order to show that he had a will and understanding of his own, and was not to be led or governed like an infant. The subordinate characters, too, with which the volume abounds, are drawn, for the most part, with the utmost force and vivacity. That of Lord Glistonbury is original, we think, in fiction; though most of our fashionable readers must have met with something very like it in real life. It is that of a talking conceited nobleman, with some memory and some vivacity, but very little principle, judgment or understanding; who goes on with an incessant chatter of borrowed sense and original nonsense; delighted to hear himself talk, and mistaking his paltry maxims and insufferable volubility for eloquence and knowledge of the world. His *debut*, however, will make him far better understood than any description of ours. It is on occasion of Vivian introducing his own tutor to him, as willing to undertake the education of his son and heir; on which his Lordship is pleased to observe—

" Mr Russell will, I am perfectly persuaded, make Lidhurst every thing we can desire; an honour to his country; an ornament to his family. It is my decided opinion, that man is but a bundle of habits; and it 's my maxim, that education is *second* nature—*first*, indeed, in many cases. For, except that I am staggered about original genius, I own I conceive, with Hartley, that early impressions and associations are all in all: his vibrations and vibratiuncles are quite satisfactory. But what I particularly wish for Lidhurst, Sir, is, that he should be trained as soon as possible into a statesman. Mr Vivian, I presume, you mean to follow up public business, and no doubt will make a figure. So I prophecy—and I am used to these things. And from Lidhurst, too, under similar tuition, I may with reason expect miracles—'hope to hear him thundering in the House of Commons in a few years—'confess 'am not quite so impatient to have the young dog in the house of incurables; for you know he could not be there without being in my shoes, which I have not done with yet—ha! ha! ha!——Each in his turn, my boy!—In the mean time, Lady Mary, shall we join the ladies yonder, on the terrace. Lady Glistonbury walks so slow, that she will be seven hours in coming to us, so we had best go to her ladyship.—If the mountain won't go to Mahomet, you know of course what follows."

' On their way to the terrace, Lord Glistonbury continued to

give his ideas on education; sometimes appealing to Mr Russell, sometimes happy to catch the eye of Lady Mary.

"Now, my idea for Lidhurst is simply this:—that he should know every thing that is in all the best books in the library, but yet that he should be the farthest possible from a book-worm—that he should never, except in a set speech in the House, have the air of having opened a book in his life—mother wit for me!—in most cases—and that easy style of originality, which shows the true gentleman.—As to morals——Lidhurst, walk on my boy——as to morals, I confess I couldn't bear to see any thing of the Joseph Surface about him. A youth of spirit must, you know, Mr Vivian——excuse me, Lady Mary, this is *an aside*——be something of a latitudinarian to keep in the fashion—not that I mean to say so exactly to Lidhurst—No, no!—on the contrary, Mr Russell, it is our cue, as well as this reverend gentleman's," looking back at the chaplain, who bowed assent before he knew to what—"it is our cue, as well as this reverend gentleman's, to preach prudence, and temperance, and all the cardinal virtues." IV. p. 41—4.

This is enough for Lord Glistonbury;—though we must say for him that he is equally entertaining throughout the volume. The character of Wharton is not altogether so original; but it is supported with no less talent and spirit. This is a designing profligate, who, by the help of great gayety, wit, and licentious talk, contrives to pass for nothing worse than a careless rash fellow, with a great deal of generosity and genius at the bottom. It was his object to detach Vivian from his honourable attachment to Miss Sidney, and to model him into a supporter of his own flexible politics. We take the following at random, as specimens of his mode of attack. One morning when he called, he found Vivian writing.

"Poetry!" exclaimed he, "carelessly looking at what he had been "writing; Poetry, I protest!—Aye, I know this poor fellow's in love; and every man who is in love is a poet, 'with a woful ditty to his mistress's eyebrow.' Pray, what colour may miss Sidney's eyebrows be?—she is really a pretty girl—I think I remember seeing her at some races—Why does she never come to town?—But of course she is not to blame for that, but her fortune, I suppose—Marrying a girl without a fortune is a serious thing in these expensive days; but you have fortune enough for both yourself and your wife, so you may do as you please. Well, I thank God I have no fortune!—If I had been a young man of fortune, I should have been the most unhappy rascal upon Earth, for I should never have married—I should have always suspected, that every woman liked me for my wealth—I should have had no pleasure in the smiles of an angel—angels, or their mothers, are so venal now-a-days, and so fond of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world!——"

" I hope," said Vivian, laughing, " you don't include the whole sex in your satire? "

" No—there are exceptions—and every man has his angel of an exception, as every woman has her star:—it is well for weak women when these stars of theirs don't lead them astray; and well for weak men, when these angel exceptions, before marriage, don't turn out very women or devils afterwards. But why do I say all this?—because I am a suspicious scoundrel—I know, and can't help it. If other fellows of my standing, in this wicked world, would but speak the truth, however, they would show as much suspicion, and more than I do. Bad as I am, and such as I am, you see, and have the whole of me—nobody can say Wharton's a hypocrite, that's some comfort.—But, seriously, Vivian, I don't mean to laugh at love and angels—I can just remember the time when I felt all your sort of romance—but that is in the preterpluperfect tense with me—completely past—ambition is no bad cure for love—*(singing)* '*Ambition, I said, will soon cure me of love;*'—and so it did—My head is, at this present moment, so full of this new bill that we are bringing into parliament, that Cupid might empty his quiver upon me in vain."—p. 92—94.

At another time, talking with affected openness of his political principles,

" I know " said he " how to make use of a fine word, and to round a fine sentence, as well as the best of you; but what a simpleton must he be, who is cheated by his own sophistry!—An artist, an enthusiastic artist, who is generally half a madman, might fall in love with the statue of his own making; but you never heard of a coiner, did you, who was cheated by his own bad shilling? Patriotism and loyalty are counterfeit coin; I can't be taken in by them at my time of day." p. 98.

We can afford no more extracts from Vivian; and shall be equally sparing as to the second tale, entitled 'Emilie de Coulanges.' Though this is the name of the tale, it is not that of the proper heroine. *She* is a Mrs Somers,—an English lady of large fortune and great generosity, who receives Emilie and the Comtesse her mother into her family when they are compelled to emigrate by the events of the revolution: and the story is meant to illustrate, in her person, the terrible havoc which an irritable temper and disordered sensibility can make in the happiness even of the most generous and affectionate character, and to show how the most extensive obligations may be more than cancelled by the daily recurrence of fantastic suspicions, sentimental quarrels, and imaginary offences. Mrs Somers makes great efforts, and even great sacrifices, for the comfort and accommodation of her *protegées*; but then she is perpetually discovering that they are not sufficiently aware of

her generosity—or that they overact the farce of gratitude—or that they do not treat her with confidence—or that they wish to seduce her friends from her—or, lastly, that they mistake her sensibility and delicacy of affection for selfishness and bad temper. The character of Emilie herself is so gentle and affectionate, as scarcely to have afforded any food for Mrs Somers's distemper; but then she has an ardent affection for her mother; and *Madame la Comtesse*, to say the truth, is abundantly provoking. That character is admirably drawn; and is perhaps the best delineation that is to be met with, in English, of a common-place Parisian fine lady. Without reflection or concern for any thing but her own accommodation, and the *bienséances* of her situation, she goes on, utterly regardless of Mrs Somers's fine feelings or disturbed sensibility; and daily makes a thousand observations as to the superiority of French manners, and fashions, and furniture, without being the least aware that her hostess construes them all into ungrateful complaints of her want of accommodation. When the ill humour excited by these proceedings becomes too apparent to be mistaken, she looks upon it not with pain and confusion, but with astonishment and curiosity. 'Mrs Somers then appeared 'to her merely as an English oddity, or a *lusus naturæ*; and 'she alternately asked Emilie to account for those strange ap-'pearances, or shrugged up her shoulders, and submitted 'to the impossibility of a Frenchwoman ever comprehending 'such *extravagances.*' One little scene will show both these characters in their true light. Mrs Somers came in to communicate to Emilie a magnanimous project she had formed of negotiating a marriage for her with her own son; and unluckily found a M. Brisac reading the newspaper to her and her mother.

'M. de Brisac read, in what this lady called his *unemphatic French tone*, paragraph after paragraph, and column after column, whilst her anxiety to have him go, every moment increased. She moulded her son's letter into all manner of shapes, as she sat in penance. To complete her misfortunes, something in the paper put Madame de Coulanges in mind of former times; and she began a long history of the destruction of some fine old tapestry hangings in the Chateau de Coulanges, at the beginning of the revolution: This led to endless melancholy reflections; and at length tears began to flow from the fine eyes of the Countess.

'Just at this instant, a butterfly flew into the room, and passed by Madame de Coulanges, who was sitting near the open window—"O! the beautiful butterfly!" cried she, starting up to catch it—"Did you ever see such a charming creature!—Catch it, M. de Brisac!—Catch it, Emilie!—Catch it, Mrs Somers!——" With

the tears yet upon her cheeks, Madame de Coulanges began the chase, and M. de Brisac followed, beating the air with his perfumed handkerchief; and the butterfly fluttered round the table, at which Emilie was standing.—" Eh! M. de Brisac, catch it!—Catch it, Emilie!" repeated her mother—" Catch it, Mrs Somers, for the love of heaven!"—" *For the love of heaven!*" repeated Mrs Somers, who, immovably grave, and sullenly indignant, kept aloof during this chase.—" Ah! pour le coup, papillon, je te tiens!" cried La Comtesse, and with eager joy she covered it with a glass, as it lighted on the table.

" Mademoiselle de Coulanges," cried Mrs Somers, " I acknowledge, now, that I was wrong in my criticism of Caroline de Lichtfield—I blamed the author for representing Caroline, at fifteen, or just when she is going to be married, as running after butterflies—I said, that, at that age, it was too frivolous—out of drawing—out of nature.—But I should have said, only, that it was out of *English nature.*——I stand corrected——"

' Madame de Coulanges and M. de Brisac again interchanged looks, which expressed " *Est il possible!*"—And La Comtesse then, with an unusual degree of deliberation and dignity in her manner, walked out of the room;'—and speedily sent for Emilie to follow her.—' She found her mother in no humour to receive any apology, even if it had been offered: nothing could have hurt Madame de Coulanges more, than the imputation of being frivolous.——

" Frivole!—Frivole!—moi frivole!—" she repeated, as soon as Emilie entered the room. " My dear Emilie! I would not live with this Mrs Somers, for the rest of my days, were she to offer me Pitt's diamond, or the whole mines of Golconda!——Bon Dieu!—neither money nor diamonds, after all, can pay for the want of kindness and politeness!—" Vol. V. p. 144—148.

The English lady develops her own character more minutely in the following letter, addressed to the only confidential friend the ingratitude of human nature had left her.

" For once, my dear friend, I am secure of your sympathising in my indignation—my long suppressed, just, virtuous indignation—yes, virtuous; for I do hold indignation to be a part of virtue: it is the natural, proper expression of a warm heart and a strong character against the cold-blooded vices of meanness and ingratitude. Would that those, to whom I allude, could feel it as a punishment!—but no, this is not the sort of punishment they are formed to feel. Nothing but what comes home to their interests—their paltry interests!—their pleasures—their selfish pleasures!—their amusements—their frivolous amusements! can touch souls of such a sort. To this half-formed race of *worldlings*, who are scarce endued with a moral sense, the generous expression of indignation always appears something incomprehensible—ridiculous; or, in their language, *outré! inoui!* With such beings, therefore, I always am—as much as my nature will allow me to be—upon my guard; I keep

within, what they call, the bounds of politeness—their dear politeness! What a system of *simagrée* it is, after all! and how can honest human nature bear to be penned up all its days by the Chinese paling of ceremony, or that French filagree work, *politesse?* English human nature cannot endure this, as *yet:* and I am glad of it—heartily glad of it——Now to the point—

"You guess, that I am going to speak of the Coulanges. Yes, my dear friend, you were quite right, in advising me, when I first became acquainted with them, not to give way blindly to my enthusiasm—not to be too generous, or to expect too much gratitude——Gratitude! why should I ever expect to meet with any?—Where I have most deserved, most hoped for it, I have been always most disappointed. My life has been a life of sacrifices—thankless and fruitless sacrifices!——I cannot cure myself of this credulous folly—I did form high expectations of happiness, from the society and gratitude of this madame and mademoiselle de Coulanges; but the mother turns out to be a mere frivolous French comtesse, ignorant, vain, and positive—as all ignorant people are; full of national prejudices, which she supports in the most absurd and petulant manner.—Possessed with the insanity, common to all Parisians, of thinking that Paris is the whole world, and that nothing can be good taste, or good sense, or good manners, but what is *à-la-mode de Paris;* through all her boasted politeness, you see, even by her mode of praising, that she has a most illiberal contempt for all, who are not Parisians—She considers the rest of the world as barbarians—I could give you a thousand instances; but her conversation is really so frivolous, that it is not worth reciting. I bore with it, day after day, for several months, with a patience, for which, I am sure, you would have given me credit; and I let her go on eternally with absurd observations upon Shakspeare, and extravagant nonsense about Racine. To avoid disputing with her, I gave up every point—I acquiesced in all she said—and only begged to have peace. Still she was not satisfied. You know there are tempers, which never can be contented, do what you will, to try to please them. Madame de Coulanges actually quarrelled with me for begging that we might have peace; and that we might talk upon subjects, where we should not be likely to disagree. This will seem to you incredible; but it is the nature of French caprice: and for this I ought to have been prepared.

"The daughter has far too much, as the mother has too little sensibility—Emilie plagues me to death with her fine feelings, and her sentimentality, and all her French parade of affection, and superfluity of endearing expressions, which mean nothing, and disgust English ears: she is always fancying, that I am angry or displeased with her or with her mother; and then I am to have tears, and explanations, and apologies: she has not a mind large enough to understand my character; and, if I were to explain to eternity, she would be as much in the dark as ever.—My little hastiness of temper she has not strength of mind sufficient to bear—I see she is dreadfully afraid of me, and more constrained in my company, than in that

of any other person.—Not a visitor comes, however insignificant, but mademoiselle de Coulanges seems more at her ease, and converses more with them, than with me—she talks to me only of gratitude and such stuff. She is one of those feeble persons, who, wanting confidence in themselves, are continually afraid that they shall not be grateful enough; and so they reproach and torment themselves, and refine and *sentimentalize*, till gratitude becomes burdensome, (as it always does to weak minds), and the very idea of a benefactor odious. Mademoiselle de Coulanges was originally unwilling to accept of any obligation from me: she knew her own character better than I did. I do not deny, that she has a heart; but she has no soul: I hope you understand and feel the difference." Vol. V. p. 80—89.

The merit of the tale consists in these characters; for the story is neither very entertaining nor very probable. The scene of the butterfly drives the refugees from the house of their benefactress, just as she is plotting how to overwhelm them with her generosity, in forcing her only son to marry Emilie. The said Emilie refuses to rescue her mother from poor lodgings by marrying M. de Brisac, because she had given away her heart to a young stranger who had delivered them from their dungeon in France;—a reconciliation, however, is at last effected; and by a striking *coup de theatre*, Emilie and her mother discover, at one and the same moment, that their deliverer is the son of Mrs Somers, and that the fortunes of their house are restored. Every thing, of course, is now in a fair train for the catastrophe—but the mother has scruples about Mr Somers's want of nobility.

'Some conversation passed between Lady Littleton and Mrs Somers, about a dormant title, in the Somers' family, which might be revived; and this made a wonderful impression on the Countess.—She yielded, as she did every thing else, with a good grace.—History does not say, whether she did or did not console M. de Brisac; we are only informed, that, immediately after her daughter's marriage, she returned to Paris, and gave a splendid ball at her Hotel de Coulanges.—We are farther assured, that Mrs Somers never quarrelled with Emilie, from the day of her marriage, till the day of her death—But this is incredible.' Vol. V. p. 199.

We come now to the last, the longest, and by far the most interesting of these tales. It is entitled, 'The Absentee;' and is intended to expose the folly and misery of renouncing the respectable character of country ladies and gentlemen, to push through intolerable expense, and more intolerable scorn, into the outer circles of fashion in London. That the case may be sufficiently striking, Miss Edgeworth has taken her example in an *Irish* family, of large fortune, and considerable rank in the peerage; and has enriched her main story with a greater varie-

ty of collateral incidents and characters, than in any of her other productions.

Lord and Lady Clonbrony are the absentees;—and they are so, because Lady Clonbrony is smitten with the ambition of making a figure in the fashionable circles of London;—where her very eagerness obstructs her success; and her inward shame, and affected contempt for her native country, only make her national accent, and all her other nationalities more remarkable. She has a niece, however, a Miss Grace Nugent, who is full of gentleness, and talent, and love for Ireland—and a son, Lord Colambre, who, though educated in England, has very much of his cousin's propensities. The first part of the story represents the various mortifications and repulses which Lady Clonbrony encounters, in her grand attempt to be very fashionable in London—the embarrassments, and gradual declension into low company, of Lord Clonbrony—the plots to marry Lord Colambre to an heiress—and the growth of his attachment to Miss Nugent, who shares his regret for the ridicule which his mother is at so much expense to excite, and his wish to snatch her from a career at once so inglorious and so full of peril. Partly to avoid his mother's importunities about the heiress, and partly to escape from the fascinations of Miss Nugent, whose want of fortune and high sense of duty seem to forbid all hopes of their union, he sets out on a visit to Ireland; where the chief interest of the story begins. There are here many admirable delineations of Irish character, in both extremes of life; and a very natural development of all its most remarkable features. At first, his Lordship is very nearly entangled in the spells of Lady Dashfort and her daughter; and is led by their arts to form rather an unfavourable opinion of his countrymen. An accidental circumstance, however, disclosing the artful and unprincipled character of these fair ladies, he breaks from his bondage, and travels *incog.* to his father's two estates of Colambre and Clonbrony;—the one flourishing under the management of a conscientious and active agent; the other going to ruin under the dominion of an unprincipled oppressor. In both places, he sees a great deal of the native politeness, native wit, and kind-heartedness of the lower Irish; and makes an acquaintance at the latter with one groupe of Catholic cottagers, more interesting, and more beautifully painted in the simple colouring of nature, than all the Arcadians of pastoral or romance. After detecting the frauds and villany of the tyrannical agent, he hurries back to London, to tell his story to his father; and arrives just in time to hinder him from being irretrievably entangled in his snares. He and Miss Nugent now make joint suit to Lady Clonbrony to retire for a

while to Ireland,—an application in which they are powerfully seconded by the terrors of an execution in the house; and at last enabled to succeed, by a solemn promise that the yellow damask furniture of the great drawingroom shall be burnt on the very day of their arrival. In the mean time, Lord Colambre, whose wider survey of the female world had finally determined him to seek happiness with Grace Nugent, even with an humble fortune, suffers great agony, from a discovery maliciously made by Lady Dashfort, of a stain on her mother's reputation; which he is enabled at length to remove, and at the same time to recover a splendid inheritance, which had been long withheld by its prevalence from the woman of his choice. This last event, of course, reconciles all parties to the match; and they all set out, in bliss and harmony, to the paradise regained of Clonbrony;—their arrival and reception at which is inimitably described in a letter from one of their postillions, with which the tale is concluded.

In this very brief abstract, we have left out an infinite multitude of the characters and occurrences, from the variety and profusion of which the story derives its principal attraction; and have only attempted indeed to give such a general notice of the relations and proceedings of the chief agents, as to render the few extracts we propose to make intelligible. The contrivance of the story indeed is so good, and the different parts of it so concisely represented, that we could not give an adequate epitome of it in much less compass than the original. We can venture on nothing, therefore, but a few detached specimens. For the sake of our fashionable readers, we may give the first place to Lady Dashfort, an English lady of very high ton, whom Lord Colambre encountered in Dublin.

'She in general affected to be ill-bred and inattentive to the feelings and opinions of others; careless whom she offended by her wit, or by her decided tone. There are some persons in so high a region of fashion, that they imagine themselves above the thunder of vulgar censure. Lady Dashfort felt herself in this exalted situation, and fancied she might "hear the innocuous thunder roll below." Her rank was so high, that none could dare to call her vulgar; what would have been gross in any one of meaner note, in her was freedom, or originality, or lady Dashfort's way. It was lady Dashfort's pleasure and pride to show her power in perverting the public taste. She often said to those English companions with whom she was intimate, "Now see what follies I can lead those fools into. Hear the nonsense I can make them repeat as wit." Upon some occasion one of her friends ventured to fear that something she had said was *too strong*. "Too strong, was it? Well, I like to be strong—wo be to the weak." On another occasion she was told, that cer-

tain visitors had seen her ladyship yawning. " Yawn, did I?—I am glad of it—the yawn sent them away, or I should have snored;—rude, was I? they won't complain. To say, I was rude to them, would be to say, that I did not think it worth my while to be otherwise. Barbarians! are not we the civilized English, come to teach them manners and fashions? Whoever does not conform, and swear allegiance too, we shall keep out of the English pale." Vol. VI. p. 50, 51.

Having fixed upon Colambre as a husband for her daughter, she resolved to take him with her into the country, for the double purpose of rivetting his chains, and disgusting him with his native land; and so she addresses him—

" My Lord, I think you told me, or my own sagacity discovered, that you want to see something of Ireland, and that you don't intend, like most travellers, to turn round, see nothing, and go home content." Lord Colambre assured her ladyship that she had judged him rightly, for, that nothing would content him but seeing all that was possible to be seen of his native country. It was for this special purpose he came to Ireland. " Ah!—well—very good purpose—can't be better; but now, how to accomplish it. You know the Portuguese proverb says, ' you go to Hell for the good things you intend to do, and to Heaven, for those you do.'—Now let us see what you will do.—Dublin, I suppose, you've seen enough of by this time—through and through—round and round—this makes me first giddy and then sick. Let me show you the country—not the face of it, but the body of it—the people.—Not Castle this, or Newtown that, but their inhabitants.—I know them, I have the key, or the picklock, to their minds. An Irishman is as different an animal, on his guard, and off his guard, as a miss in school, from a miss out of school.——A fine country for game I'll show you; and, if you are a good marksman, you may have plenty of shots " at folly as it flies."

' Lord Colambre smiled. " As to Isabel," pursued her ladyship, " I shall put her in charge of Heathcock, who is going with us—She won't thank me for that, but you will—Nay, no fibs, man; you know, I know, as who does not that has seen the world, that though a pretty woman is a mighty pretty thing, yet she is confoundedly in one's way, when any thing else is to be seen, heard,—or understood." Lord Colambre seemed much tempted to accept the invitation; but he hesitated, because, as he said, her ladyship might be going to pay visits where he was not acquainted.

" Bless you!—don't let that be a stumbling-block in the way of your tender conscience. I am going to Killpatrickstown, where you'll be as welcome as light.—You know them, they know you, at least you shall have a proper letter of invitation from my lord and my lady Killpatrick, and all that. And as to the rest, you know a young man is always welcome every where—a young nobleman kindly welcome,—I won't say *such* a young man, and such a young noble-

man, for that might put you to your bows, or your blushes—but *nobilitas* by itself, nobility is enough in all parties, in all families, where there are girls, and of course balls, as there are always at Killpatrickstown.—Don't be alarmed; you shall not be forced to dance, or asked to marry. I'll be your security. You shall be at full liberty, and it is a house where you can just do what you will.—Indeed, I go to no others. These Killpatricks are the best creatures in the world; they think nothing good or grand enough for me. If I'd let them, they would lay down cloth of gold over their bogs for me, to walk upon.—Good hearted beings!" added lady Dashfort, marking a cloud gathering on lord Colambre's countenance. "I laugh at them, because I love them. I could not love any thing I might not laugh at—your lordship excepted.—So you'll come—that's settled."

'And so it was settled. Our hero went to Killpatrickstown.

"Every thing here sumptuous and unfinished, you see," said lady Dashfort to lord Colambre, the day after their arrival. "All begun as if the projectors thought they had the command of the mines of Peru; and ended as if the possessors had not sixpence; *des arrangemens provisatoires*, temporary expedients; in plain English, *make-shifts*.—Luxuries, enough for an English prince of the blood. Comforts, not enough for an English woman.—And you may be sure that great repairs and alterations have gone on to fit this house for our reception, and for our English eyes!—Poor people!—English visitors, in this point of view, are horribly expensive to the Irish. Did you ever hear that, in the last century, or in the century before the last, to put my story far enough back, so that it shall not touch any body living; when a certain English nobleman, lord Blank A——, sent to let his Irish friend, lord Blank B——, know that he and all his train were coming over to pay him a visit; the Irish nobleman, Blank B—, knowing the deplorable condition of his castle, sat down fairly to calculate, whether it would cost him most to put the building in good and sufficient repair, fit to receive these English visitors, or to burn it to the ground.—He found the balance to be in favour of burning, which was wisely accomplished next day. Perhaps Killpatrick would have done well to follow this example. Resolve me which is worst; to be burnt out of house and home, or to be eaten out of house and home. In this house, above and below stairs, including first and second table, housekeeper's room, lady's maids' room, butler's room, and gentleman's, one hundred and four people sit down to dinner every day, as Petito informs me, beside kitchen boys, and what they call *char*-women; who never sit down, but who do not eat or waste the less for that; and retainers, and friends; friends to the fifth and sixth generation, who "must get their bit and their sup;" for,—"sure, its only Biddy," they say;—continued Lady Dashfort, imitating their Irish brogue.—And, "sure, 'tis nothing at all, out of all his honour, my Lord, has.—How could be *feel* it!—Long life to him!

—He's not that way: not a couple in all Ireland, and that's saying a great *dale*, looks less after their own, nor is more off-handeder, or open-hearteder, or greater open-house-keepers, *nor* my lord and my lady Killpatrick." Now, there's encouragement for a lord and a lady to ruin themselves.'

"But it is shameful to laugh at these people, indeed, lady Dashfort, in their own house—these hospitable people, who are entertaining us."—"Entertaining us! true; and if we are *entertained*, how can we help laughing?" p. 55–63.

We add the following, as a curious trait in the constitution of Irish society.

'In the neighbourhood of Killpatrickstown, Lady Dashfort said, there were several *squireens*, or little squires; a race of men who have succeeded to the *buckeens*, described by Young and Crumpe. *Squireens* are persons who, with good long leases, or valuable farms, possess incomes from three to eight hundred a year; who keep a pack of hounds; *take out* a commission of the peace, sometimes before they can spell (as her ladyship said), and almost always before they know any thing of law or justice! Busy and loud about small matters; *jobbers at assizes;* combining with one another, and trying, upon every occasion, public or private, to push themselves forward, to the annoyance of their superiors, and the terror of those below them.' VI. 67, 68.

We pass now to a different class of society; but not less characteristic of the country than that we have been considering—we mean the fine ladies of the plebeian order, who dash more extravagantly it seems in Dublin, than any other place in this free and commercial empire. Lord Colambre had the good fortune to form an acquaintance with one of these, the spouse of a rich grocer, who invited him to dine with her at her villa, on his way back from the county of Wicklow. The description, though of a different character from most of Miss Edgeworth's delineations, is so picturesque and lively, that we cannot help thinking it must have been taken from the life. We are tempted to give it at full length.

'The invitation was verbally made, and verbally accepted; but the lady afterwards thought it necessary to send a written invitation in due form, and the note she sent directed to the *most right honourable* the lord viscount Colambre. On opening it he perceived, that it could not have been intended for him. It ran as follows: "My dear Juliana O'Leary,—I have got a promise from Colambre, that he will be with us at Tusculum on Friday the 20th, in his way from the county of Wicklow, for the collation I mentioned; and expect a large party of officers, so pray come early, with your house, or as many as the jaunting-car can bring. And pray my dear be *elegant*. You need not let it transpire to Mrs O'G——, but make my apologies to Miss O'G——, if she says any thing, and tell her I'm quite

concerned I can't ask her, for that day; because, tell her, I'm so crowded, and am to have none that day but *real quality*.

" Yours ever and ever,

" Anastasia Raffarty. "

" P. S. And I hope to make the gentlemen stop the night with me; so will not have beds. Excuse haste; and compliments, &c.

' After a charming tour in the county of Wicklow, where the beauty of the natural scenery, and the taste with which those natural beauties had been cultivated, far surpassed the sanguine expectations lord Colambre had formed, his lordship and his companions arrived at Tusculum; where he found Mrs Raffarty, and Miss Juliana O'Leary, —very elegant,—with a large party of the ladies and gentlemen of Bray assembled in a drawing-room, fine with bad pictures and gaudy gilding; the windows were all shut, and the company were playing cards with all their might. This was the fashion of the neighbourhood. In compliment to lord Colambre and the officers, the ladies left the card-tables; and Mrs Raffarty, observing that his lordship seemed *partial* to walking, took him out, as she said, " to do the honours of nature and art. " p. 18—20.

' The dinner had two great faults—profusion and pretension. There was, in fact, ten times more on the table than was necessary; and the entertainment was far above the circumstances of the person by whom it was given: for instance, the dish of fish at the head of the table had been brought across the island from Sligo, and had cost five guineas; as the lady of the house failed not to make known. But, after all, things were not of a piece: there was a disparity between the entertainment and the attendants; there was no proportion or fitness of things. A painful endeavour at what could not be attained, and a toiling in vain to conceal and repair deficiencies and blunders. Had the mistress of the house been quiet; had she, as Mrs Broadhurst would say, but let things alone, let things take their course; all would have passed off with well-bred people: but she was incessantly apologizing, and fussing and fretting inwardly and outwardly, and directing and calling to her servants—striving to make a butler who was deaf, and a boy who was hair-brained, do the business of five accomplished footmen of *parts and figure.* The mistress of the house called for " plates, clean plates!—hot plates! "—But none did come when she did call for them. Mrs Raffarty called " Larry! Larry! My lord's plate, there!—James! bread, to captain Bowles!—James! port wine, to the major.—James! James Kenny! James! " And panting James toiled after her in vain. At length one course was fairly got through, and after a torturing half-hour, the second course appeared, and James Kenny was intent upon one thing, and Larry upon another, so that the wine sauce for the hare was spilt by their collision; but what was worse, there seemed little chance that the whole of this second course should ever be placed altogether rightly upon the table.

Mrs Raffarty cleared her throat, and nodded, and pointed, and sighed, and set Larry after Kenny, and Kenny after Larry; for what one did, the other undid; and at last, the lady's anger kindled, and she spoke.—"Kenny! James Kenny, set the sea-cale at this corner, and put down the grass cross-corners; and match your macaroni yonder with *them* puddens, set—Ogh! James! the pyramid in the middle can't ye." The pyramid in changing places was overturned. Then it was, that the mistress of the feast, falling back in her seat, and lifting up her hands and eyes in despair, ejaculated: "Oh, James! James!"—The pyramid was raised by the assistance of the military engineers, and stood trembling again on its base; but the lady's temper could not be so easily restored to its equilibrium.' p. 25—28.

We hurry forward now to the cottage scene at Clonbrony; which has made us almost equally in love with the Irish, and with the writer who has painted them with such truth, pathos, and simplicity. An ingenious and good natured postboy overturns his Lordship in the night, a few miles from Clonbrony; and then says,

"If your honour will lend me your hand till I pull you up the back of the ditch, the horses will stand while we go. I'll find you as pretty a lodging for the night, with a widow of a brother of my shister's husband that was, as ever you slept in your life; for old Nick or St Dennis has not found 'em out yet; and your honour will be, no compare, snugger than the inn at Clonbrony, which has no roof, the devil a stick. But where will I get your honour's hand; for it's coming on so dark, I can't see rightly.—There, you're up now safe. Yonder candle's the house." "Go and ask whether they can give us a night's lodging." "Is it *ask?* When I see the light!—Sure they'd be proud to give the traveller all the beds in the house, let alone one. Take care of the potato furrows, that's all, and follow me straight. I'll go on to meet the dog, who knows me and might be strange to your honour."

"Kindly welcome," were the first words lord Colambre heard when he approached the cottage; and "kindly welcome" was in the sound of the voice and in the countenance of the old woman, who came out shading her rush-candle from the wind, and holding it so as to light the path. When he entered the cottage, he saw a cheerful fire and a neat pretty young woman making it blaze: she curtsied, put her spinning wheel out of the way, set a stool by the fire for the stranger; and repeating in a very low tone of voice, "Kindly welcome, sir," retired. "Put down some eggs, dear, there's plenty in the bowl," said the old woman, calling to her; "I'll do the bacon. Was not we lucky to be up?—The boy's gone to bed, but waken him," said she, turning to the postillion; "and he'll help you with the chay, and put your horses in the bier for the night."

'No: Larry chose to go on to Clonbrony with the horses, that he might get the chaise mended betimes for his honour. The table was set; clean trenchers, hot potatoes, milk, eggs, bacon, and "kindly welcome to all." "Set the salt, dear; and the butter, love; where's your head, Grace, dear?" "Grace!" repeated lord Colambre, looking up; and to apologise for his involuntary exclamation he added, "Is Grace a common name in Ireland?" "I can't say, plase your honour, but it was give her by lady Clonbrony, from a niece of her own that was her foster-sister, God bless her; and a very kind lady she was to us and to all when she was living in it; but those times are gone past," said the old woman, with a sigh. The young woman sighed too; and sitting down by the fire, began to count the notches in a little bit of stick, which she held in her hand; and after she had counted them, sighed again. "But don't be sighing, Grace, now," said the old woman; "sighs is bad sauce for the traveller's supper; and we won't be troubling him with more," added she, turning to lord Colambre, with a smile—"Is your egg done to your liking?" "Perfectly, thank you." "Then I wish it was a chicken for your sake, which it should have been, and roast too, had we time. I wish I could see you eat another egg." "No more, thank you, my good lady; I never ate a better supper, nor received a more hospitable welcome." "O, the welcome is all we have to offer."

"May I ask what that is?" said lord Colambre, looking at the notched stick, which the young woman held in her hand, and on which her eyes were still fixed. "It's a *tally*, plase your honour.—O, you're a foreigner—It's the way the labourers keep the account of the day's work with the overseer. And there's been a mistake, and is a dispute here between our boy and the overseer; and she was counting the boy's tally, that's in bed, tired, for in troth he's over-worked." "Would you want any thing more from me, mother," said the girl, rising and turning her head away. "No, child; get away, for your heart's full" She went instantly. "Is the boy her brother?" said lord Colambre. "No: he's her bachelor," said the old woman, lowering her voice. "Her bachelor?" "That is, her sweetheart: for she is not my daughter, though you heard her call me mother. The boy's my son; but I am *afeard* they must give it up; for they're too poor, and the times is hard, and the agent's harder than the times. There's two of them, the under and the upper; and they grind the substance of one between them, and then blow one away like chaff: but we'll not be talking of that to spoil your honour's night's rest. The room's ready, and here's the rush-light." She showed him into a very small, but neat room. "What a comfortable looking bed," said lord Colambre. "Ah, these red check curtains," said she, letting them down; "these have lasted well; they were give me by a good friend now far away, over the seas, my lady Clonbrony; and made by the prettiest hands ever you see, her niece's, miss Grace Nugent's, and she a little child that time; sweet love! all gone!" The old wo-

man wiped a tear from her eye, and lord Colambre did what he could to appear indifferent. She set down the candle and left the room; lord Colambre went to bed, but he lay awake, "revolving sweet and bitter thoughts."

"The kettle was on the fire, tea things set, every thing prepared for her guest, by the hospitable hostess, who, thinking the gentleman would take tea to his breakfast, had sent off a *gossoon* by the *first light* to Clonbrony, for an ounce of tea, a *quarter of sugar*, and a loaf of white bread; and there was on the little table good cream, milk, butter, eggs—all the promise of an excellent breakfast. It was a *fresh* morning, and there was a pleasant fire on the hearth neatly swept up. The old woman was sitting in her chimney corner, behind a little skreen of white-washed wall, built out into the room, for the purpose of keeping those who sat at the fire from the *blast of the door*. There was a loop hole in this wall, to let the light in, just at the height of a person's head, who was sitting near the chimney. The rays of the morning sun now came through it, shining across the face of the old woman, as she sat knitting; Lord Colambre thought he had seldom seen a more agreeable countenance, intelligent eyes, benevolent smile, a natural expression of cheerfulness, subdued by age and misfortune. "A good-morrow to you kindly, sir, and I hope you got the night well?—A fine day for us this Sunday morning; my Grace is gone to early prayers, so your honour will be content with an old woman to make your breakfast.—O, let me put in plenty, or it will never be good; and if your honour takes stirabout, an old hand will engage to make that to your liking any way, for by great happiness we have what will just answer for you, of the nicest meal the miller made my Grace a compliment of, last time she went to the mill.' p. 171—179.

In the course of conversation, she informs her guest of the precarious tenure on which she held the little possession that formed her only means of subsistence.

"The good lord himself granted us the *lase;* the life's dropped, and the years is out; but we had a promise of renewal in writing from the landlord.—God bless him! if he was not away, he'd be a good gentleman, and we'd be happy and safe."—"But if you have a promise in writing of a renewal, surely, you are safe, whether your landlord is absent or present."—"Ah, no! that makes a great *differ*, when there's no eye or hand over the agent.—Yet, indeed, there," added she, after a pause, "as you say, I think we are safe; for we have that memorandum in writing, with a pencil, under his own hand, on the back of the *lase*, to me, by the same token when my good lord had his foot on the step of the coach, going away; and I'll never forget the smile of her that got that good turn done for me, Miss Grace. And just when she was going to England and London, and young as she was, to have the thought to stop and turn to the likes of me! O, then, if you could see her, and know her as I did! *That* was the comforting angel

upon earth—look and voice, and heart and all! O, that she was here present, this minute!—But did you scald yourself?" said the widow to Lord Colambre.—"Sure, you must have scalded yourself; for you poured the kettle straight over your hand, and it boiling! O *decar!* to think of so young a gentleman's hand shaking so like my own."—Luckily, to prevent her pursuing her observations from the hand to the face, which might have betrayed more than Lord Colambre wished she should know, her own Grace came in at this instant—"There, it's for you safe, mother dear—the *lase!*" said Grace, throwing a packet into her lap. The old woman lifted up her hands to heaven with the lease between them—"Thanks be to Heaven!" Grace passed on, and sunk down on the first seat she could reach. Her face flushed, and, looking much fatigued, she loosened the strings of her bonnet and cloak—"Then, I'm tired!" but, recollecting herself, she rose, and curtsied to the gentleman.—"What tired ye, dear?"—"Why, after prayers, we had to go—for the agent was not at prayers, nor at home for us, when we called—we had to go all the way up to the castle; and there, by great good luck, we found Mr Nick Garraghty himself, come from Dublin, and the *lase* in his hands; and he sealed it up that way, and handed it to me very civil. I never saw him so good—though he offered me a glass of spirits, which was not manners to a decent young woman, in a morning—as Brian noticed after."—"But why didn't Brian come home all the way with you, Grace?"—"He would have seen me home," said Grace, "only that he went up a piece of the mountain for some stones or ore for the gentleman,—for he had the manners to think of him this morning, though shame for me, I had not, when I came in, or I would not have told you all this, and he himself by. See, there he is, mother."—Brian came in very hot, out of breath, with his hat full of stones. "Good morrow to your honour. I was in bed last night; and sorry they did not call me up to be of *sarvice*. Larry was telling us, this morning, your honour's from Wales, and looking for mines in Ireland, and I heard talk that there was one on our mountain—may be, you'd be *curous* to see; and so, I brought the best I could, but I'm no judge." Vol. VI. p. 182—188.

A scene of villany now begins to disclose itself, as the experienced reader must have anticipated. The pencil writing is rubbed out; but the agent promises, that if they pay up their arrears, and be handsome with their sealing money and glove money, &c. he will grant a renewal. To obtain the rent, the widow is obliged to sell her cow.—But she shall tell her story in her own words.

"Well, still it was but paper we got for the cow; then that must be gold before the agent would take, or touch it—so I was laying out to sell the dresser, and had taken the plates and cups, and little things off it, and my boy was lifting it out with Andy the

carpenter, that was agreeing for it, when in comes Grace, all rosy, and out of breath—it's a wonder I minded her run out, and not missed her—Mother, says she, here's the gold for you, don't be stirring your dresser.—And where's your gown and cloak, Grace? says I. But, I beg your pardon, Sir; may be I'm tiring you?" —Lord Colambre encouraged her to go on.—" Where's your gown and cloak, Grace, says I."—' Gone,' says she. ' The cloak was too warm and heavy, and I don't doubt, mother, but it was that helped to make me faint this morning. And as to the gown, sure I've a very nice one here, that you spun for me yourself, mother; and that I prize above all the gowns ever came out of a loom; and that Brian said become me to his fancy above any gown ever he see me wear, and what could I wish for more.'—Now, I'd a mind to scold her for going to sell the gown unknown'st to me; but I don't know how it was, I couldn't scold her just then,—so kissed her, and Brian the same; and that was what no man ever did before.—And she had a mind to be angry with him, but could not, nor ought not, says I; for he's as good as your husband now, Grace; and no man can part *yees* now, says I, putting their hands together.—Well, I never saw her look so pretty; nor there was not a happier boy that minute on God's earth than my son, nor a happier mother than myself; and I thanked God that had given them to me; and down they both fell on their knees for my blessing, little worth as it was; and my heart's blessing they had, and I laid my hands upon them. ' It's the priest you must get to do this for you tomorrow,' says I." Vol. VI. p. 205—207.

Next morning they go up in high spirits to the castle, where the villanous agent denies his promise; and is laughing at their despair, when Lord Colambre is fortunately identified by Mrs Raffarty, who turns out to be a sister of the said agent, and, like a god in epic poetry, turns agony into triumph.

We can make room for no more now, but the epistle of Larry Brady, the good-natured postboy, to his brother, giving an account of the return of the family to Clonbrony. If Miss Edgeworth had never written any other thing, this one letter must have placed her at the very top of our scale as an observer of character, and a mistress in the simple pathetic. We give the greater part of this extraordinary production.

" My dear Brother,—Yours of the 16th, enclosing the five pound note for my father, came safe to hand Monday last; and, with his thanks and blessing to you, he commends it to you herewith enclosed back again, on account of his being in no immediate necessity, nor likelihood to want in future, as you shall hear forthwith; but wants you over with all speed, and the note will answer for travelling charges; for we can't enjoy the luck it has pleased God to give us, without *yees*: put the rest in your pocket, and read it when you've time.

'Now, cock up your ears, Pat! for the great news is coming, and the good. The master's come home—long life to him!—and family come home yesterday, all entirely! The *ould* lord and the young lord, (ay, there's the man, Paddy!) and my lady, and miss Nugent. And I driv miss Nugent's maid, that maid that was, and another; so I had the luck to be in it alone *wid* 'em, and see all, from first to last. And first, I must tell you, my young lord Colambre remembered and noticed me the minute he lit at our inn, and condescended to beckon at me out of the yard to him, and axed me —'Friend Larry,' says he, 'did you keep your promise?'——My oath again the whiskey, is it? says I. My lord, I surely did, said I, which was true, as all the country knows I never tasted a drop since. And I'm proud to see your honour, my lord, as good as your word too, and back again among us. So then there was a call for the horses; and no more at that time passed betwix' my young lord and me, but that he pointed me out to the *ould* one, as I went off. I noticed and thanked him for it in my heart, though I did not know all the good was to come of it. Well, no more of myself, for the present.

'Ogh, it's I driv 'em well; and we all got to the great gate of of the park before sunset, and as fine an evening as ever you see; with the sun shining on the tops of the trees, as the ladies noticed the leaves changed, but not dropped, though so late in the season. I believe the leaves knew what they were about, and kept on, on purpose to welcom them; and the birds were singing, and I stopped whistling, that they might hear them: but sorrow bit could they hear when they got to the park-gate, for there was such a crowd, and such a shout, as you never see—and they had the horses off every carriage entirely, and drew 'em home, with blessings, through the park. And, God bless 'em, when they got out, they didn't go shut themselves up in the great drawing-room, but went straight out to the *tir*rass, to satisfy the eyes and hearts that followed them. My lady *laning* on my young lord, and miss Grace Nugent that was, the beautifullest angel that ever you set eyes on, with the finest complexion and sweetest of smiles, *laning* upon the ould lord's arm, who had his hat off, bowing to all, and noticing the old tenants as he passed by name. O, there was great gladness and tears in the midst; for joy I could scarce keep from myself.'

'After a turn or two upon the *tir*rass, my lord Colambre *quit* his mother's arm for a minute, and he come to the edge of the slope, and looked down and through all the crowd for some one. Is it the widow O'Neill, my lord? says I, she's yonder, with the spectacles on her nose, betwixt her son and daughter, as usual. Then, my lord beckoned, and they did not know which of the *tree* would stir; and then he gave *tree* beckons with his own finger, and they all *tree* came fast enough to the bottom of the slope forenent my lord; and he went down and helped the widow up, (O, he's the true jantleman) and brought 'em all *tree* up on the *tir*rass, to my lady and miss

Nugent; and I was up close after, that I might hear, which wasn't manners, but I could'nt help it. So what he said I don't well know, for I could not get near enough after all. But I saw my lady smile very kind, and take the widow O'Neill by the hand, and then my lord Colambre *'troduced* Grace to miss Nugent, and there was the word *namesake*, and something about a check curtains; but whatever it was, they was all greatly pleased: then my lord Colambre turned and looked for Brian, who had fell back, and took him with some commendation to my lord his father. And my lord the master said, which I didn't know till after, that they should have their house and farm at the *ould* rent; and at the surprise, the widow dropped down dead; and there was a cry as for ten *berrings*. 'Be qu'ite,' says I, 'she's only kilt for joy;' and I went and lift her up, for her son had no more strength that minute than the child new born; and Grace trembled like a leaf, as white as the sheet, but not long, for the mother came too, and was as well as ever when I brought some water, which miss Nugent handed to her with her own hand.

"That was always pretty and good," said the widow, laying her hand upon miss Nugent, "and kind and good to me and mine. That minute there was music from below. The blind harper, O'Neill, with his harp, that struck up "Gracey Nugent." And that finished, and my lord Colambre smiling with the tears standing in his eyes too, and the *ould* lord quite wiping his, I ran to the *tirrass* brink to bid O'Neill play it again; but as I run, I thought I heard a voice call Larry.'

"Who calls Larry?" says I. "My Lord Colambre calls you, Larry," says all at once; and four takes me by the shoulders, and spins me round. "There's my young lord calling you, Larry—run for your life." "So I run back for my life, and walked respectful, with my hat in my hand; when I got near." "Put on your hat, my father desires it," says my lord Colambre. The ould lord made a sign to that purpose, but was too full to speak. 'Where's your father?' continues my young lord.—He's very ould, my lord, says I.—'I didn't *ax* you how ould he was,' says he; 'but where is he?'—He's behind the croud below; on account of his infirmities he couldn't walk so fast as the rest, my lord, says I; but his heart is with you, if not his body.—I must have his body too: so bring him bodily before us; and this shall be your warrant for so doing,' said my lord, joking. For he knows the *natur* of us, Paddy, and how we love a joke in our hearts, as well as if he had lived all his life in Ireland, and by the same token will, for that *rason*, do what he pleases with us, and more may be than a man twice as good, that never would smile on us.

"But I'm telling you of my father. 'I've a warrant for you, father, says I; and must have you bodily before the justice, and my lord chief justice. So he changed colour a bit at first; but he saw me smile.' 'And I've done no sin,' said he; 'and, Larry, you may lead me now, as you led me all my life.'—"And up the slope he went with me, as light as fifteen; and when we got up, my Lord Clonbrony said, "I am sorry an old tenant, and a good

old tenant, as I hear you were, should have been turned out of your farm.'—" Don't fret, it's no great matter, my lord," said my father. ' I shall be soon out of the way; but if you would be so kind to speak a word for my boy here, and that I could afford, while the life is in me, to bring my other boy back out of banishment—'

" Then,' says my Lord Clonbrony, ' I'll give you and your sons three lives, or thirty-one years, from this day, of your former farm. Return to it when you please.' ' And,' added my Lord Colambre, ' the flaggers, I hope, will be soon banished.' O, how could I thank him—not a word could I proffer—but I know I clasped my two hands, and prayed for him inwardly. And my father was dropping down on his knees, but the master would not let him; and *observed*, that posture should only be for his God. And, sure enough, in that posture, when he was out of sight, we did pray for him that night, and will all our days.

" But before we quit his presence, he called me back, and bid me write to my brother, and bring you back, if you've no objections to your own country.—So come, my dear Pat, and make no delay, for joy's not joy complate till you're in it—my father sends his blessing, and Peggy her love. The family entirely is to settle for good in Ireland; and there was in the castle yard last night a bonefire made by my lord's orders of the ould yellow damask furniture, to plase my lady, my lord says. And the drawing-room, the butler was telling me, is new hung; and the chairs, with velvet, as white as snow, and shaded over with natural flowers, by Miss Nugent.—Oh! how I hope what I guess will come true, and I've *rason* to believe it will, for I dream't in my bed last night, it did. But keep yourself to yourself—that Miss Nugent (who is no more Miss Nugent, they say, but Miss Reynolds, and has a new-found grandfather, and is a big heiress, which she did not want in my eyes, nor in my young lord's), I've a notion, will be sometime, and may be sooner than is expected, my Lady Viscountess Colambre—so haste to the wedding. And there's another thing: they say the rich ould grandfather's coming over;—and another thing, Pat, you would not be out of the fashion. And you see it's growing the fashion, not to be an Absentee.' VI. p. 456. to the end.

If there be any of our readers who is not moved with delight and admiration in the perusal of this letter, we must say, that we have but a poor opinion either of his taste or his moral sensibility; and shall think all the better of ourselves, in future, for appearing tedious in his eyes. For our own parts, we do not know whether we envy the author most, for the rare talent she has shown in this description, or for the *experience* by which its materials have been supplied. She not only makes us know and love the Irish nation far better than any other writer, but seems to us more qualified than most others to promote the knowledge and the love of mankind.

ART. VIII. *A Letter to H. Brougham Esq. M. P., on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform.* By William Roscoe Esq. 8vo. Liverpool. 1811.

A Letter to W. Roscoe Esq., occasioned by his Letter to Mr Brougham upon Parliamentary Reform. By J. Merritt. 8vo. Liverpool. 1812.

IT is not our intention to enter into a detail of the contents of these two pamphlets; but only to avail ourselves of the occasion which they afford us of bringing once more before the public this great and truly vital question. We shall only remark, by way of preface, that whoever would see an ample and able statement of the arguments against what is called gradual and moderate reform, may with advantage peruse the letter of Mr Roscoe, in which he combats Mr Brougham's plan of beginning with the Scotish representation, and deferring any further steps till the effects of the first improvement be tried. The defence of this gradual procedure is undertaken with no inconsiderable ability and knowledge of his subject by Mr Merritt, who, though adverse to extensive and sudden changes in the constitution, seems a man of liberal views. Of both these authors, though not exactly agreeing with either, we must be understood to speak with great respect,—but especially of Mr Roscoe,—a man of the most pure integrity, the most distinguished accomplishments, and, on almost every subject, whether speculative or practical, of the soundest and most enlightened views. Few men have more exalted themselves, and adorned their country by their individual talents and labours; and we should consider the puny attempts to cast obloquy upon him, in which the enemies of peace and reform so frequently indulge, as among the worst signs of the times, were we not fully persuaded that they are utterly harmless to his high reputation, and confined to but a few even of that worst class of politicians.

We are peculiarly anxious to call the attention of our readers to this subject at the present moment, because it is not at all improbable, that, before another Number of this Journal be published, the country may be called to exercise that portion of the elective franchise, which the abuses in the constitution and the lapse of time have still left us. Our present remarks therefore shall be directed with a view to this event, and not to the general or systematic discussion of the question.

In the present state of the representation, it ought unquestionably to be the great object of such as desire its reformation, to bestir themselves for the purpose of returning to Parliament

men upon whose congeniality of sentiments they can rely. With all its defects and vices the representation, of England at least, retains a considerable portion of popular election; and this portion, in the present times, should all be enlisted in the cause of reform. We are convinced that, in almost every popular place, one, if not two members may be returned by the reformers, if they will only give themselves the requisite pains to accomplish this object. But before explaining how, even under the present system, this good may be attained, we must step to consider the attempts which have been proposed material to amend it, without any violent change—any alteration that usually passes by the name of reform. Some explanation upon this point seems peculiarly necessary to our countrymen in this part of the United Kingdom; as they are, by what is called the Constitution, wholly excluded from any practical knowledge of popular election. Indeed the elective franchise cannot be said to exist in any part of Scotland, except perhaps in one or two counties, where there is an approximation, not indeed to popular election, but to the exercise of voting.

The expenses of a contested election arise, nearly, if not entirely, out of abuses wholly distinct from the defects of the constitution as at present established—we mean as changed from its original shape by gradual decay: So that there might exist the same number of rotten boroughs—the same want of representatives in great towns—the same nominations by patrons—the same influence of Government within and without the walls of Parliament—and the House of Commons might be constructed upon the same principles as at present, and yet, by the mere diminution of election expenses, its materials might be essentially improved. Let us consider then in what way those expenses are incurred. There is here no question of bribery, or of treating; because these expenses are in direct violation of the law as it now stands; and though, perhaps, some means might be adopted to facilitate the detection of such illegal proceedings, yet it cannot be doubted that the law has done much towards restraining them. We may here remark, however, one very prevalent mode of evading the bribery laws, by withholding the payment of the money given to each voter in many boroughs, until after the expiration of the fourteen days allowed for petitioning against the return. It would surely have a good effect in checking this pernicious practice, if a member's seat might at any time be questioned and taken from him, upon proof of his having paid any sum to any of his voters with relation to his election; and we cannot see why there should not be created a presumption of law, at least to the civil effect of avoiding the return, from the fact of me-

ney having been given to a certain number (say above ten) electors, by the member or his agents.—But let us pass to strictly legal expenses. That of agency is no doubt a material one, and cannot be restrained. But, in how many boroughs is the useless and childish practice of distributing ribands and other badges, the occasion of enormous charge? Why may not this be cut off by an extension of the Treating act? Even the charges of the Hustings are considerable; and they ought not to exceed that which the public should pay—they ought in no case to fall upon the candidate. Nay, the expense of five hundred pounds or more for an election dinner, is to all intents and purposes objectionable, on the same ground as treating; —it increases the unnecessary cost of the election. There can be no reason whatever for not cutting it off. Let the voters feast to celebrate their victory, or bewail together their defeat; but let the feast be at their own expense. All these expenses, however, are inconsiderable, when compared with the grand item of travelling charges. This affects the expenses of county and of borough elections differently. In the former, a great proportion of the voters must of necessity be resident at some distance from the place of election; consequently, while the election is held in one place, the voters *must* either incur travelling charges, or they must be conveyed at the candidate's expense. But, in borough elections, there seems no necessity for this item at all. The bulk of the voters always reside on the spot; and it is only by the non-resident voters that any travelling charges are incurred. In a great proportion of popular elections, however, the non-residents have this right; and they must either not exercise their franchise, or be brought at their own, or at the candidate's expense.

Hence are obviously suggested the two methods of remedying this enormous evil, as experienced in county, and much more in borough elections. It has been proposed to take the poll in different parts of the county; and to prohibit, under penalties similar to those of the Treating and Bribery acts, the defraying a voter's travelling charges, in all elections whatsoever. The first measure forms the substance of a bill lately introduced by the Marquis of Tavistock, whose love of liberty, and zeal for the cause of reform, render him a fit representative of the illustrious House of Russel. The second measure formed the subject of a bill, brought in about six years ago, we believe, by Mr Tierney, and rejected by the House of Commons. We humbly profess ourselves favourable to the principles of both these measures—but with some qualifications as to the first, and some variation in the application of the second.

It is evidently extremely desireable, that some means should be fallen upon to diminish, or rather to cut off altogether, this great article of election expenses;—for this, more than all other causes put together, gives money an undue influence, and prevents the people on the one hand from exercising their free choice, and deserving candidates, on the other, from presenting themselves with a fair chance of success. But it is much more pernicious in borough than in county elections. The number of freeholders residing out of the county, is always trifling when compared with the whole body, and can never turn the fate of an election, except when the parties are very nicely balanced. In boroughs the case is different. It is not uncommon to see a fourth or fifth part of those having a right to vote residing at a great distance, chiefly in London; but if it is only a tenth part, such a body is very considerable, and cannot be disregarded—they must be brought down, and at an enormous expense. But their residence in London is no small part of the evil. They acquire an influence over their families and friends in the provincial town, by no means proportioned to their actual numbers. They become electioneering agents and agitators by trade—they are ever ready to stir up a contest and to profit by it—to sport with and prey upon the fears of the sitting members, and the hopes of the candidate, or, as he is termed, (and it is an endearing appellation), the *third man*; —they literally live by jobbing and bribery and treating;—they are generally idle, dissolute, and unprincipled—making a traffic of the borough they belong to—and only anxious about selling it over and over again;—not merely once at each election, but to different bidders, one after another, during the same contest. —It is certain, that in no part of the popular representation greater abuses exist than in the moderate sized boroughs—that those of three or four hundred votes are by far the most corrupt of all;—and it is equally undeniable that the great cause of those abuses and corruptions lyes in the London voters. No reform, which should shorten the duration of Parliaments, would be even tolerably safe, without some radical cure applied to this crying evil. To multiply elections under the present circumstances, far from being a good, would only multiply the most disgusting scenes of unprincipled corruption. Indeed, we freely own, that the residence and London habits of those electors is of itself an objection, in our eyes, to their retaining their present influence in their native towns.

Let us only consider the consequence which results from this right of non-residents to vote;—let us look at it as it is seen constantly before our eyes. A set of those persons being idle

and hungry, or it may be, thirsty, some by means of day-rules, others by a liberty of locomotion not very natural to their station and character, join together, and wait upon a likely man, that is to say, some one fit and deserving of the honour of representing—or rather of becoming a candidate for, the ancient and independent borough of Z. But what manner of person do they sagaciously pitch upon? Of course one who has abundance of that most essential intrinsic quality—money; and is disposed freely to dispense it;—some lucky speculator in trade, —some gambler in the alley or the club-houses, who has had a fortunate season, or loan;—most probably some lover of virtue and purity from the East Indies, or some West Indian friend of the freedom of election and rights of men. Upon him they wait, and address themselves to his purse through his vanity. They obtain a foretaste of it; and the treating scene begins. He meets his worthy constituents and friends at the Black Dog, which is kept by an elector, a staunch friend to the cause; and there, at seven o'clock, an excellent supper is served up in the best style; speeches, and toasts, and resolutions ensue; and next day the puffing scene begins in the morning papers; and a correspondent suggests, that 'Mr X. is considered quite se-'cure of his election.' But the Fox and Goose is also kept by a worthy Zian, attached to the cause,—so the feast is held again there; and thus it goes round. In the mean time, the sitting members take the alarm, and observe what a pity it is to see a man like Mr X, who is not infinitely rich, throwing away his money, without the most distant prospect of succeeding; for indeed he might as well think of moving the monument as stirring the *established interests*. In short, they, for their parts, are perfectly easy;—never more so at any time since the great contest which ruined two lords and a knight, and seated *them*. Being so entirely secure, they proceed, as a very natural consequence, to assemble their London voters at the Barley Mow, which is attached to the regular family interest; or, peradventure, the Maidenhead in Dyott Street, where the friends of the good old cause are known to resort;—and so they play their part. It is an equally natural consequence of the same case and confidence, and the same compassion for Mr X's gross and expensive delusion, that there should be expended large sums in buying off many of the Xites, whose kind complying natures are prone to yielding; and Mr X, scorning to be outdone at his own weapons, now sets his purse abroach, as well as his beer; —for, a little money spent in time, say both the parties, and still more their London friends, may save thousands. Accordingly, thousands are spent, or perhaps lent; and all—all except the

voters—are zealous for battle; wishing, indeed compelled to wish, that the election were come, and the endless round of expense brought to a close. As this period draws near, the relations between the candidates and their voters become more and more close and confidential; in truth, they live together, and have but one purse (though several houses) among them. The ministry bears an important share in this soft and endearing intercourse. This is emphatically to be termed the job season; nothing, positively nothing, must be refused. A perpetual interchange of promise and pledge—of mutual barter and sale—of places in possession for the voters, and votes in reversion from the candidate, is carried on without interruption; and the proper officer from the Treasury, as he goes prowling in the mud for his prey, never fails, at this time, to fish up something worth his while, by using the proper bait. In the fulness of time the election comes:—his Majesty having probably been advised, by some true friend to the purity of the Church establishment, or some alarmist about the sacred rights of chartered companies, to make an appeal to the *sense* of his people. The non-resident gentlemen are now to be conveyed in a handsome way to Z, that they may exercise the most sacred and invaluable of rights; and they seldom do exercise it the worse for being allowed, not the actual expenses of the journey, but a round sum to bear their own charges; for this saves calculation, which would be ill-timed, and it is more satisfactory upon the whole. Arrived at the spot, it may be, that one of the most secure of all members finds it in vain to struggle against the new man's weight of metal, and a compromise is talked of. It were safer, by a good deal, to propose a general fast. So the riot being quelled, which the surmise had occasioned, the survivors proceed in their vocation; and if one candidate is in any way destroyed, or gives in, so that only two remain to begin the fight, the London friends take especial care to discover some third man again; and not unfrequently this last comer, being essentially necessary, becomes the favourite, and secures his seat at a comparatively cheap price;—to be treated in his turn exactly like his predecessors—and, having spent his money, make way for a new man of worth and substance.

Now, being enemies of public abuses, and because we are the friends of Parliamentary Reform, we profess a very decided prejudice in favour of rotten boroughs themselves, as compared with the kind of elections which we have been contemplating. Moreover, we think our ancestors would have shown themselves both very silly, and very unfriendly to liberty, if they could 'startle with indignation' at the sale of seats, and not be mov-

ed at the far worse species of traffic which goes on in the more open boroughs of a moderate size. How, then, is this to be prevented, or at least checked? How can we at once lessen the abuses and corruptions complained of, and exclude the overwhelming influence of mere money, which at present disposes of so many seats in Parliament, far less honestly and decorously than if they were sold 'like stalls in Smithfield mar-'ket?' We conceive that this salutary end can in no way be so well attained, as by depriving nonresident electors of the right of voting. We would not disfranchise them—but only annex a certain residence as the condition of voting at any election;—or rather, perhaps, declare the right to be always in freemen, freeholders, householders, and so forth, as the case may be, 'resident within the said boroughs or hundreds.' It seems much better to do this, than to prohibit, as Mr Tierney's bill did, the payment of travelling expenses: *first*, because such a prohibition never can be carried rigorously into effect, from the extreme difficulty of preventing the parties, or their agents, privately defraying those expenses: *2dly*, because there is an apparent hardship in restraining a candidate from carrying his voters, or any persons he pleases, in his own hired vehicles; and without such an additional prohibition, the former would be manifestly nugatory: *3dly*, because the allowing such nonresidents as can afford to pay their travelling charges the right of voting, is to give an additional influence to money, in a case where the franchise should either belong to none, or to all classes equally: and, *lastly*, because there seems no other way than the one we are proposing, of destroying the pernicious class of London election jobbers. The hardship of disfranchising (as it may be called) a class of voters, is surely inconsiderable: for when a man, in quest of fortune, or for his pleasure, leaves his native town, he transfers his favours, his interests and his efforts to another community, at least for the time:—He is a citizen of the place of his adoption, and bears it a sort of allegiance, determinable only on his return home;—he feels its interests as his own; and he will inevitably act as a citizen of that place. There is no reason whatever why he should be twice represented: And in all cases, where the right of voting depends on freedom, and not on property—that is, in the great majority of cases—it is a personal, and not a proprietary representation, that we are to consider as in question. As this is a reform of the most vital importance, we sincerely hope it may be proposed once more to Parliament.

The plan introduced by Lord Tavistock, upon the whole, deserves support; though we are of opinion, both that it is cal-

culated for the remedy of a lesser evil, and is exposed to several material objections. This matter we shall now very briefly explain. The great evil of nonresident voters in boroughs—that they open the election to mere monied influence—is not to be apprehended in county elections. No man can go down on the strength of his purse, and procure a return for a county. The evil intended to be remedied by Lord Tavistock's bill, is the expense to which either the candidates or the voters must be put, by travelling from their homes to the place of election. As far as it goes, this certainly gives mere wealth an influence which it ought not to have; and may consequently prevent a fit and deserving candidate from being chosen, because a less fit person—with great claims nevertheless from constitutional and proper influence—of landed possessions and family—may also be the richer of the two. So far it is desirable to check it; and the plan of taking the poll in different places, so as to bring the election home to the voters, seems well calculated to attain this end, and to produce good upon the whole; though somewhat qualified by the following drawbacks. The assembling of all the freeholders is beneficial to freedom, and to the course of representation: It both teaches the people their strength, by collecting them in a body, and begetting the animation always attendant on popular meetings; and it teaches the government its duty, by a very simple and natural process. But it is chiefly useful, in keeping the candidate, or the former representative, under a salutary control—and exposing him for days together to have his conduct scrutinized, and his pledges given and recorded. A considerable part of this useful operation would be subtracted, if, instead of the constant assemblage at the Hustings, we had only one day of nomination, attended of course by the voters residing near the county town; and then a succession of small meetings in the different hundreds or wapentakes. Another evil which deserves attention, is the difficulty of so arranging the taking of the poll, as to allow the sheriff (the returning officer) to preside at each meeting—which seems quite necessary; and at the same time to give no undue preference to one part of the county more than another. So long as the time of keeping open the poll is limited to a fortnight, in the larger counties, a serious advantage would be given to the hundreds first assembled. Perhaps this might be best remedied, by extending the period of election in those counties. We throw out these suggestions rather to show, that the good to be expected from this reform is not so great, and so unmixed, as that which the other is likely to produce,—than with the view of delivering an opinion absolutely unfavourable to it. We do hope, that the Noble person

to whom we are alluding, will, next session of Parliament, increase the obligations he has already conferred on the cause of reform, by applying himself also to the more important of the two plans. He can scarcely, we think, fail of success. While all reformers must join him, he would find the enemies of reform considerably divided in their opposition: Many of them might even be expected to support him.—For this is not a measure exposed to the commonplace arguments against reform. It is rather a measure of regulation, than of innovation; it does not injure either family interest, or trench in general on the aristocracy, but rather the contrary; nor does it go directly to open close boroughs; nor to increase—in fact it diminishes—the numbers of electors. So far its appearance and tendency is not of that kind, so hateful to the friends of the existing system. Yet the obvious and necessary effect of its adoption would be most eminently favourable to good government, to public morals, and to the cause of liberty. We are not aware of any one reform which better deserves the name; nor can we think of any single measure, which at so cheap and easy a rate would secure, in all human probability, so many useful objects.

The last expense of contested elections is frequently the most serious of all; we mean the contest before a Committee of the House of Commons: For we include under expenses of the Hustings already alluded to, the law expenses of the Sheriff, which the public ought to pay; and leave to the candidates, even in case of scrutiny, only their own necessary law charges. This cost before the committee might undoubtedly be materially diminished. The employment of three counsel, now become so frequent, seems scarcely to be within the spirit of the Grenville act; which allows only two, and a third in the absence of any of the others. The reason of having three, is not because the business requires it; but because the senior, perhaps both the seniors, are generally in so many committees at once, that there is a constant chance of their being called away. If, however, the rule of having only two were adhered to (as it is in trials for high treason, where there is often a far better excuse for breaking through it) the parties would be compelled to employ such professional gentlemen as would make sure of attending to their business; and a practice would thus be disused, which perhaps the known delicacy of the Bar ought heretofore to have rendered obsolete,—namely, that of doing what the vulgar are apt to term, receiving payment for work which they are physically incapable of performing. There seems no reason why another still heavier expense should not be diminished,—the charge of bringing witnesses to London from distant parts

of the country, and keeping them there during the trial of the election. It is evident, that many examinations could, with perfect safety, be taken by a commission on the spot; and that some might even be better conducted there than in the committee. Of this description are all matters of mere form; as the authentication of papers, the proof of handwriting, and other things of a like indifferent nature; together with the greater part of the questions of fact, arising upon scrutiny, where local knowledge may often be very material, and where it may almost always be left to commissioners to inquire into the facts. It is otherwise with questions of bribery and treating, where the judges ought undoubtedly to see the witnesses under examination, in order to get at the truth in a circumstantial case. But these examinations can scarcely ever be drawn to any great length. Now, we conceive this rule might with great advantage be adopted for separating the points of the case. On the first striking of the committee, the parties might agree that it should not meet for a certain number of days, so that they might have time for mutual conferences, in order to come to an understanding on the course of proceeding. On the day of meeting, they should come prepared with their mutual consents on these points: first, whether in order to expedite the inquiry, the whole evidence shall be taken before the committee; secondly, if not, which of the witnesses shall be examined by commission. But it should be competent for the committee to issue a commission only in the event of such consent, unless three fourths of the committee, on cause shown, agreed to it. It is obvious, that by some such arrangement, not only a great expense would be saved in bringing and keeping the witnesses, but the sitting of the committee would be shortened, and a still further diminution of expense attained. A third item of the expense of election committees, is the heavy fees of the House of Commons, which ought unquestionably to be cut off altogether, and a compensation made to the persons receiving them, out of the public *funds*. By these changes, or regulations, a very great saving to the parties contesting an election, might undoubtedly be made, and without any risk whatever, of either impeding the administration of justice, or affecting the privileges of Parliament.

Let us now resume this deduction, and consider what would be the consequence of cutting off all the useless and even pernicious expenses which have been successively under our review. We should have reduced the expenses of a contested election to the charge of employing a few law agents—perhaps a barrister and four or five attorneys with their clerks—an equal

number of ordinary agents, and the expense of advertising, with the candidate's own travelling expenses, and those of his agents, in the case of a county election. The most severe contest for a borough might be conducted for a thousand pounds, either paid by one candidate, or divided between two, where they stood on the same interest; and a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pounds might suffice for elections of a more limited nature,—while the largest county could scarcely cost more than three or four thousand pounds. At present, the estimated expense of contesting Liverpool or Bristol, exceeds twelve thousand pounds; the great Westminster contest, with the committee, is supposed to have cost above eighty thousand; Sir Francis Burdett is believed to have paid as much in Middlesex; and the committee which conducted Mr Wilberforce's election for Yorkshire in 1807, state their expenses at fifty-eight thousand, with every resource of the most rigid economy, and great voluntary assistance in labour,—while the two other candidates, in all probability, paid each of them nearly double that sum.

Such a change as we are now considering, would unquestionably appear hurtful in the eyes of those who hold, that, beside the fair, legitimate, wholesome influence of property—its indirect influence—it should have a more sensible effect of a direct kind; and who therefore maintain, that all reforms are bad, which open the doors of Parliament to men of moderate wealth. It is, however, rare to hear any such topics openly espoused; indeed, it could hardly be attempted, with a regard to decorum and the ordinary language of the Constitution. The natural inferences from such notions would indeed carry us a vast deal further, for it would go to justify a new and high qualification. The mode in which the money is expended, being nothing to the purpose, nor even the spending the money at all, we must infer, that the mere possession of it is the only virtue required: Why not then say at once, 'No man shall represent a county, 'who cannot afford to throw away—in other words, who has not 'in his banker's hands, unappropriated, fifty thousand pounds; 'and no man shall look for a popular place who has not, in like 'manner, ten thousand.' In truth, this is the language at present used every day; it is the language of the Constitution, as corrupted in our times:—It is the language, however, not of the British Constitution itself, but of its abuses; not of its healthy and manly age, but of its decrepitude and disease.

On the other hand, only see the effects of cutting off those noxious expenses.—The rights of the people, in all places where elections are still popular, would instantly revive. The persons interested in the welfare of each place, would have the manage-

ment of the most important of all its concerns. They who know best, and feel most warmly for its good, would send to Parliament, him who is to watch over, to foster, to defend it. The choice would be free;—the people would have him whom they prefer, as their representative. At present they are said to have their choice. True,—they may chuse; but they must confine their election to a certain limited number of men; men of a certain weight of purse, whom the corruptions of the Constitution have, by a sort of previous vote, selected as the class from which candidates shall be taken; or if they will indulge in their choice, they must pay a heavy tribute to the fund of corruption itself. Again, the fit men could, in the new state of things, present themselves without fear of being bullied or beaten by some wealthy knave, or some coxcomb, with an empty head and full purse. At present, for a good and able man of moderate fortune to think of attaining the greatest honour in the State, and doing it at the same time the best service, by becoming a legislator, is next to madness. He must, as soon as he has made up his mind to it, send for his attorney, and mortgage his estate; he must regard the country and its corruptions as courtiers did the gulph and the surrrounding forum:—to stem the torrent, he must plunge into Parliament, and be ruined. The consequence is, that money has too great an influence over elections, and is doubly represented,—nay, trebly; for it prevails indirectly in all elections, it meets us in the shape of the regular monied interest through the rotten boroughs, and it again rises into activity in popular elections themselves. An unprincipled Jew may cause the best and most respectable man in England to ruin himself, or give up his seat; and even where no such case occurs, no sooner is a vacancy declared, than some man of mere money, and with no other earthly qualification, has a chance, next to a certainty, of getting into Parliament if he chuses to spend so much as the *speculation* requires. Are those who sit in Parliament by this tenure the best members?—What proportion of them,—how many at any one time are there, whom every one is not agreed in confessing to be by much the worst parts of the legislature?—We willingly rest the decision of the whole question upon the answers which every one will give to these queries from his own personal experience.

Those advantages to be expected from such a reform as we have been recommending, are of a nature to recommend it even to the enemies of what is usually termed Parliamentary Reform. To the friends of that great question we can venture to appeal upon much higher grounds. But as it is our principal aim in this article to be *practical*,—to show that all reformers are not

mere visionaries, talkers or speculators,—who project ideal fancies, little heeding whether capable or not of being carried into effect,—men eminently ignorant of facts, and unversed in the actual details of any political matter; so we shall content ourselves, even in speaking to the reformers, with pointing out one very plain and most practical improvement which will result to their views, and which is calculated to render the changes recommended by them, far more feasible than they have hitherto been deemed. The general diminution of expense and reform of abuses in borough elections must, in our humble judgment, remove many of the most serious objections to that branch of Parliamentary Reform, which consists in shortening the duration of Parliaments. Indeed, without some such changes as we have been speaking of, it does appear, that to multiply elections would very ill answer the designs of enlightened reformers. It would be only an increase of corruption, and a ruinous addition to the expense attendant upon maintaining a seat in Parliament. It would afford the party possessed of most money the best chance of defeating their adversaries; for if the friends of liberty made head against their antagonists once or twice, they would run the greatest risk of being beaten the third or fourth time. But, diminish the expense of contests; shut out the direct agency of mere money; and cut off the source of that hateful corruption which overwhelms popular places where absentees are entitled to vote, and do, in fact, nearly dispose of the representation;—and you may in all safety reduce the duration of Parliaments to three years. The more frequently the people exercised their rights, as freely as we have shown they might, and as cheaply as they certainly could, the more strong, and the more confident in their strength would they become; so that no effort, either of upstart wealth, or hereditary insolence, or ministerial interference and intrigue, could, for any length of time, or in any considerable number of instances, prevail against them.

Such is the Reform which we think even the most timid might embrace, and such its certain and most important consequences. We are anxious not to be misunderstood, as recommending this alone; we do not scruple to maintain, that it would be insufficient,—and that a much more radical improvement, we should rather say, restoration of the Constitution, is required. But our object at this time has been, to show how greatly the abuses in the system might be corrected, without any of those radical changes which frighten so many well meaning persons, and afford a pretext to so many others of a less honest description. We have seen, then, what good might be attained by

regulating measures, far short of those which are termed plans of Parliamentary Reform. Let us now inquire, pursuing the same humble path of speculation, and confining ourselves to still more limited objects, whether the friends of liberty may not, even under the existing administration of the Constitution, and notwithstanding all the heavy expenses with which its manifold *abuses* have loaded popular and other elections, contrive by strenuous exertions to attain some of their worthy and favoured objects. It is with the view of pointing out these paths that we have undertaken the present article at this particular time, while a general election is pending. And although, in the former part of the discussion, we may seem to have departed from our object, yet it will be found, that nearly the whole of our remarks bear upon it.

We contend then, that the problem in question has been already practically solved. When?—In 1807. By whom?—By the electors of Westminster. The manner in which they returned Sir Francis Burdett (we are now speaking merely of the mode of election, and not at all of the person upon whom their choice fell) deserves to be held up to every elector in the empire as the model of his duty to the country, each time that he is called to the exercise of his franchise. The expense of a contest in Westminster was above 80,000*l.* nearly thirty years ago. Perhaps, if conducted now on the same scale and principles, and by the same persons, it would exceed 150,000*l.*; and yet the committee who managed the election of 1807, have published a report, by which it appears that they did not spend any thing that could be called a considerable sum. They chose a man who never asked their votes; who in fact was confined to a sickbed, and only heard of the contest for him after it had been triumphantly closed;—they paid every penny of the expense; and even gave the *two shillings* which a member pays when sworn in at the table of the House of Commons. We have not the report in our recollection; but we believe the whole charge was under 2000*l.* This was raised by subscription; and so far the member was spared this expense; but the great advantage of the method alluded to was, that it economized the expenditure, as well as encouraged the cause, and kept down opposition. If a private man and his friends had been at the head of the business, they must have spent twelve or fifteen thousand pounds at the least. We have no doubt it cost Lord Cochrane, the other member, as much to the full. This must always be so, while the law is as it at present stands. A committee, entrusted with a subscription fund, can do things, not merely in safety, but with credit, which would be looked upon as absolute meanness

in a private individual; and this runs through the whole charges of a contest. The powers of a subscription, too, are indefinite, and rise with the zeal of the party; that is, with the heat of the contest, and the demand for funds. This is a formidable consideration for either a private antagonist, standing on his own or on family interest, or for a government, which is strictly watched as to its expenditure, and not supported by a great popular clamour. Thus it may probably happen, that the bare proposal of a subscription fund will deter the ministerial antagonist from standing; much more when it is considered that a hundred pounds of that fund will go as far as a thousand, which he has either to expend of his own money, or charge upon his estates;—or, if those be entailed, to borrow upon ruinous annuities. And somehow or other, it is observed, that the whole *loyalty* of the county (as it is most falsely called) never produces very great effects in such contests of the purse; and that the *faith* of the Highchurch party is not quite up to moving the *mountain*.

Here then is a strong arm of power, which the people have from their numbers, and may always use if their zeal be proportioned to their deep interest in the stake. In all popular places let them open subscriptions, in proportion to the ability of each man; and let the fund be collected by degrees, to suit their individual convenience. They may contribute a small weekly sum for two or three months before hand; and when the election arrives, it will possibly be returned to them, from having produced its desired effect of extinguishing all opposition; or it may be applied in aid of similar funds elsewhere; or it may be wanted; and then it will be found too strong, when used with strict economy, to be resisted. It is not necessary to confine this subscription to the voters—quite the contrary; let those who wish well to the cause contribute to assist it; and whether they can *now* bear an active part in the contest or not, by actually voting, they may well share in the triumph; for they may be assured they are paving the way for a time when they will themselves have votes to give—votes which their money has now purchased. Persons in higher stations may set the example of liberality, proportioned to their means; and those in any station, who find it inconvenient to afford money, may assist with their labour;—canvassers—messengers—agents—printers—may all contribute to the good cause, in proportion to their zeal for it; and each mite, whether of money or other help, propagates the spirit which leads to success, while it renders an assistance to the power that immediately gains it. All this is not mere theory; it may be realized in any place where

there is an enthusiasm for liberty, and where the mode of election enables that zeal to find a vent. The well-disposed have only to communicate freely, and to cooperate under judicious and honest advice. They have only to begin betimes to take their measures;—and such a force—such a legitimate, peaceful, constitutional force—will be speedily arrayed in behalf of liberty, economy, peace, and reform, as must carry the blessings of those measures in triumph through every cottage in the empire.

For, when did there ever exist a concurrence of circumstances so marvellously favourable to the policy which we are recommending?—Of the state of the country we need not say much;—it is, God knows, none of the most flourishing: And whatever relief has of late been afforded to it, has been wrung from the government, by the voice—the cries—of the people—in the course of the great victory which they have recently gained over their blind and obstinate rulers. The people are strong, and they feel their strength. They feel it, too, in a manly and honest way—with confidence, but in peace: For, even when most distressed, how well did they, generally speaking, demean themselves! They have, indeed, no sort of respect for their rulers; and are any thing rather than friendly to the gross and galling abuses under which the country has too long groaned. The love of reform—the desire of peace—were never so strongly felt—never so widely diffused—never so feebly resisted by the advocates of corruption, and the champions of tyranny and war. The recent victory which those principles have gained—putting to flight all the extravagant and unjust notions which triumphed, we grieve to think, at Copenhagen—and teaching the government to respect the rights and wishes of the people, even in their warlike movements:—That victory which was gained for peaceable, and moderate, and just policy, over vain, impolitic, quarrelsome pretensions, has taught Englishmen never to despair while they can feel their true interests; and neither to pursue them by disaffection and violence, nor despondingly surrender them to intrigue and oppression. Popular feelings are now the prevailing ones. The press has done its duty; and the people are at length awake. Let them but continue tranquil, as well they may—for they are strong; and be true to themselves, and firm to their purpose,—they will rise up to a certain and immortal triumph. For, what have they to oppose them? We say nothing of the state of the Monarch; because we wish the people only to think of fair advantages: We would have them rather be the more forbearing on account of this melancholy source of weakness in the executive power. Neither do we speak of the pains taken so indefatigably by the ministers, at the establishment of the Regency, to teach the country

how useless they considered the Crown; and as the Prince of Wales once said, with peculiar force and propriety of expression, 'to try, in his person, the experiment, with how little regal power the government could be carried on.' Of this perilous experiment, we shall now say nothing; because its adventurous authors, Mr Pitt and Mr Perceval, are no more. Neither shall we enlarge on the attempts made, with too much success, by them and their adherents, to blacken the character of the Illustrious Person now at the head of affairs; because he has generously forgiven them, and apparently forgotten them too, somewhat more completely than the country has. Nor shall we advert at all to the personal qualifications of this eminent individual, or the estimation in which he is holden by his people,—or the public sentiments touching the other branches of his Illustrious House; because we stand in awe of his legal advisers and their powers. But we may advert to the state of his ministry.—The persons of his servants are not sacred—there is nothing inviolable in the author of the Scheldt expedition—the projector of the campaign to Paris—the maker and the breaker of the peace of Amiens—in Mr Bragge, and in the Lord Westmoreland.—They are all men; and clothed with their full shares of human infirmity.—They are subjects too; and they may live to learn that they are responsible, in their *persons* as well as in their offices, to the people, whose servants they are. We may therefore say of them, what every human being firmly believes, that they compose by far the weakest, the most silly, the most ridiculous ministry that ever was inflicted upon the known gravity of the English nation. Under *their* guidance, the vessel of state corruption is to be launched away among the surges of popular indignation at the ensuing general election. Such is the chance which we have of seeing it stove in:—and we have humbly ventured to point out the most constitutional and the most efficacious method of performing so useful an operation. We most earnestly implore the attention of all the Friends of Peace, Reform and Freedom, to these remarks:—And if they only now do once act upon them, the day is their own.

ART. IX. *Recherches sur les Mœurs des Fourmis Indigènes.* Par P. Huber, Membre des Sociétés d'Histoire Naturelle et de Physique à Genève, et Associé de celle de Tarn et Garonne. Paris. 1810.

THE cultivators of Natural History, like the objects they consider, admit of classification into genera and species, which hold very different stations in philosophical science. We must

place in the lowest rank, the mere collector of specimens, whose taste is more that of hoarding the rarities of nature, than of becoming acquainted with the objects themselves, and who, in viewing them, seeks only to gratify a puerile and inert curiosity. Minds of a more scientific turn, undertake the task of classification; and by applying logical methods of analysis, enable us to assign to each object a distinct place in a systematic arrangement. The superior classes of naturalists, are those who examine the organization of animals with reference to their physiological conditions; and who, by the aid of comparative anatomy, endeavour to trace the causes of the various phenomena which animals present to us in their living and active state. The higher departments of the subject, which may be considered as the province of the moral and metaphysical zoologist, comprehends the sphere of the intellectual and sensitive existence of animals, and the development of their respective faculties, under the different circumstances in which they happen to be placed. The succession of the different races, and the permanent modifications they may undergo by the continued operation of certain causes, are also objects of a more general nature, which belong to the latter class of inquiries. Now, although these different branches of science have a mutual and intimate dependence upon one another, they each admit, nevertheless, of being prosecuted in some measure separately from the rest. The labours of the systematic zoologist, however necessary to the deeper investigations of nature, may be regarded as of a subordinate kind, and as chiefly serving to clear the roads, and trace out maps of the country to be traversed:—and even the subtile questions of physiology, concerning the properties of animal matter which constitute life,—the refined chemistry that preserves these properties,—the complex actions that produce the growth and reparation of the organs,—and the mysterious process of reproduction, have but a remote connexion with the above-mentioned speculative inquiries, and require very different methods of investigation.

It is from these latter subjects more particularly that this species of knowledge derives its most general interest. The researches of abstract science are too far removed from the ordinary business of life, to engage the notice of the mere man of the world. Natural History is a pursuit of an intermediate kind, sufficiently connected with our own animal existence, and our own immediate wants, to claim attention even from the most careless; and at the same time affording sufficient scope for intellectual exertion, to entitle it to the dignity of a science.

In nothing is our curiosity more powerfully excited, than by

whatever relates to the instincts and faculties of the brute creation. Under the term *instinct*, which has often been mistaken for the name of a distinct and definite principle, have been included a number of facts relating to the actions of animals, which we are unable to explain by any of the known principles of voluntary action. Facts of this description are more abundantly met with among the insect tribes, than in any other part of the creation. This, probably, arises from the imperfect knowledge we possess of their history; and we may reasonably expect, that a more enlarged acquaintance with the habits and manners of this portion of the animal kingdom, will enable us to explain many of those actions, which are now said to be instinctive, upon some principle of known operation. The researches to which we are about to direct the attention of our readers, promise to afford considerable assistance in the solution of many questions of this nature.

It has long been observed, that those races of animals which live in societies, and unite their efforts for the attainment of one common end, exhibit a great superiority of intellectual faculties over those who lead a life of solitude and seclusion. The observation applies equally to the small as to the larger animals; although among the insect tribes, the distinction is most strongly marked. The history of those that are solitary, as of the myrmelion, or the spider, is limited to a single generation, and is memorable only by the display of some particular talent or artifice in the mode of catching their prey, or procuring a sheltered habitation for themselves and their progeny. But the history of those gregarious insects, which live together in large swarms, composing, as it were, so many distinct republics, embraces considerations of much higher interest. The bond of society by which they are united, implies a community of wants, a sympathy of desires, and a mutual intelligence of designs, by which the sphere of their sagacity and industry is enlarged—a subordination of rank, and division of labour, are introduced—and which ultimately lead to enterprizes and exertions of stupendous magnitude. The order of hymenopterous insects, furnishes us with the principal examples of those curious phenomena, which give us so extended an idea of the diversity that exists in the condition of the several tribes of insects. To discover the original source of these differences, is a subject well deserving inquiry; and we cannot but applaud all philosophical attempts to throw light on so interesting and difficult a branch of Natural History; among which we must rank those of the author whose work is before us.

Naturalists are already familiar with the name of Huber, as

the author of the valuable researches on bees, of which we gave an account in a former Number; * and who, under what might appear the greatest of all possible disadvantages, namely, the loss of sight, has found the means of penetrating into many of the secrets of nature, in the economy of these insects. The same ardour for the pursuits of natural history, and the same scrutinizing spirit, appear to animate his son, who is the writer of the work we are considering, and has already distinguished himself as the author of a memoir on the humble bee, which has appeared in the 6th volume of the Transactions of the Linnean Society. The mode in which he has chosen to communicate his discoveries is more strictly didactic than is usual in treating a subject on which so much new information is given. Most of the chapters state merely the results of his observations, without any detailed account of the steps by which his conclusions were obtained. The propriety of this plan may be questioned, especially as many of the researches are experimental; but it would be ungrateful in us to complain of an author for instructing us in the most ready and compendious form; though there are readers who would have been better satisfied if they had been permitted to follow him in all the difficulties he had to contend with, and to have partaken of the pleasure he must have experienced in the successive steps of his discoveries. We shall now give an analysis of the most interesting parts of this work, without, however, following exactly the order of the chapters.

The industry and activity of ants had attracted much notice from the ancients; but in the mixture of truth and fable which compose the accounts of Pliny, and of Aristotle, we find the errors greatly preponderating; and even the writings of modern naturalists contain a multitude of vague assertions, unsupported by observation. By some, their sagacity has been greatly exaggerated; and by others as unwarrantably depreciated. Leuwenhoek rectified many of the errors, and was the first who accurately distinguished the larvæ from the eggs. Swammerdam followed them, with still greater minuteness, in all their transformations; and Linnæus made us acquainted with several curious particulars respecting these insects in the state of fly, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. The labours of Geoffroy, De Geer, Bonnet and Latreille, have added numerous facts on the economy of ants, but still left many important questions undecided, to which the more successful efforts of Mr Huber have now given a satisfactory solution. In his

* Vol. XI. p. 319.

account of the external characters of the species, which forms the introduction to his work, he avails himself principally of the descriptions and method of Latreille. He agrees with him in ascribing to them a tongue, an organ which Fabricius had supposed them not possessed of. This tongue is spoon-shaped; and by means of it, the insect, according to M. Huber, is enabled to lap up fluids with the greatest facility. He has discovered no less than twenty-three species indigenous in Switzerland; but the particulars he has given us, relate to a few of these only.

Ants present us with many striking analogies with bees; as in them we may in each species distinguish three modifications of sex, namely, the *males*, the *females*, and the *neuters* or *labourers*; the latter being, in respect to sex, in the same condition as the working bees, that is, they are females in whom the generative organs are not developed, and who of course are barren. In each hive of bees, however, there is but one queen; whereas a great number of queens, or female ants, are met with, living in the utmost harmony, in the same nest. It appears, that any of the larvæ of the labouring class of bees may be raised to the rank of queen, that is, may acquire a development of organs, by a particular mode of feeding. Whether the same circumstance obtains, with respect to the female ant, has not yet been ascertained, and is a question which Mr Huber's future researches will probably enable him to determine. The various toils which contribute to the welfare of the republic are confided, in both communities, to the labourers, who act as the architects of the city, as the soldiers of the garrison, and as the nurses and guardians of the rising generation; while the other classes have no other duties to perform than those of furnishing recruits to the colony.

The different species of ants, like the nations of our own species, are distinguished from each other by great diversities of manners. This is strikingly shown in the variety of modes in which they construct their habitations. Some employ merely earth as the material; some collect for the same purpose fragments of leaves, of bark, or of straw; others use nothing but finely pulverised portions of decayed wood. The solid substance of trees is excavated by another species into numerous apartments, having regular communications with one another. Various other modifications may be observed in the architecture of the different species. The most perfect specimens of workmanship are generally exhibited by the smaller ants. The brown ant (*fourmi brune*) is particularly remarkable among the masonic tribes. Their nests are formed of parallel or concentric stories, each four or five lines in height; the partitions being about half

a line in thickness, and built of such fine materials, that the interior appears perfectly smooth. On examining each of these stories, we discover chambers of different sizes, having long galleries of communication. The ceilings of the larger spaces are supported by small pillars, sometimes by slender walls, and in other cases by arches. Some cells have but a single entrance; others have passages, which open from the story underneath. In other parts, still larger central spaces, or halls, are met with, in which a great number of passages terminate, like the streets and avenues to a market place. The whole nest often contains twenty of these stories, above the level of the ground, and at least as many below it. The use of this numerous series of rooms will appear in the sequel. The surface of the nest is covered with a thicker wall, and has several doors admitting, in the day time, free ingress and egress. This species of ant is unable to bear much heat. During the day, therefore, and particularly when the sun shines, their doors are closed; and they either keep at home, or venture out only through the subterraneous passages. When the dew has given freshness to the nest, and softened the earthy materials on its surface, they begin to make their appearance above ground. On the first shower of rain that occurs, the whole swarm are apprised of it, and immediately resume their architectural labours. While some are engaged in removing the earth below, others are employed in building an additional story on the top; the masons making use of the materials furnished by the miners. The plan of the cells and partitions is first traced in relief on the walls, which are seen gradually to arise, leaving empty spaces between them. The beginnings of pillar indicate the situation of the future halls; and the rising partitions show the form of the intended passages. Upon the plan thus traced they continue building, till they have arrived at a sufficient elevation. Masses of moistened earth are then applied at right angles to the tops of the walls, on each side, and continued in a horizontal direction till they meet in the middle. The ceilings of the larger chambers are completed in the same manner; the workers beginning from the angles of the walls, and from the tops of the pillars which have been raised in the centre. The largest of these chambers, which might be compared to the town hall, and is frequently more than two inches in diameter, is completed with apparently as much ease as the rest. This busy crowd of masons, arriving in every direction, laden with materials for the building, hastening to avail themselves of the rain to carry on their work, and yet observing the most perfect order in their operations, must present the most

interesting and amusing spectacle. They raise a single story in about seven or eight hours, forming a general roof as a covering to the whole; and they go on, adding other stories, so long as the rain affords them the facility of moulding the materials. When the rain ceases, and is succeeded by a drying wind, before they have completed their work, the earth ceasing to adhere together, and crumbling into powder, frustrates all their labours; as soon as they find this to be the case, they, with one accord, set about destroying the cells which they had begun, but had not been able to cover in, and distribute the materials over the upper story of what they had completed. Under these circumstances Mr Huber succeeded in getting them to resume their task by means of an artificial shower; an experiment which he thus relates.

'Je pris pour cela une brosse très-forte, que je plongeai dans l'eau, et, en passant ma main sur ses crins, dans un sens et dans l'autre, je faisois jallir sur la fourmilière une rosée extrémement fine. Les fourmis, depuis l'intérieure de leur demeure, s'apercurent fort bien de l'humidité de leur toit; elles sortirent et coururent rapidement à la surface. L'arrosement continuoit; les maçonnes y furent trompées; elles allèrent se pourvoir de brins de terre au fond du nid, revinrent les placer sur le faîte, et bâtirent des murs, des cases, en un mot un étage complet en quelques heures.' p. 42.

In tracing the design of the cells and galleries, each ant appears to follow its own fancy. A want of accordance must therefore frequently take place at the point where their works join: but they never appear to be embarrassed by any difficulties of this kind. An instance is related, in which two opposite walls were made of such different elevations, that the ceiling of the one, if continued, would not have reached above half way of the height of the other. An experienced ant arriving at the spot seemed struck with the defect, and immediately destroyed the lower ceiling, built up the wall to the proper height, and formed a new ceiling with the materials of the former.

'C'est surtout lorsque les fourmis commencent quelque entreprise, que l'on croiroit voir une idée naître dans leur esprit, et se réaliser par l'exécution. Ainsi, quand l'une d'elles découvre sur le nid deux brins d'herbe qui se croisent et peuvent favoriser la formation d'une loge, ou quelques petites poutres qui en dessinent les angles et les côtés, on le voit examiner les parties de cet ensemble, puis placer, avec beaucoup de suite et d'adresse, des parcelles de terre dans les vides et le long des tiges: prendre de toutes parts les matériaux à sa convenance, quelquefois même sans ménager l'ouvrage que d'autres ont ébauché; tant elle est dominée par l'idée qu'elle a conçue, et qu'elle suit sans distraction. Elle va, vient

retourne jusqu'à ce que son plan soit devenù sensible pour d'autres fourmis.

' Dans une autre partie de la même fourmilière, plusieurs brins de paille sembloit placés expres pour faire la charpente du toit d'une grande case: une ouvrière saisit l'avantage de cette disposition; ces fragmens, couchés horizontalement à demi-pouce du terrein, formoient, en se croisant, un parallélogramme alongé. L'industrieux insecte plaça d'abord de la terre dans tous les angles de cette charpente, et le long des petites poûtres dont elle étoit composée; la même ouvrière établit ensuite plusieurs rangées de ces matériaux les unes contre les autres, en sorte que le toit de cette case commençoit à être très-distinct, lorsqu'ayant aperçu la possibilité de profiter d'une autre plante pour appuyer un mur vertical, elle en plaça de même les fondemens. D'autres fourmis étant alors survenues, elles achèverent en commun les ouvrages que la première avoit commencés.

' D'apres ces observations et mille autres semblables, je me suis assuré que chaque fourmi agit indépendamment de ses compagnes. La première qui conçoit un plan d'une exécution facile en trace aussitôt l'esquisse; les autres n'ont plus qu'à continuer ce qu'elle a commencé; celles-ci jugent par l'inspection des premiers travaux de cause qu'elles doivent entreprendre; elles savent toutes ébaucher, continuer, polir, ou retoucher leur ouvrage, selon l'occasion: l'eau leur fournit le ciment dont elles ont besoin; le soleil et l'air durcissent la matière de leurs édifices; elles n'ont d'autre ciseau que leur dents, d'autres compas que leurs antennes, et de truelle que leurs pates de devant, dont elles se servent d'une manière admirable pour appuyer et consolider leur terre mouillée.' p. 48.

We cannot follow the author in his details of the methods employed by other species of ants, which are equally curious with the preceding: but shall proceed to notice the principal facts he has brought to light respecting their fecundation.

Nature, in providing the male and female ants with wings, must evidently have designed them for migration to distant abodes, where they might become the founders of new colonies. Arrived at the period of maturity, and furnished with perfect instruments of flight, they wait only till the warmth of the atmosphere is sufficiently genial; and do not quit their nests till the temperature has risen to above 67° of Fahrenheit. Busy swarms of these winged insects are then seen to issue from the nest, and to cover the neighbouring plants, expanding their wings, which reflect the sun's rays in a thousand brilliant colours. They are escorted in all their steps by the labourers, who appear to watch them with peculiar solicitude, frequently offering them food, and caressing them with their antennæ. At length they leave their attendants, and commence their flight, few being destined ever to return to the spot which gave them birth. The act of fecundation is generally performed

during their flight. The males having fulfilled the purposes of nature, are now useless members of the society; it does not, however, appear that they are ever massacred by the labourers, as is the case with drones: but they are left to perish for want of sustenance; being unprovided with the means of procuring it for themselves, and being separated from those by whose bounty they had hitherto been fed. The females, when impregnated, seek proper habitations, where, as will afterwards appear, they lay the foundations of new republics.

All the impregnated females however are not lost, in this way, to the parent state: many are detained by the labourers before they can take their flight, and a few are impregnated in the nest itself. The labourers are every where lying in wait for them, and forcibly seize them wherever they are to be found; they immediately deprive them of their wings, and drag them to the nest. Here they are kept close prisoners for several days: their keepers watching them with the greatest assiduity, but carefully supplying them with nourishment, and conveying them to situations where the temperature is the most grateful.

' Chacune de ces femelles perd par degrés l'envie de sortir de sa ruche; son ventre grossit. A cette époque, elle n'éprouve plus de contrainte; elle a cependant encore une garde assidue; une seule fourmi la suit toujours, et prévient ses besoins: la plupart du tems, montée sur son abdomen et les jambes postérieures posées par terre, elle paroit être une sentinelle établie pour surveiller ses actions, saisir le premier instant où elle commence à pondre, et relever aussitôt ses œufs. Ce n'est pas toujours la même fourmi qui la suit; celle-ci est relevée par d'autres qui se succédent sans interruption; mais lorsque la maternité de la femelle est bien reconnue, on commence à lui rendre des hommages pareils à ceux qui les abeilles prodiguent à leur reine. Une cour de douze à quinze fourmis la suit partout; elle est sans cesse l'objet de leurs soins et de leurs caresses: toutes s'empressent autour d'elle, lui offrent de la nourriture et la conduisent par ses mandibules dans les passages difficiles ou montueux; elles vont même jusqu'à la porter dans les différens quartiers de la fourmilière. Les œufs pris par les ouvrières, à l'instant de leur naissance, sont réunis autour d'elle, et lorsqu'elle se tient en repos, un groupe de fourmis l'environne. ' p. 118.

In the following particulars they differ remarkably from the societies of bees.

' Plusieurs femelles peuvent vivre dans le même nid; elles n'éprouvent point de rivalité; chacune d'elles a sa cour; elles se rencontrent sans se faire du mal, et soutiennent en commun la population de la fourmilière; mais elles n'ont aucun pouvoir; il seroit plutôt entre les mains des fourmis neutres. ' p. 119.

The eggs, when first deposited, are very small, white, o-

paque, and of a cylindrical form. The labourers, to whom the care of hatching them is confided, never quit them for a moment, but keep them in a state of moisture, by licking them continually with their tongues, or passing them through their mouths. Mr Huber has clearly proved that the eggs acquire a conside able increase of size during this period; and that at length they become nearly transparent, and much distended, and resemble in form the larva that is about to be excluded. A similar growth had already been noticed by Reaumur in the eggs of the gall insect, and by Vallisneri in those of some species of fly. At the end of a fortnight the larva comes forth; it is then perfectly transparent, consists only of a head and rings, without even the rudiments of feet or antennæ. In this state it is likewise completely dependent on the labourers for its support: their food is altogether liquid; and their nurses allow them to take it out of their mouths, without its appearing to have undergone any preparation. The following passage will give some idea of the care with which they are reared.

'J'ai pu suivre au travers des vitrages de la fourmilière artificielle tous les soins qu'elles prennent de ces petits vers qui portent aussi le nom de larve. Ils étoient gardés à l'ordinaire par une troupe de fourmis, qui dressées sur leurs pates et le ventre en avant, étoient prêtes à lancer leur venin, tandis qu'on voyoit çà-et-là d'autres ouvrières occupées à déblayer les conduits embarrassées par des matériaux hors de place, et qu'une partie de leurs compagnes demeuroient dans un repos complet, et paroissoient endormies.

'Mais la scène s'animoit à l'heure du transport des petits au soleil. Au moment où ses rayons venoient éclairer la partie extérieure du nid, les fourmis qui se trouvoient à la surface partoient aussitôt et descendoient avec précipitation dans le fond de la fourmilière, frappoient de leurs antennes les autres fourmis, couroient de l'une à l'autre, pressoient, heurtoient leurs compagnes, qui montoient à l'instant sous la cloche, redescendoient avec la même rapidité, et mettoient à leur tour tout en mouvement, jusqu'à ce qu'on vit un essaim d'ouvrières remplir tous les passages. Mais ce qui prouvoit encore mieux le but qu'elles se proposoient, c'est la violence avec laquelle ces ouvrières saisissoient quelquefois par leurs mandibules celles qui paroissoient ne pas leur comprendre, et les entraînoient au sommet de la fourmilière où elles les abandonnoient aussitôt pour aller chercher celles qui restoient auprès des petits. Dès que les fourmis étoient averties de l'apparition du soleil, elles s'occupoient des larves et des nymphes; elles les portoient en toute hâte au dessus de la fourmilière, ou elles les laissoient quelque tems exposées à l'influence de la chaleur. Leur ardeur ne se ralentissoit point: les larves de femelles, beaucoup plus grandes et plus pesantes que celles des autres castes, étoient transportées avec assez de difficultés, au travers des passages étroits qui conduisoient de l'interieur à l'exteri-

eur de la fourmilière, et placées au soleil à côté de celles des ouvrières et des mâles ; quand elles y avoient passé un quart-d'heure, les fourmis les retiroient, et les mettoient à l'abri de ses rayons directs, dans des loges destinées à les recevoir sous une couche de chaume, qui n'interceptoit pas entiérement la chaleur.

' Les ouvrières, après avoir satisfait aux devoirs qui leur sont imposés à l'égard des larves, ne paroissoient pas s'oublier elles-mêmes ; elles cherchoient à leur tour à s'étendre au soleil ; elles s'entassoient les unes sur les autres, et sembloient jouir de quelque repos, mais il n'étoit pas de longue durée : on en voyoit toujours un grand nombre travailler au-dessus de la fourmilière ; d'autres rapportoient les larves dans l'interieur, à mesure que le soleil s'abaisoit ; enfin le moment de les nourrir étant arrivé, chaque fourmi s'approchoit d'une larve, et lui donnoit à manger.

' Il ne suffisoit pas de les porter au soleil et de les nourrir, il falloit encore les entretenir dans une extreme propreté ; aussi ces insectes, qui ne le cédent en tendresse pour les petits dont la direction leur est confiée, à aucunes des femelles des grands animaux, ont-ils encore l'attention de passer leurs langues et leurs mandibules à chaque instant sur leur corps, et les rendent-ils par ce moyen d'une blancheur parfaite ; on voit encore les fourmis occupées à tirailler leur peau, détendue et ramollie, près de l'époque de leur transformation. ' p. 73 & 78.

Before they divest themselves of this external pellicle, they spin a web, and, like other insects, assume the state of nymphæ preparatory to their last transformation. In their passage to the state of perfect insects, they still require the fostering care of their guardians, and would be unable, without their help, to extricate themselves from their enclosure. In these efforts for their deliverance, the labourers display surprising patience and ingenuity ; and a lively picture is given of the scene that the interior of the nest presents to the spectator, while the whole society of labourers are actively employed in emancipating the young from their fetters, and anticipating all their wants till they are able to provide for themselves. They still watch and follow them for many days, teaching them the ways and labyrinths of their habitation, and supplying them abundantly with food. They assist the males and females in expanding their wings, which would otherwise remain folded ; and, whenever they wander to too great a distance, conduct them back in safety : and they continue these offices till the season of their migration is arrived.

The fecundated females that escape detention, and quit for ever after the paternal roof, no sooner alight upon a spot where any loose earth is to be met with, than they set about forming a habitation. The first step they take is to cut off their own

wings, for which they have no longer any use: * and it is extremely curious, that they never perform this operation till they find a situation that promises to afford them an asylum. Having now no labourers to work for them, they perform all the household duties themselves. Like the mothers of other animals, they are indefatigable in their attention to their offspring. Thus the same individual, which, when surrounded at home by those who minister to all her wants, and relieve her from exertion, would have reposed in indolence, and been quite careless of her young, acquires new powers from necessity, and fulfils the intention of nature in the formation of new republics. It is impossible to produce a more striking example of variation in the character of animals produced by a change of external circumstances.

Our attention shall next be directed to the way in which ants procure the means of subsistence: and the views that have been opened to us by M. Huber on this subject are among the most curious of any he has disclosed. It is here, indeed, that the principal errors have been committed by those who have hitherto pretended to instruct us as to the economy of these insects. The collections of larvæ were long mistaken for magazines of corn and other food, which it was supposed the ants deposited in granaries, as provisions for winter consumption. But the truth is, that they are almost wholly carnivorous, and corn is certainly not an article on which they feed: they are total strangers to the art of hoarding, and none of their cells are constructed with this view. The ants, whose occupations confine them at home, depend for their food on the labourers, who forage for the whole society, and bring to the nest small insects, or portions of any animal substance that may fall in their way. When the game is too bulky to be easily transported, they fill themselves with nourishment, the greater part of which they disgorge on their return, for the benefit of those that are hungry. This nutricious fluid they retain unchanged for a considerable time, when prevented from imparting it to their companions.

The food which they appear to relish above all others, is an exsudation from the bodies of several species of aphis, insects which abound on the plants in the vicinity of ant hills. This species of honey is absorbed with great avidity by the ants, and apparently without the least detriment to the insect that yields it. This fact had already been noticed by Boissier de Sauvages; but several very interesting particulars, as to the mode in which

* Linnæus had observed that the females, after impregnation, lost their wings, and did not return to the nest.

this excretion is procured, have been brought to light by M. Huber. He informs us, that the liquor is voluntarily given out by the aphis, when solicited to do so by the ant, who, for that purpose, strikes it gently, but repeatedly, with its antennæ, using the same motions as it does when caressing its young. He is led to believe from observation, that the aphis retains this liquor for a longer time when the ants are not at hand to receive it. A single aphis is sufficient to supply in this way many ants with a plentiful meal. Even those among them who had acquired wings, and could therefore have easily escaped from the ants, if they had been so disposed, yielded this honey as freely as the others, and with as little appearance of fear or constraint.

Most insects become torpid when their temperature is much reduced. When it approaches the freezing point, they fall into a deep lethargy, and in that state require no food. Ants present a remarkable exception to this rule; for they are not benumbed till the thermometer has sunk to 27° of Fahrenheit, or five degrees below the freezing point. They therefore have need of a supply of provisions during the greatest part of the winter; although it is true that they are satisfied with much less than in summer. Their principal resource, however, under these circumstances, is still the same, namely, the honey of the aphis; which natural secretion appears to be expressly designed for the subsistence of ants. What confirms this view of the intentions of nature is, that the aphis becomes torpid at precisely the same temperature as the ant; a coincidence which it is hardly possible to attribute to mere chance. The winter haunts of the aphis, which are chiefly the roots of trees and shrubs, are well known to their pursuers; and when the cold is not excessive, they regularly go out to seek their accustomed supply from these insects. Some species of ants have even sufficient foresight to obviate the necessity of these journies; they bring these animals to their own nests, where they lodge them near the vegetables on which they feed; while the domestic ants prevent them from stirring out, guarding them with great care, and defending them with as much zeal as they do their own young.

'Elles avoient grand soin des pucerons, et ne leur faisoient jamais de mal: ceux-ci ne paroissoient point les craindre; ils se laissoient transporter d'une place à une autre, et lorsqu'ils étoient disposés, ils demeuroient dans l'endroit choisi par leur gardiennes: lorsque les fourmis vouloient les déplacer, elles commençoient par les caresser avec leurs antennes, comme pour les engager à abandonner leurs racines, ou à retirer leur trompe de la cavité dans laquelle elle étoit insérée; ensuite, elles les prenoient doucement par-dessus

ou par-dessous le ventre avec leurs dents, et les emportoient avec le même soin qu'elles auroient donné aux larves de leur espèce. J'ai vu la même fourmi prendre successivement trois pucerons plus gros qu'elle, et les transporter dans un endroit obscur. Il y en eut un qui lui résista plus long-tems que les autres ; peut-être ne pouvoit-il pas retirer sa trompe, engagée trop profondément dans le bois. Je m'amusai à suivre tous les mouvemens que se donna la fourmi pour lui faire lâcher prise ; elle le caressoit et le saisissoit tour à tour jusqu'à ce qu'il eût cédé à ses désirs. Cependant les fourmis n'emploient pas toujours les voies de la douceur avec eux ; quand elles craignent qu'ils ne leur soit enlevés par celles d'une autre espèce et vivant près de leur habitation, ou lorsqu'on découvre trop brusquement le gazon sous lequel ils sont cachés, elles les prennent à la hâte, et les emportent au fond des souterrains. J'ai vu les fourmis de deux nids voisins se disputer leur pucerons : quand celles de l'un pouvoient entrer chez les autres, elles les déroboient aux véritables possesseurs, et souvent ceux-ci s'en emparoient à leur tour ; car les fourmis connoissent tout le prix de ces petits animaux, qui semblent leur être destinés : c'est leur trésor ; une fourmilière est plus ou moins riche selon qu'elle a plus ou moins de pucerons ; c'est leur bétail, ce sont leurs vaches et leurs chevres ; on n'eût pas deviné que les fourmis fussent des peuples pasteurs ! ' p. 192.

But their sagacity goes even much further than what is here related. They collect the eggs of the aphis, they superintend their hatching, continually moistening them with their tongue, and preserving them till the proper season for their exclusion, and in a word, bestow on them all the attention which they give to the eggs of their own species. When disturbed by an intruder, they carry off these eggs in great haste to a place of safety. Different species of aphis are to be found in the same nest: several kinds of gall insects and also of kermes serve the same purposes to the ants as the aphis, affording them in like manner juices possessed of nutritious qualities. All these live in perfect harmony with their masters, who so far from offering them any molestation, defend them with courage against the ants of other societies who might attempt to purloin them. That the ants have some notion of property in these insects, would appear from their occasionally having establishments for these aphises at a distance from their city, in fortified buildings which they construct for this purpose alone, in places where they are secure from invasion. Here the aphises are confined as cows in a dairy, to supply the wants of the metropolis.

Our author has been at great pains to ascertain by what means these insects are enabled to cooperate in the execution of these and other designs ; a cooperation which is inexplicable except on the supposition that they possess a species of language, by which the intentions of individuals are imparted to

one another, and to the community at large. The particular means apparently used for this purpose are detailed in many parts of the work; and it might, we conceive, have been instructive to have brought together, in a distinct chapter, all the facts that bore upon this interesting question. It does not appear that ants are capable of emitting sounds so as to communicate at a distance. The sense of touch is with them the principal medium of conveying impressions to one another. Some of these impressions are communicated by the one striking its head against the corselet of the other; others by bringing their mandibles in contact. The former is the signal of danger; which is spread with astonishing quickness through the whole society. During the night as well as at other times, sentinels are stationed on the outside of their habitations, who on the approach of danger suddenly descend into the midst of the tribe, and spread the alarm on every side: the whole are soon apprised of the danger; and while the greater number rush forward to repel it, with every expression of displeasure and of rage, the rest, who are attending the eggs and larva, hasten with their charge to places of greater security. The males and females, on the other hand, on being warned of the approaching combat, in which they feel themselves incapable of bearing any active part, fly for shelter to the most retired places in the vicinity. That these signals are not always immediately understood, will appear from the following anecdote.

'Les pieds de la fourmilière artificielle plongeoient dans des baquets, qu'on avoit soin de tenir toujours plein d'eau; cet expédient, inventé d'abord pour fermer le passage aux fourmis, devint pour elles une source de jouissances; car elles boivent, comme les papillons, les abeilles, et d'autres insectes, pendant les chaleurs de l'été. Un jour qu'elles étoient réunies au pied de la ruche, et occupées à lécher les gouttelettes qui filtroient entre les fibres du bois, ce qu'elles paroissoient préférer à boire dans le bassin meme, je m'amusai à les inquiéter; cette petite experience donna lieu à une scène qui me parut concluante. La plupart des fourmis remonterent aussitôt le long du pied de la ruche; il en resta cependant un petit nombre, que ma présence ne parut pas avoir alarmées, et qui continuerent à boire; mais une des premières redescendit et s'approcha d'une de ses compagnes, qui paroissoit absorbée par le plaisir de se désaltérer; elle la poussa avec ses mandibules, à plusieures reprises, en baissant et relevant sa tête par saccades, et réussit bientôt à la faire partir; l'officieuse fourmi s'adressa ensuite à une autre ouvrière qui buvoit encore, chercha à la stimuler par derrière en frappant son abdomen: mais voyant qu'elle ne paroissoit pas la comprendre, elle s'approcha de son corselet, et lui donna deux ou trois coups avec le bout de ses mâchoires: la fourmi, prévenue enfin de la necessité de s'éloigner

remonta précipitamment sous la cloche ; une troisième, avertie de la même manière, et toujours par la même fourmi, regagna promptement le logis ; mais la quatrième, qui restoit seule au bord de l'eau, ne se retiroit point, malgré les preuves de sollicitude dont elle étoit l'objet ; elle ne paroissoit faire aucune attention aux secousses réitérées de la donneuse d'avis ; celle-ci la prit enfin par une de ses jambes de derrière, et la tira brusquement ; la fourmi que se désaltéroit encore se retourna, en ouvrant ses larges pinces, avec toutes les apparences de la colère, puis se remit tranquillement à boire, mais sa compagne ne lui en laissa pas le tems ; elle passa devant elle, la saisit par ses mandibules, et l'entraina rapidement dans la fourmilière.' p. 132.

The chief instruments by which other ideas are conveyed, appear to be the antennæ, which for that purpose are brought into contact, in various ways, with different parts of the body of the ant addressed. Of this species of intercourse, which Mr Huber calls *Le Langage Antennal*, he gives the following account.

' Les antennes, ces organes du toucher, et peut-être de quelque sens qui nous est inconnu, sont les principaux instrumens du langage des fourmis ; leur place au devant de la tête, leur mobilité, leur construction, qui présente une suite de phalanges douées d'une extrême sensibilité ; leur rapport intime avec l'instinct ; enfin les observations que j'ai rapportées en parlant de la conduite de nos insectes dans leur relations avec leurs femelles, les mâles, et les autres ouvrières : tout concourt à me persuader que les antennes jouent le rôle le plus important chez les fourmis. Nous les avons vu en faire un usage fréquent sur le champ de bataille pour jetter l'alarme parmi leur compagnes, et pour se distinguer de leur ennemis ; au sein de la fourmilière, pour avertir de la présence du soleil, si favorable au développement des larves ; dans leurs courses et leurs emigrations, pour s'indiquer mutuellement la route ; dans leur recrutemens, pour décider le depart,' &c. p. 176.

' La fourmi qui éprouve le besoin de manger commence par frapper de ses deux antennes, avec un mouvement très-rapide, celles de la fourmi dont elle attend du secours ; on les voit aussitôt s'approcher en ouvrant leur bouche, et avancer leur langue pour se communiquer la liqueur qu'elle se font passer de l'une à l'autre : pendant cette opération, la fourmi qui reçoit les alimens ne cesse de flatter celle qui la nourrit, en continuant à mouvoir ses antennes avec une activité singulière ; elle fait aussi jouer sur les parties latérales de la tête de sa nourrice ses pates antérieures, qui sont garnies de brosses très-épaisses, et qui, par la délicatesse et la rapidité de leur mouvement, ne le cédent en rien à ceux des antennes.' p. 178.

Bonnet had imagined, that in their journeys ants directed their course chiefly by the scent remaining in the track which they had before passed. But it appears that they have various other means of finding their way; and must depend principally on the

senses of sight and of touch, aided by the memory of local circumstances. If they should meet with annoyance in their nest, or, from any other cause, find it inconvenient to remain, they endeavour to find some other spot to which they may remove; and, for this purpose, the labourers scatter themselves abroad, and reconnoitre in every direction. The ant who has the good fortune to discover a convenient situation, returns immediately home, and by certain gestures acquaints her comrades with her success, and points out the direction of the place she has chosen. The migrations of the fallow ants (*fourmis fauves*) are conducted in a very singular manner. The guide carries another ant in her mouth, to the place to which she intends the colony to remove. Both then return, and each taking up another ant, bring them, in a similar manner, to the new settlement. These, when instructed in the way, return and fetch others; and this process is continued by all the guides, their numbers increasing in rapid progression till the whole has been transported to the new place of abode.

It is impossible to contemplate the actions of such minute beings, in whom not only all the parental affections subsist in as full force as in the larger animals, but the social sympathies also prevail in a much more extraordinary degree, without feelings of wonder and admiration. The zeal with which the bee will devote its life to the service of the community of which it forms a part, has long been known; but the ant is not inferior to the bee either in courage or in patriotism; and, moreover, bears testimony, by unequivocal actions, of a degree of tenderness and affection which we can hardly bring ourselves to conceive could animate a being of a condition so apparently inferior. Latreille, in the course of his experiments, had deprived some ants of their antennæ; their distress was no doubt perceived and shared by their companions, who caused a transparent liquor, which probably possessed some healing properties, to flow from their own mouths, and with this they anointed the wounds of the sufferers. Many traits of their fondness and tender care of their females, were witnessed by the author; they give the most remarkable proof of the permanence of their affection, when any of the impregnated females happen to die; in which case, five or six of her attendants remain with her for many days, licking and caressing the body without intermission, as if they hoped to recal her to life by their caresses. Many anecdotes are related by Mr Huber of their readiness to assist one another, and of their manifesting a desire that their companions should participate in the advantages and enjoyments that occurred to themselves. As an instance of the constancy of their attachments, we shall quote the following passage.

'Je pris au mois d'Avril une fourmilière des bois, dans l'intention de peupler mon grand appareil vitré; mais ayant beaucoup plus de fourmis qu'il ne m'en falloit, j'en remis une partie en liberté dans le jardin de la maison que j'habitois, et celles-la se fixèrent au pied d'un marronier; les autres devinrent l'objet de quelques observations particulières. Je les suivis pendant quatre mois sans les laisser sortir de mon cabinet: à cette époque, voulant les rapprocher d'avantage de l'état de nature je transportai la ruche dans le jardin, à 10 ou 15 pas de la fourmilière naturelle. Les prisonnières profitant de ma négligence à renouveller l'eau de leurs baquets s'évadoient quelquefois et parcouroient les environs de leur demeure; les fourmis établis auprès du marronier rencontrèrent et *reconnurent* leurs anciennes compagnes; on les voyoit gesticuler et se caresser mutuellement avec leur antennes, se prendre sur leurs mandibules, et les fourmis du marronier emmener les autres dans leur nid; elles vinrent bientot en foule chercher les fugitives audessous de ma fourmillière artificielle, et se hasardèrent même jusque sous la cloche, ou elles établirent une desertion complette, en enlevant successivement toutes les fourmis qui s'y trouvoient; en peu de jours elle fut dépeuplée: *ces fourmis étoient restées quatre mois sans communication.*' p. 150.

Whether the imagination of the author has not betrayed him in his interpretation of the following scene, which he regards as resembling the gymnastic exercises of the ancients, it would perhaps require ocular evidence of the facts described, in order to determine; but as the whole is extremely curious, we shall give it in his own words.

'Je m'approchai un jour d'une de leurs fourmilières exposée au soleil et abritée du côté du nord. Les fourmis étoient amoncelées en grand nombre, et sembloient jouir de la température qu'elles trouvoient à la surface du nid. Aucune d'elles ne travailloit: cette multitude d'insectes accumulés offroit l'image d'un liquide en ébullition, sur lequel les yeux avoient d'abord peine à se fixer. Mais quand je m'appliquois à suivre séparément chaque fourmi, je les voyois s'approcher en faisant jouer leurs antennes avec une étonnante rapidité; leur pates antérieures flattoient par de legers mouvemens les parties latérales de la tête des autres fourmis: après ces premiers gestes, qui ressembloient à des caresses, on les voyoit s'élever sur leurs jambes de derrière deux à deux, lutter ensemble, se saisir par une mandibule, par une pate ou par une antenne, se relâcher aussitôt pour s'attaquer encore; elles se cramponnoient au corselet ou à l'abdomen l'une de l'autre, s'embrassoient, se renversoient, se relevoient tour à tour, et prenoient leur revanche sans paroitre se faire de mal; elles ne lançoient pas de venin, comme dans leurs combats; et ne retenoient point leur adversaire avec cette opiniatreté que nous avons observée dans leurs querelles sérieuses: elles abandonnoient bientôt les fourmis qu'elles avoient saisies, et tâchoient d'en attraper d'autres: j'en ai vu qui avoient une telle ardeur dans ces exercices,

qu'elles poursuivoient successivement plusieures ouvrières, luttoient avec elles pendant quelques instans, et le combat ne finissoit que lorsque la moins animée, après avoir renversé son antagoniste, réussissoit à s'échapper en se cachant en quelque galerie. Je retournai souvent auprès de cette fourmilière qui me donnoit presque toujours le même spectacle ; quelquefois cette disposition étoit générale : partout il se formoit des groupes de fourmis luttant ensemble, et je n'en vis jamais aucun sortir de là blessée ou mutilée.

' D'autres fourmilières m'ont présenté des particularités un peu différentes de celles-ci ; je voyois souvent à la surface du nid des ouvrières qui paroissoient saisies de vertige ; elles se tortilloient au soleil avec des mouvemens convulsifs en ouvrant leur pinces, et couroient en tout sens sur la fourmilière ; bientôt quelques autres, agitées de la même manière, commençoient à frétiller et se jetoient dans la première galerie qui se trouvoit sur leur passage. Ces fourmis mettoient tout en désordre autour d'elles ; mais cette disposition ne duroit que deux à trois minutes, et je suppose qu'elle étoit due à l'ardeur du soleil, ne l'ayant jamais observée que lorsqu'il étoit très elevé au-dessus de l'horizon. Plusieurs de celles que j'ai suivies, après avoir pirouetté quelques instans, accrochoient les autres fourmis par une jambe ou par une antenne, puis les relâchoient pour courir après d'autres ; quelquefois même elles les emportoient, mais sans jamais leur faire du mal. Ailleurs, deux fourmis paroissoient s'agacer autour d'un brin d'herbe ; l'une et l'autre, dressées sur leurs pates, tournoient alternativement pour s'éviter ou s'attraper : elles me rappeloient les courses et les combats simulés des jeunes chiens, quand ils s'elevent sur leurs pattes de derrière, feignant de se mordre, se renversent mutuellement, et se saisissent sans jamais serrer les dents.' p. 170—172.

While ants thus enjoy all the advantages of a state of civilization, they are not exempt from the passions that disturb domestic peace, and the evils that interrupt the harmony of social life. Can it be that war, with its attendant calamities, is the necessary concomitant of society ; and must it also be the scourge of communities among insects, as well as among beings who pride themselves in such superior endowments ? It is but too true that the history of ants affords no exception to this apparent connexion of things. The almost Utopian picture of a republic which the preceding accounts exhibit, is deformed by features of ferocity which blend themselves with the estimable qualities we have described. In the hostilities of animals, we generally find a mixture of stratagem and of force ; and they consist almost wholly in occasional struggles between individuals who prey upon one another. But the modes of warfare pursued by ants is of a totally different character. Their aggressions are made by large armies ; and their battles are general engagements between contending nations. The wars they

wage are always open and direct, and exhibit none of the arts of deceit; their operations are conducted on a scale of magnitude that is astonishing. The labourers and the females are the only ants that engage in these conflicts. Some species are provided with stings; others employ their jaws in the infliction of wounds, and apply to the bitten part a drop of acrid fluid, which is secreted for this purpose. Their combined attacks upon various insects, even of considerable size, are well known. In hot climates, they extend their hostilities to the smaller quadrupeds, such as rats; and, in some countries, become formidable even to man. But the greatest enemy to the ant is the ant itself. The lesser are frequently enabled, by their courage as well as by superior numbers, to overpower the stronger species; and jealousies often spring up between rival states belonging to the same species. Each has its peculiar system of tactics, which is varied according to the enemy to whom they are opposed. The fury and desperation with which they fight is inconceivable. When an ant has fastened upon its adversary, it will suffer its limbs to be torn, one by one, from its body, rather than let go its hold; and they are frequently seen to carry about with them, as trophies of their victories, the mangled portions of those they have subdued. The theatres of the most extended engagements are the forests inhabited by the fallow ants.

'C'est là que j'ai pu observer deux des plus grandes fourmilières aux prises l'une avec l'autre. Je ne dirai pas ce qui avoit allumé la discorde entre ces républiques; elles étoient de la même espèce, semblable pour la grandeur et la population, et situées à cent pas de distance: deux empires ne possédent pas un plus grand nombre de combattans. Qu'on se représente une foule prodigieuse de ces insectes, remplissant tout l'espace qui séparoit les deux fourmilières, et occupant une largeur de deux pieds; les armées se rencontrerent à moitié chemin de leur habitation respective, et c'est là que se donnoit la bataille. Des miliers de fourmis, montées sur les saillies naturelles du sol, luttoient deux à deux, en se tenant par leurs mandibules vis-à-vis l'une de l'autre; un plus grand nombre encore se cherchoient, s'attaquoient, s'entrainoient prisonnieres; celles-ci faisoient de vains efforts pour s'échapper, comme si elles avoient prévu qu'arrivées à la fourmilière ennemie elles éprouveroient un sort cruel.

'Le champ de bataille avoit deux ou trois pieds carrés; une odeur pénétrante s'exhaloit de toutes parts; on voyoit nombre de fourmis mortes et couvertes de venin; d'autres, composant des groupes et des chaînes, s'étoient accrochés par leurs jambes ou par leurs pinces, et se tiroient tour à tour en sens contraire. Ces groupes se formoient successivement; la lutte commençoit entre deux fourmis qui se prenoit par leurs mandibules, s'exhaussoit sur leurs jambes, pour laisser passer leur ventre en avant, et faisoient jaillir mutuellement leur venin contre leur adversaire; elles se serroient de si près

qu'elles tomboient sur le côté et se débattoient long temps dans le poussière ; elles se relevoient bientôt, et se tirailloient réciproquement, afin d'entrainer leur antagoniste ; mais quand leurs forces étoient égales, les athlètes restoient immobiles et se cramponnoient au terrein jusqu'à ce qu'une troisième fourmi vint décider l'avantage : le plus souvent l'une et l'autre recevoit du secours en même tems ; alors toutes les quatre se tenant par une patte ou par une antenne, faisoient encore de vaines tentatives pour l'emporter ; d'autres se joignoit à celles-ci, et quelquefois ces dernières étoient à leur tour saisies par de nouvelles arrivées : c'est de cette manière qu'il se formoit des chaines de six, huit ou dix fourmis, toutes cramponnées les unes aux autres ; l'équilibre n'étoit rompue que lorsque plusieurs guerrières de la même republique s'avançoient à la fois ; elles forçoient celles qui étoient enchainées à lacher prise, et les combats particuliers recommençoient.

' A l'approche de la nuit chaque parti rentroit graduellement dans la cité qui lui servoit d'azile, et les fourmis tuées ou menées en captivité, n'étant pas remplacé par d'autres, le nombre des combattans diminuoit jusqu'à ce qu'il n'en restât plus aucun. Mais les fourmis retournoient au combat avant l'aurore, les groupes se formoient, le carnage recommençoit avec plus de fureur que la veille ; et j'ai vu le lieu de la mêlée occuper six pieds de profondeur sur deux de front. Le succès fut long tems balancé ; cependant, vers le milieu du jour, le champ de bataille s'étoit éloigné d'une dixaine de pieds de l'une des cités ennemies ; d'où je conclus qu'elle avoit gagné du terrein. L'acharnement des fourmis étoit si grand que rien ne pouvoit les distraire de leur entreprise ; elles ne s'apercevoient point de ma présence, et quoique je fusse immédiatément au bord de leur armée, aucune d'elles ne grimpa sur mes jambes ; elles n'avoient qu'un seul objet, celui de trouver une ennemie qu'elles pussent attaquer.' p. 162.

' There is one species of large ants, which Mr Huber denominates *Amazones*, who inhabit the same nests with an inferior species, namely, the dark ash-coloured ant, (*noir-cendrée*), and whom we may call their auxiliaries. As soon as the heat of summer has set in, the amazons muster their forces, and, leaving the auxiliaries to take care of the nest, march out in regular order, sometimes dividing their forces into two expeditions, but generally proceeding in one united army to the point of attack, which is always a nest belonging to ants of the same species as the auxiliaries with whom they live. These resist the aggression with great courage ; but are soon compelled to fly from the superior force of the invaders, who enter at the breach they have made, and proceed to plunder the nest of all the eggs and larvæ which they can carry off. They return, laden with this booty, to their own habitations, and consign it to the care of the ash-coloured ants belonging to their community, who are

waiting, in eager expectation, to receive them. These eggs and larvæ are watched, nourished, and reared to maturity, with the same care and assiduity which the auxiliaries bestow on their own progeny; and thus they become, in process of time, inmates in the same society with those who had originally kidnapped them; and towards whom, had they been brought up at home, they would have cherished an instinctive and inveterate hatred. The sole object of the amazons in these expeditions, is to procure this supply of recruits for the advantage of the community to which they belong; and the sole business of their lives is to carry on these marauding adventures. They do not assist in any of the ordinary labours of the community. The tasks of building and repairing their city, of providing nourishment for the whole society, of rearing the brood of young, both of their own species and that of their companions, are entrusted solely to the race of auxiliaries, to whose services they have become entitled by right of conquest. In times of peace, the amazons are totally inactive, and dependent on the labouring classes of the auxiliaries, who feed and caress them, minister to all their wants, and carry them wherever the temperature of the air is most grateful. In a word, they are gentlemen, waited on by their domestics, who appear to retain no sense of the injury that has been done them by their masters, but bear towards them the tender affection of children towards their parents. The more cruel relation of master and of slave seems indeed to be entirely excluded from this singular association of insects. In order to have a just idea of the complex system it involves, we must recollect, that each species consists of three kinds of sexes, having perfectly distinct offices to perform: that each insect exists in three different stages of transformation; and that, in addition to the races of ants, several species of aphis are also inmates under the same roof. In some nests our author found auxiliary ants of a different species from the ash-coloured, being what he called the miners, (*mineuses*), but still bearing, in all respects, the same relations to the amazons that the ash-coloured did in the former case, and obtained from their parents by the same violent methods.

The amazons are not the only ants that carry on this species of slave-trade; the sanguine ants *(fourmis sanguines)* having offered analogous facts with those above related. The author even discovered nests in which the sanguine ants are attended by both the above-mentioned species of auxiliaries; thus forming a triple association of races of ants, having very different manners and habits, but concurring in the same objects of necessary industry. For the particular circumstances of these

discoveries we must refer our readers to the work itself, which will amply repay the curiosity of those who peruse it.

The facts disclosed in this volume of researches are too extraordinary not to render us, at first sight, suspicious of the evidence on which they are advanced; and will naturally raise a doubt whether the narrative has not received too much embellishment from the colouring of a warm imagination. Upon a more strict examination, however, we do not think there exists any reasonable ground for such suspicions: the facts are stated with sufficient distinctness to justify our placing full confidence in their accuracy, independently of the known character of the author who relates them. He everywhere states what he has himself seen, and what others might verify by following the same methods of observation. Although many naturalists have already studied the history of ants, yet much discordance and obscurity has prevailed with regard to many essential points in their economy; a circumstance that has arisen from their never having been able to see what was going on in the interior of the nests, which is the scene of the most important and interesting features of their history. To Mr Huber belongs the merit of inventing an apparatus, and method of observation, which bring within view all the operations which these insects had hitherto conducted in secret. The difficulties he had to contend with in contriving a glass case which would admit the light into their apartments, without alarming or disturbing them in their employments, were at first great, but by perseverance were at length overcome. Even methods which succeeded for a time were frequently defeated by the sagacity of these insects, who are extremely jealous of intruders, exquisitely sensible to all variations of temperature, and always alarmed at the presence of light in their subterranean abodes. At last, by placing wooden boxes with glass windows, in which he had introduced a nest of ants, on a table in his study, and keeping them prisoners, by immersing the feet of the table in buckets of water, he was enabled to make them the subject of continued observation, and to vary his experiments on the same individuals. Habit, and the experience that no evil was intended, gradually reconciled the ants to the visits of their inspector. By comparing the results of these observations and experiments with similar ones made on the same species of ants in their natural state of freedom, he satisfied himself that perfect reliance could be placed on their accuracy.

The facts which have thus been brought to light, are not valuable merely as supplying chasms in the history of a single genus of insects: they are of importance, in as far as they point

to more general views of the faculties of the lower animals, and to the solution of some of the questions with regard to instinct, to which we formerly adverted. On a superficial comparison of the actions of animals with those of our own species, much apparent resemblance may be traced; but on examining them with more attention, with respect to the source from which they are derived, the analogy becomes much more weak, and the difficulty of explaining the greater number has been so considerable, that many philosophers have cut the knot, by referring generally the actions of man to reason, and those of brutes to instinct. It was pretended, that their faculties differed not merely in degree, but in kind; and that, in a word, there existed between them no principle in common. Observation must, however, convince us, that the lower animals exert, in many instances, a choice of means for accomplishing their ends; and that they are capable of a degree of combination of those means, conformable with the variation of external circumstances. It is obvious, that actions prompted by mere appetite, which is the direct result of organization producing pain or pleasure, cannot be properly termed instinctive, at least, in the sense in which instinct is opposed to reason. Still less can it be said that instinct is the source of those actions, which procure the means of gratifying appetite, when their effect in procuring those gratifications is already known to the individual who employs them. Knowledge, therefore, as far as it goes, excludes instinct. Now, this knowledge may be either acquired by personal experience, or it may be derived from the tradition of others: and innumerable instances occur in which animals acquire, in both ways, that kind of knowledge that influences their conduct. But the term Instinct has also been applied to actions resulting from knowledge not derived from either of these sources, that is, from innate knowledge. There are many facts, indeed, which prove, that the avenues to some species of knowledge are in animals different from what they are with us. The kid, the moment after it is dropped, and antecedent to all experience, shows us plainly, by its movements, that it knows at once, and without the long chain of inductive reasoning which Berkeley assigns as the source of our acquired perceptions of sight, the distances and situations of the objects which are placed before it.

It is to those actions alone that lead to beneficial consequences unforeseen by the agent, and not resulting from any knowledge of the effects they produce, that the term *instinct* is more peculiarly appropriated. Thus, the sagacity of the bird, which though it was yet unfledged when taken from its parent, will

yet construct, at a proper time, a nest for its own young, and will sit over its eggs with unwearied constancy, while we must suppose it unacquainted with the future pleasures that will be the reward of these exertions, and even unconscious of their object, is properly said to be derived from instinct. Could we succeed in assigning a motive to these actions, we should redeem them from this class, and recognise their place in some other. To this object have the efforts of Darwin and other contemplative naturalists been directed: but the attempts too often fail, from their being the offspring of fanciful conjecture, instead of the results of cautious induction.

Many of the phenomena brought to light by M. Huber receive, however, a much simpler explanation, on the principle of real foresight in the agents themselves, founded on acquired knowledge, than on any other supposition. There is a circumstance in the history of these insects, that is at variance with all our preconceived notions of the stationary condition of the races of inferior animals. The amazons, whose republics, like those of other ants, are descendants from one parent stock, and who, in the infancy of their several colonies, must have performed all the duties of labourers in maintaining their families; when, in process of time, their numbers have increased, and probably when whole generations have passed away, become capable of acquiring new habits and characters by the advantages of their condition. They are enabled to procure auxiliaries, and they desist altogether from their former labours. We see, in like manner, the instincts of these auxiliaries reversed, by being brought up in the society of their natural oppressors, and their animosities giving place to a state of the most friendly alliance.

The accounts of these same animals in other climates, sufficiently show what formidable power they acquire when the efforts of numbers are combined. Mr Malouet mentions in his account of his travels through the forests of Guyana, his arriving at a savannah, extending in a level plain beyond the visible horizon, and in which he beheld a structure that appeared to have been raised by human industry. M. de Prefontaine, who accompanied him in the expedition, informed him that it was an ant hill, which they could not approach without danger of being devoured. They passed some of the paths frequented by the labourers, which belonged to a very large species of black ants. The nest they had constructed, which had the form of a truncated pyramid, appeared to be from fifteen to twenty feet in height, on a base of thirty or forty feet. He was told that when the new settlers, in their attempts to clear the country, happened to meet

with any of these fortresses, they were obliged to abandon the spot, unless they could muster sufficient forces to lay regular siege to the enemy. This they did by digging a circular trench all round the nest, and filling it with a large quantity of dried wood, to the whole of which they set fire at the same time, by lighting it in different parts all round the circumference. While the entrenchments are blazing, the edifice may be destroyed by firing at it with cannon; and the ants being by this means dispersed, have no avenue for escape, except through the flames, in which they perish. The narrations of Mr Smeathman, * relative to the white ant of Africa, are also calculated to raise our ideas of the magnitude of these republics of insects, which must surpass the largest empire in the numbers of their population.

The superiority of the faculties of ants has been traced to the strength of the social disposition which unites them. We might perhaps venture a step farther, and point out several circumstances in their physical condition, as the probable origin of this disposition to associate together. These are to be found, first, in the delicacy of their perceptions, in which they appear to excel most insects. They are, as we have seen, extremely sensible to variations of temperature, and generally averse to moisture. In the first stages of their existence, they are formed so as not to be capable of resisting the ordinary action of the air, and being totally helpless, would speedily perish, if left to themselves; and we have seen what assiduous and persevering care is required during the whole period of the hatching of the eggs, and the progress of the larva to maturity. All these circumstances place the young for a much longer time in a state of dependence upon their natural protectors, than in the case of most other insects: and in all these circumstances they agree with the bee and the wasp, which are alike gregarious. We recognise in our own species the foundation that is laid for the ties of society, by the helpless condition of the infant, which continues for so long a period to be dependent on others; and can we refuse to admit the operation of a similar principle in other departments of the animal creation, which are obedient to the laws which the same Providence has ordained for the good of all?

Greater varieties unquestionably occur in the conditions of animals than most philosophers have been willing to allow: and it must be confessed, that in spite of all our efforts at philosophical distinctions, the various kinds of actions of animals

* Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LXXI. p. 139.

pass into one another by such imperceptible shades, and their sensitive existence differs so widely from our own, that we have properly no measure by which to fathom their reasoning powers. As well might we hope to discover the origin of the *punctum saliens* in the incubated egg, as to determine the point where the dawn of intellect appears, or assign the boundary where instinct assumes the form of reason. Nothing is simple in nature: all that we see is the effect of prodigious art: means are accumulated for the production of remote ends, in a series extending far beyond the sphere of our limited optics. We can discern clearly but a few of the final causes in nature, and but a few of the powers that operate in their accomplishment.

ART. X. *Tables Barometriques Portatives, donnant les differences de Niveau par un simple soustraction,* &c. Par M. Biot. pp. 75. 8vo. Paris, 1811.

THIS little tract first appeared in the second edition of the *Astronomie Physique*, an elementary work published by the same ingenious author in three volumes, possessing very considerable merit, and which we may perhaps hereafter have occasion to examine. It is now, with some additional introductory matter, printed in a separate form, for the use of travellers, naturalists, and military surveyors, who are either unacquainted with the niceties involved in the general *formulæ* for computing heights barometrically, or who consider the ordinary mode of calculation as intricate, and find it inconvenient to carry along with them a complete table of logarithms, which becomes requisite in such operations. The utility of such aids to the geological observer, appears to have been felt in other parts of Europe; for we have seen a neat short piece in German, published nearly about the same time, and drawn up in a very popular manner, with a set of concise tables, by Benzenberg, who is advantageously known to the scientific world by his experiments on the declination of falling bodies towards the east, in consequence of their partaking of the rotatory motion of the earth.

The barometrical tables which Biot has constructed, are sufficiently simple and commodious; but, from their affected brevity, they need a farther application of proportional parts, which is often troublesome in practice, and is not very familiar to such as are imperfectly acquainted with calculation. This obvious defect might indeed be supplied by the help of other subsidiary tables. The quantities, besides, are all expressed after

the new metrical system of the French; and it would be irksome to reduce them in every case to our standard. But, on the same principles, we might easily, if other expedients should not be preferred, form tables entirely adapted to the English measures.—Before we proceed, however, to the examination of these principles, our readers will permit us to pause, and to retrace the successive steps which led to the invention of the Barometer itself. The circumstances relating to this great discovery, which constitutes an epoch in the history of physical science, have, though now seldom noticed, been faithfully recorded. They exhibit the human mind struggling with inveterate prejudice, and gradually assuming the courage necessary for the adoption of truth; and thus combine to form a very interesting and highly instructive picture.

It is but justice to acknowledge, that we owe the rise of experimental philosophy to the obscure toils of the alchemists. This meritorious class of men, in the pursuit indeed of unattainable objects, and prompted often by the most visionary speculations, had yet the sagacity to perceive, that the only sure mode of investigation consists in the appeal to fact; and, not satisfied with vague observation, from which the ancients appeared to derive so little benefit, they laboured to extort the secrets of nature by that artificial exclusion of circumstances which afterwards obtained the name of *experiment*. The revival of letters, which was then beginning to irradiate the nations of Europe—to refine their taste, and correct their judgment—did scarcely, it must be confessed, contribute in any degree to the advancement of physical science. The Arabians, after a brilliant career of victory, sought to cultivate the arts of peace; and adopting with eagerness the geometry and astronomy of the Greeks, applied their persevering industry to improve those departments of knowledge which more immediately depend on the accession of facts, and the accumulation of details. They noted carefully the appearances of the heavens, and were enabled, from a comparison of the results, after the revolution of so many centuries since the times of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, to rectify in some essential points the theories of the Greek astronomers. They likewise applied themselves with diligence to the study of alchemy, which, in the decline of the Eastern empire, had begun to be cultivated at Alexandria, and afterwards at Constantinople. That dark science proved the more attractive to the Arabian inquirers, as they were particularly attached to the practice of physic; and therefore led, in the search after new and potent medicines, to the analysis of animal, vegetable, and mineral substances. They discovered the art of distillation, with other

useful processes; and invented various chemical vessels and apparatus, which still retain their names.

By the conquest and occupation of Spain, the Arabians, under the appellation of Moors or Saracens, carried their science into Europe. The invaluable art of ciphering, joined to a taste for alchemical researches, was liberally communicated to their Christian visitors. A number of ingenious individuals dispersed through different countries, yet united by similarity of views, were thus induced to relinquish the ancient practice of loose observation and random conjecture, and to apply themselves assiduously, in the recesses of their elaboratories, to a scrupulous investigation of the combinations of Nature.

In their laborious inquiries, the alchemists were often prompted, indeed, by motives less honourable than those of a refined curiosity; but they sought for the possession of facts, and only borrowed so much of theory as would serve to invest their discoveries with a sort of mysterious glare. The early sages of Greece had distinguished matter into the four primary elements of earth and water, air and fire, which, by their various composition, were supposed to produce the animated spectacle of the universe. Earth and water were considered as ponderous and inert; but air and fire, endued with elastic virtue, were imagined to possess the qualities of lightness and activity. Fire, contained in all bodies, and developed in the operations of nature or art, was conceived to be derived by emanation from that diffusive shining fluid, which, under the name of ether, occupied the highest heavens, and constituted the substance of the celestial orbs. But Aristotle and other philosophers, holding ether to be altogether distinct from culinary fire, were disposed to regard it as a fifth element, of a pure and incorruptible nature; which gave occasion to the famous *quinta essentia*, or *quintessence* of the schoolmen. The alchemists, adopting these notions, accommodated them to their own particular views. To the elements commonly received, they joined the active ingredients of *mercury* and *sulphur*. Quintessence was represented by *spirit* and *elixir*: the former, drawn off by the application of fire, exhibited the animating principle of each body; and the latter, extracted by the combined action of heat and humidity, showed its concentrated and most select qualities. Following out these ideas therefore, it was quite natural, though in the highest degree chimerical, for such enthusiasts to fancy their elixir to be capable of prolonging, to indefinite extent, the term of human life.

The alchemists, or philosophers by fire, as they were called, had the merit of forming the first associations for the prosecu-

tion of experimental inquiries. The obscure sect known by the fanciful title of *Rosicrucians*, and which sprung up in Germany, a country long noted for its mysticism and its skill in the processes connected with mining, appeared on the whole to tread in the right path of induction. Their tenets insensibly spread over the Continent, and took root in the matured soil of Italy, where philosophy, coming to succeed the cultivation of letters, wore a more attractive garb. The religious controversies agitated about that period, which led to the memorable schism in the Catholic Church, and which, by their hostility to the elegancies of life, and their baneful influence on the general morals, visibly retarded the progress of society, were yet in the end not altogether unfavourable to the bold and active spirit of physical research.

Baptista Porta, a Neapolitan nobleman, who flourished about the close of the sixteenth century, was particularly distinguished by his zeal in promoting such pursuits. Having spent many years in travelling over Europe to gain information respecting natural objects, on his return home he invited a few individuals of a similar taste, who regularly assembled at his house, and occupied themselves with making new experiments. These meetings, however, gave umbrage to the watchful jealousy of the clergy; and they were at length suppressed by a mandate from the Court of Rome. But to that humble association we are probably indebted for the discovery of what is called the radiation of cold; one of the most interesting facts in the range of modern physics. It seems to have been detected about the year 1590, and is first mentioned in the seventh edition of Porta's *Magia Naturalis*. From the description there given of this curious experiment, we learn, that it must have been performed before the invention of the thermometer. A ball of snow being placed at some distance in front of a concave speculum or metallic reflector, and the eye held in the focus, a glare of whiteness was perceived; and, on shutting the eyelid, an intense cold was likewise felt. *—The example of Baptista Porta was imitated in other parts of Italy, where the Papal authority was less respected; and academies, for the promotion

* Some of our readers will be glad to see the original words. 'Si quis candelam in loco ubi spectabilis res locari debet, oppo- 'suerit, accedet candela per aërem usque ad oculos, ut illos calore 'et lumine effendet, hoc autem mirabilius erit, ut calor, ita *frigus* '*reflectitur, si eo loco nix objiciatur, si oculum retigerit, quia sensi-* '*bilis, etiam frigus percipiet.* Sed res admirabilior est, quod idem 'speculum non solum calorem et frigus, sed vocem refringet.'—*Magia Naturalis*, XVI. 4.

of natural science, were successively instituted under the patronage of different princes, especially those of the illustrious House of Medici.

In this ferment of inquiry, Galileo arose, fitted alike by the gifts of nature and the lights of education to be the founder of experimental science. His elegant genius was invigorated by the study of the Greek geometry; and he conceived the happy and prolific idea, of employing that refined instrument to explore facts and combine the results.—The mutual opposition of the principal sects of antiquity had in general most fatally discouraged the application of mathematical reasoning to the system of the material world. The adherents of the Academy, who cultivated geometry with ardour and brilliant success, regarded it as pure intellectual contemplation: but the followers of Aristotle, while they neglected that noble study, yet recommended the appeal to external observation, as the only sure ground of natural philosophy. The towering mind of Archimedes, indeed, had anticipated the road of discovery. The philosopher of Syracuse not only improved the powers of geometrical analysis, and widely extended its dominion, but he applied it most successfully to some elementary parts of mechanics and hydrostatics. This however was a solitary instance, unheeded by the industry of succeeding ages. The ingenuity of Galileo prepared a complete revolution in science. The simple experiments by which he established the laws of motion, when exhibited by him on a grand scale before the Senators of Venice in the public arsenal, appeared so contrary to common apprehension, as to fill the beholders with wonder and surprise. These laws, detected near the surface of our globe, were transferred by Galileo to the celestial spaces; and the publication of his *Dialogues*, which unfold the process of induction, and which are not less distinguished by fineness of conception than by the beauty of arrangement and composition, form a new era in the annals of philosophy. It was the fame of that work, which, by provoking the jealousy and perhaps envy of the clerical order, occasioned the memorable persecution, and dragged the geometer in his declining years before the dark tribunal of the Inquisition. *

Near the same period, a progress of a less aspiring kind, but conducted on similar principles, was made in a different quarter. Stevinus, mathematician to the famous Prince Maurice,

* The war-whoop was first sounded against Galileo, in a furious sermon preached by a mendicant friar, from a text which he had converted into a pun. '*Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in cœlum?*'—'*Ye men of Galilee, why stand you gazing up into heaven?*' Acts I. 11.

about the beginning of the seventeenth century, revived, in the Netherlands, where the practice of engineering was then better understood than in any other part of Europe, the mechanical discoveries of Archimedes, and determined the conditions of equilibrium both in solids and liquids. But pneumatics, or the science of the statical action of air, was still uncultivated. Though various machines immediately depending on the operation of that fluid had already been constructed, yet its fundamental properties remained unknown, or utterly misconceived. The weight of the air, its pressure and elasticity, were all equally overlooked.

In a neighbouring country, the genius of discovery took a higher flight. Germany has the honour of giving birth to Kepler; a man of transcendent capacity, who, to unrivalled acuteness and penetration, joined the most indefatigable perseverance, urged onwards by a powerful though fiery and irregular imagination. His life was a continued scene of toil, vicissitude, and misfortune. Kepler had neither wealth nor leisure sufficient to enable him to pursue experimental researches himself; but he exerted all his talents in examining the observations of others, and in tracing the secret analogies which might connect their seemingly discordant parts. In his early attempts to explore the relations subsisting between the periods and distances of the planets, he was indeed unsuccessful; having wasted his prolific ingenuity in working on the dreams of the Pythagoreans concerning figure and number. The labours of Tycho Brahé at last supplied him with a vast collection of correct though multifarious observations; and, with redoubled ardour, he set immediately about the task of arranging, digesting, and comparing those invaluable materials. He had embraced the Copernican system of the world as the most consonant to reason; but he was soon convinced that the eccentrics and epicycles which it had retained would not exactly correspond with the phenomena. Pursuing still farther his inquiries, he found that no combination of circles, which the ancients had fondly regarded as alone befitting the celestial movements, could be reconciled with the observations actually recorded. Kepler, now driven from every hold, at once abandoned those inveterate notions; and prosecuting a train of most involved and irksome calculations, unassisted then by the powerful aid of logarithms, which the immortal Napier had just invented, he after trying a variety of hypotheses, finally in 1618 obtained a glimpse of the true constitution of the heavens. In relating that happy conclusion, his fervid genius breaks forth in a burst of enthusiasm, exclaiming in the language of Virgil—*sera, tamen respexit inertem!* It

was hence ascertained, that the planets, describing equal areas in equal times, revolve in ellipses about the sun, which occupies the focus; and that the cubes of the mean distances are proportional to the squares of their periods;—two fundamental laws, which the still superior sagacity of Newton afterwards reduced to the single principle of gravitation;—thus finely harmonizing the system of the universe.

The lofty discoveries of Kepler being carried to Italy, kindled fresh ardour. Galileo had been invited, with a munificent appointment, to live under the patronage of Cosmo dei' Medici; and, occupied intensely with astronomical pursuits, but occasionally unbending his mind with elegant recreation, he passed almost the whole remainder of his days at the villa of Arcetri near Florence, in a style of comfort and even splendour. The telescope was recently come in aid of the powers of vision, and the Tuscan philosopher had, from some obscure hints, reinvented and improved that exquisite instrument, which he directed assiduously to the phases of the heavenly bodies. New worlds were thus disclosed, which reflected triumphant evidence on his former investigations. But in the midst of this brilliant career, Galileo was not altogether indifferent to the objects more immediately connected with his earlier studies. It was especially interesting to estimate the action of mechanical force in the equilibrium of fluids.

The ancient philosophers generally believed the air to possess inherent levity. A few indeed, probably deceived by the facility with which the particles of a fluid move among themselves without betraying any weight, imagined it to have a quality of absolute indifference, and to be neither light nor heavy. Aristotle, who affected originality of conception, held that air is naturally heavy, without perceiving at all the consequences to which this opinion leads. In confirmation of his tenet, he goes so far as to allege, that a bladder gains weight by being blown; an observation which he certainly had never made; for if the bag was filled with a fluid like the surrounding atmosphere, it would weigh exactly the same as before; and if we suppose it even to contain an admixture of carbonic gas from the lungs, the difference thus occasioned would be so extremely minute, as to escape the detection of any balance constructed in ancient Greece. In opposition, likewise, to the doctrine of Democritus and Epicurus, the philosopher of the Lyceum held the existence of a *plenum*; and maintained, that a void is, in the nature of things, impossible. The admission of certain *occult qualities* furnished him with an explication of the phenomena, as easy and ready as the practice of some of our common-sense metaphysicians, who,

cutting short all inquiry, are accustomed, when they meet with any difficult appearance, to regard it as an ultimate fact. These principles, being clothed besides with figurative expressions, were calculated to engage the fancy, and to satisfy a vague and indiscriminating curiosity. The observation was familiar, that the lower end of a syringe being dipt in water, on drawing up the plunger, it was immediately followed by the rise of the liquid; and Aristotle imagined, that he assigned the actual cause of suction when he ascribed it to *nature's abhorrence of a void.* This physical axiom, with other tenets of the Peripatetic sect, was, under the designation of the *fuga vacui*, embraced by the schoolmen, who blended with it their own theological visions. To create a void, they maintained, was barely within the circle of Omnipotence; but exceeded the utmost powers of angels or devils. In the progress of the arts, however, an incident about this time occurred that shook the received creed, and finally uprooted an opinion which had been strengthened by the implicit consent of ages. Some workmen, employed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, had occasion to sink a well of unusual depth, to which they adapted a lifting pump; but, notwithstanding infinite pains taken by them to secure the joints, and render the machinery perfect, they found, after repeated trials, and to their great surprise and mortification, that with all their efforts they could never make the water to rise in the barrel of the pump, higher than 18 palms, or about 32 feet. In this dilemma they were directed to consult with Galileo, whose talents commanded universal respect and admiration. The Tuscan philosopher, though he devoted himself chiefly to the observation of the heavens, had yet made some important steps in the science of Pneumatics. He was the first who ascertained the weight of air by experiment; and, considering the delicacy of the operation, and the rudeness of the apparatus at that time, he made a tolerably near approach to the truth. By means of a syringe, he forced a large quantity of air into a copper vessel fitted with a valve, and found how much weight the vessel had thereby gained; he then let out the condensed air under a glass receiver filled with water, and measured the bulk of the fluid now displaced. He thus found, that air is 400 times lighter than water, being about double the true estimate. It may to us appear singular, that Galileo, knowing air to be capable of such a degree of compression, should not have perceived that its particles must have previously been divided, by proportional interstices: the idea of interspersed vacuities was less difficult in the conception than that of an absolute and separate void. Still more strange, we may think, it was, that having determined the

weight of air, he did not pursue the consequences, and infer the existence and effects of atmospheric pressure. He stopt on the verge of a grand discovery. Such, even where capacity shines pre-eminent, is the slow and gradual progress of the human mind!

To the artificers who consulted him, Galileo replied, that though nature indeed abhors a *vacuum*, there is a certain limit to that horror, and which is equivalent to the pressure of a column of water eighteen palms in height. Conformably to this very flimsy hypothesis, he points out, in the last of his Dialogues, a method of determining the force or *virtu*, as he terms it, of a vacuum. A smooth hollow cylinder, with a piston fitting in it, and rammed close to the end, which is then exactly shut up, being held in an inverted position, additional weights are continually appended to the piston-rod, until it is pulled down.—The limitation of an inveterate prejudice was a direct step towards its final destruction. Galileo, on farther consideration, began to suspect the justness of the explication which he had given: but it was too late for him to attempt innovation. The philosopher, now far advanced in years, was besides loaded with bodily infirmities, and his spirit broken by the persecution he had suffered. Recommending it to his friend and pupil Torricelli to resume the investigation of the subject, he expired in 1642, the very year in which Newton was born. His uniform kindness and urbanity had rendered him extremely beloved; and his disciples, particularly Torricelli and Viviani, venerating his memory, caught the same taste, and followed similar pursuits. Both of them alike imbued with the elegance of the ancient geometry, the latter extended the boundaries of that science, while the former directed it chiefly to physical research. The happy idea of exhibiting the operation of the pump on a small scale, by substituting a column of mercury, which is nearly fourteen times heavier than water, was first communicated by Torricelli to his friend Viviani, who performed the experiment with success in 1643. He next repeated and varied it himself. The method which he adopted, brought very neatly together all the circumstances affecting the question. Having selected a glass tube of moderate width, and about four feet long, he sealed hermetically one of the ends, or closed it up under the flame of a blow-pipe; then, filling the tube with quicksilver, he applied his finger to the open end, and inverted it in a bason, containing likewise quicksilver, though covered with a portion of water: The mercury sunk instantly to about the height of thirty inches above the lower surface; but, on raising the tube a little, the mercury run all out, and its place was occupied by the water, which sprung up to the top, and filled the whole of

the cavity. It was therefore proved that the water and the mercury were each supported in the tube by the same counterpoise, and which Torricelli after some hesitation concluded at last to be the weight or pressure of the external atmosphere. He now converted the mercurial column into a commodious instrument for observation; having bent the lower end of the tube and formed what has since received the name of the *syphon barometer*. With this instrument he next detected likewise the variation of the atmospheric pressure, which he communicated to his friend Ricci in the following year. The result of the whole was published in 1645. But Torricelli did not live to enjoy the renown of his great discovery; and this most promising genius was cut off by a fever in the flower of his age.

The prosecution of the subject was transferred to another genius of the highest order, and one of the finest and most original that France has ever produced; a genius which burst forth like a meteor, and after a few bright corruscations, was lost in darkness. Pascal had shown premature and extraordinary talents, which were encouraged by his father, himself a man of learning, and who lived in habits of intimacy with the philosophers of the capital. In the twenty-fourth year of his age, he happened to be residing at Rouen, where, through the medium of Father Mersenne, an able mathematician, who from Paris kept up an extensive and learned correspondence over Europe, he was made acquainted in 1646 with the famous Italian experiment, but without being informed of the conclusion which Torricelli had drawn from it. He immediately set about repeating it on a large scale. He had before suspected the accuracy of the principle, that 'nature abhors a vacuum,' and thought that many circumstances, and particularly the condensation and rarefaction of the air, point to a different conclusion, and prove at least, that it can be admitted only in a qualified sense. An opportunity was now presented for bringing the question to a decision. Pascal performed with that view a number of satisfactory experiments, of which we may select the most striking: 1. Having fitted a piston into a glass tube and rammed it quite down, he applied his finger close to the lower end, and plunged the whole under water; then drawing back the piston, which was done with ease, the finger felt strongly and rather painfully attracted, while an apparent vacuity was formed above it and continued to enlarge; but instantly, on removing the finger, the water contrary to its nature darted up and filled the whole of the cavity. 2. A glass tube about fifty feet long, sealed hermetically at one end, and filled with water, or rather red wine, to make it more visible, was inverted perpendicularly on a ba-

son: the liquor immediately subsided, leaving a vacant space of fifteen feet; but on gradually inclining the tube again, it mounted higher, and continued to rise till it struck a sharp blow against the top of the glass. 3. A scalene syphon, with one leg fifty-five feet long and the other only fifty, being filled with water and planted on two basons containing the same liquid, and so placed that the shortest branch stood perpendicular; the water sunk in both to the same level, at the height of about thirty-four feet, without being attracted as usual to the longer branch: but the syphon being inclined below that level, both columns of the liquid united, and a flow towards the lower bason commenced; and restoring the syphon to its erect position, the water separated at the top, and subsided in each branch as at first. The same experiment was likewise performed, with quicksilver in a syphon, which had one leg ten feet long and the other nine and a half; this dense substance dividing itself into two columns, which remained suspended each to a height of near thirty inches. 3. A glass tube or syringe, with a piston nicely fitted to it and pushed quite down, had its lower end immersed in a bason of quicksilver: on gently pulling up the piston, it was close followed by the quicksilver, which continued to rise about twenty-nine inches, where it remained, leaving the piston then to form an apparent vacuity. In this state also, the syringe weighed exactly the same, whatever was the capacity of the vacant space. From these and a variety of similar experiments, Pascal drew his inferences with a caution which, we might now think, bordered on timidity. He concluded that all bodies have a reluctance to a visible separation, or that nature abhors an apparent void; that this reluctance is exactly the same for a great, as for a small interval or vacuity; and that the force is limited, and exceeds not the pressure of a column of water thirty-three feet in height. He next adventured a step farther, and inferred that this apparent vacuity was not filled by air lodged in the pores of the glass, or derived from external filtration; that it contained no subtile matter secreted from the atmosphere, and was not occupied by mercurial vapours or spiritous exhalations; in short that a real and absolute *vacuum* had been formed.

Pascal designed to compose a work relative to these inquiries; but thought proper in the mean time to publish a short extract, which appeared in 1647, and involved him in immediate controversy. Father Noël, rector of the Jesuits' college at Paris, keenly attacked that piece, armed with all the wretched contentious sophisms of the schools, and backed by the dogmas of the Romish church. He contended that the space above the mercurial column was corporeal, since it was visible and admitted light; that a void being a non-entity, cannot have

different degrees of magnitude; that the separation produced in the experiments was violent and unnatural; and he *presupposed* that the atmosphere, like blood, containing a mixture of the several elements, the fire and the finer portion of the air were detached from it, and violently forced through the pores of the glass, to occupy the deserted space. To these fantastic and hypothetical objections, Pascal replied with that acuteness and strength of argument, which were afterwards displayed in his famous *Lettres Provinciales*. But it was much easier to confute than to convince an antagonist like Noël. The Jesuit quickly returned to the charge, and was ready, with his store of syllogisms, to meet every difficulty; to explain all that was already known, or that would ever be discovered. His former objections were again repeated and spread out; and in a tract of some length, published by him under an imposing form, and with the punning title of *le plein du vuide*, he dropt, in the bitterness of dispute, some expressions not very consistent with Christian charity, and which drew on his reverence a severe castigation from Pascal's father.

Though averse to abandon the maxims of antiquity, without the most cogent reason, the young philosopher had yet begun to perceive that the idea of abhorrence cannot in strict logic be applied to Nature, which is a mere personification and incapable of passion. He was therefore inclined by degrees to adopt the clear and disembarrassed opinion of Torricelli, with which he had now become acquainted. * But aware of the pliant and slippery disputation of the schools, he was anxious to devise an experiment which by its result might silence all opposition. In casting about for that purpose, it happily occurred to him, that, if the suspension of the mercury in the Torricellian tube were caused by the weight of the atmosphere, it would be affected by the quantity of the superincumbent mass, and must therefore diminish proportionally in the higher situations.

* We cannot resist the pleasure of quoting a judicious remark, which Pascal makes on this occasion:—

'Ce n'est pas en cette seule rencontre, que quand la foiblesse des hommes n'a pu trouver les véritables causes, leur subtilité en a substitué d'imaginaires, qu'ils ont exprimées par des noms spécieux qui remplissent les oreilles, et non pas l'esprit: c'est ainsi que l'on dit, que la sympathie et antipathie des corps naturels sont les causes efficientes et univoques de plusieurs effets, comme si des corps inanimés étoient capables de sympathie et antipathie; il en est de même de l'antiperistase, et de plusieurs autres causes chimeriques, qui n'apportent qu'un vain soulagement à l'avidité qu'ont les hommes de connoître les verités cachées, et qui, loin de les decouvrir, ne servent qu'à couvrir l'ignorance de ceux qui les inventent, et à nourrir celle ed leurs sectateurs.'

He was no less fortunate in the selection of a convenient spot for the experiment, and in the choice of a judicious observer. In November 1647, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Perier (a counsellor who held an office of considerable trust in the province, and commonly resided at Clermont in Auvergne) explaining those views, and desiring him to note the altitude of the mercurial column at the base, and on the summit of the Puy de Domme, a lofty mountain which rose in the neighbourhood of that city to an elevation, as was estimated, of about 500 toises, but ascertained near a century afterwards, by the measurement of Cassini and Monnier, to be 557 toises, or 3565 English feet. Perier was prevented, by absence from home and other unavoidable impediments, from making the experiment until the 19th of September in the following year. Early in the morning of that day, he invited a few curious friends to meet him in the garden of a monastery situate in the lowest part of Clermont, where he brought a quantity of quicksilver, and two tubes sealed hermetically at the top. These he filled, and inverted as usual, and found the mercury in both to stand at the same height, of 26 inches and $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines (28 inches English). Having left one of the tubes in this situation, he proceeded with the other towards the mountain, on the summit of which he repeated the experiment; when his party were astonished and delighted to see the mercury sink more than three inches under the former mark, and remain at the height of 23 inches and 2 lines (24.7 inches English). In his descent, he observed, at two several stations, the altitude of the mercurial column proportionally to increase; and after he returned to the monastery, it was found to be exactly the same as at first. Encouraged by the success of this memorable experiment, Perier tried the effect on one of the highest towers of Clermont, and discovered a difference of about two lines at an elevation of 20 toises. Intelligence of these very satisfactory results was quickly transmitted to Pascal, who, being then at Paris, did not fail to observe by himself similar effects on the top of a high house, and in the belfry of a church. Nor did he even hesitate to propose the observations with the barometer, for determining the difference in elevation of places, however distant, on the surface of the globe.

The experiment performed on the Puy de Domme being so striking and decisive, its fame was rapidly spread over Europe. It was not received, however, by the learned with that acclamation which it deserved: Their eyes were dazzled by the sudden light; but still they cherised the notions imbibed with their early studies. The same reluctance to the adoption of new truths was betrayed, as twenty years before had appeared in the question of the circulation of the blood, when no physician of emi-

nence in Europe, above the age of forty, was known to have seriously believed in Harvey's grand discovery. The inferences of Pascal were evaded by the most wretched quibbles, and suppositions which utterly defied the power of argument. Father Mersenne, otherwise a man of some abilities, imagined that suction was caused by hooked particles interspersed in the atmosphere, and which drew the fluid along with them towards the general mass; and Father Linus, refining in absurdity, very gravely referred the suspension of the column to certain *funiculi* or invisible threads. But all this was not enough: The Jesuits of the College of Montferrand did not scruple, in their public theses, to pervert the expressions of Pascal, and dispute the originality of his experiments. The philosopher was justly incensed at their base conduct; and these repeated provocations, no doubt, served to give a keener edge to his wit, when he afterwards directed it with such powerful effect against that insidious and once formidable order of priesthood. He composed, in 1653, though they were not published till after his death, two short treatises 'on the equilibrium of liquors,' and on 'the weight of the mass of air,'—remarkable by their neatness, perspicuity, and lucid order; for Pascal and Galileo have always been reputed the most elegant writers of prose in their respective languages. In these tracts, the laws of the equilibrium of fluids are beautifully deduced from a single principle, and which suggests a variety of original views and admirable remarks. The influence of the weight of the atmosphere is traced through all its gradations. A valuable machine is also described, that acts by compression, being founded on the hydrostatic paradox, and precisely of the same nature as Bramah's Press, for which a patent has been granted in this country. He concludes with an abstract of registers of the barometer kept during the years 1649 and 1650, by himself at Paris, by Perier at Clermont, and by Chanut, the French resident, at Stockholm; from which he infers, that the altitude of the mercurial column varies within certain moderate limits, and is generally higher in winter and during bad weather. But, after a transient gleam, distinguished by a fine mathematical discovery, Pascal, whose health was always infirm, sunk into feebleness and the most abject depression of spirits.

During this active period, Germany likewise contributed her share of discovery. The application of the elasticity of the air was understood from remote times. The action of the pop-gun is familiar; and the rudest savages have used from long reeds to blow or spit their poisoned arrows with terrible effect. Ctesebius of Alexandria had invented an engine, which, by the force of compressed air, hurled missile weapons. It was afterwards sim-

plified and improved into the wind or air gun, which appears to have been well known in Europe as far back as the fifteenth century.* This instrument, however, was quickly superseded by the use of fire arms, introduced about that time; and it is now but seldom employed except by the Tyrolese hunters. From the wind gun, it might seem an easy and almost obvious transition to the air pump; for, if the valves of the piston were made to open outwards instead of inwards, as when sucking instead of forcing is used, they would cause the rarefaction in place of the condensation, of the fluid. But rarely has discovery taken the shortest or most direct road. Otto Gürické, to whom we owe the invention of this last and most important machine, was a wealthy burgomaster of Magdeburg, who amused himself with mechanical contrivances and curious physical inquiries. The belief in the impossibility of a vacuum having, with that of other scholastic tenets, gradually declined over Europe, it had been surmised, that the forming of a void was a task perhaps within the compass of human ingenuity. To effect this, was the great object of Gürické's ambition. He filled a wooden cask with water, and inserted, at the bottom of it, a small inclined sucking pump, which was worked vigorously by three stout men; a hissing noise was heard like that of boiling water, the air entered from above through the interstices of the wood, and water came out. He next took a smaller cask, with a sucker adapted to it, and placed it within a large one, having filled up the interval with water: On working the pump as before, the water was forced through the pores of the wood into the inner cask, and no farther effect was produced. Foiled in these attempts, he had then recourse to a copper ball, to the lower part of which an inclining sucker or syringe was fixed, and at last he succeeded in extracting the air. The operation of pumping was continued, until no more air was perceived to come out at the vent. On opening the cock, the air rushed in with violence; but the apparatus would continue tolerably tight for the space of a day or two. The construction was afterwards rendered more perfect with a sloping metallic syringe, the joints being secured in water. Such was the original form of the air-pump, which, though simple and rude, it long retained on the Continent. With that valuable machine Gürické made several interesting and very important experiments. One of these, intended to demonstrate the pressure of the atmosphere, and consisting of two hollow copper hemispheres, closely fitted,

* In the armoury of Schmetau, an air gun of a bad construction was found, which bore the date 1474. Marin of Lisieux, in Normandy, a famous artist, made a capital one for Henry IV.

and from which the air is extracted, has been since known by the name of the Magdeburg Experiment. This he exhibited, in 1654, before the deputies of the empire and the foreign ministers, assembled at the Diet of Ratisbon. The action of two teams, comprising each a dozen horses, and made to pull in opposite directions, was insufficient to separate the hemispheres. It was now that Güricke heard, for the first time, of Torricelli's great discovery; and the intelligence must have been delightful to him who, by a route so different, had arrived at a similar conclusion.

The burgomaster of Magdeburg, after his return home, prosecuted a variety of kindred inquiries. Having fitted a vessel with a stop-cock, he carried it up to a height, and, on opening it, part of the contained air rushed out. The cock being shut, he reversed the experiment below, and a portion of the external air was observed to flow into the vessel. Güricke, having exhausted a large bottle, concluded from the loss of weight that the air is 970 times lighter than water: a very near approximation, especially when we consider the residuum of air which must have still remained in the bottle. He proposed to measure the variable pressure of the atmosphere, by weighing at different times a closed hollow ball of a foot in diameter—an instrument which, in the sequel, obtained the appellation of *Boyle's Statical Balance.* He took great pleasure in a sort of huge weather-glass which he had erected in his house: It consisted of a very long tube raised up the wall, and terminating in a tall and rather wide glass hermetically sealed, in which a toy of the shape of a man had been lodged: the whole being filled with water, and planted in a bason at the ground, the column instantly sunk to its proper elevation, leaving the toy floating at its surface; and the under part of the apparatus being concealed in the wainscotting, the little image, or weather-mannikin, as he called it, made its appearance only in fine weather. This whimsical piece of mechanism, under the name of *anemoscope*, or *semper vivum*, more than all his real discoveries, was admired by the ignorant populace; and Güricke was therefore shrewdly suspected of being familiar with the powers of darkness. His house having once been struck with lightning, it was regarded by the vulgar as an evident mark of the displeasure of heaven, for prying too curiously into the secrets of nature.

But it was scarcely of less importance to measure the temperature, than to determine the pressure, of the atmosphere. The weight of a given bulk of air depends on its density, and this density is materially affected by the degree of heat to which it is exposed. The indications of the barometer are in many cases imperfect, without the farther aid of the thermometer;

an instrument which, though invented sooner, took a much longer period to arrive at a state of improvement. The effect of heat in expanding various bodies, could not altogether escape the observation of early times. In air, that dilatation is most conspicuous, and appears to have been first noticed. Heron of Alexandria, about the third century of the Christian era, constructed an hydraulic machine, by which the air, confined within a receiver communicating by pipes with a bason of water, and exposed to the vicissitudes of day and night, caused the liquid alternately to rise and fall. It was that bulky and complex apparatus which, according to his own candid acknowledgment, suggested to Sanctorio, a learned Italian physician, the first idea of a thermometer. This ingenious person, born at Capo d'Istria in 1560, was many years a very distinguished professor of medicine in the University of Padua, where he seems to have directed his talents chiefly to the improvement of the practice of his profession, by borrowing and adapting to his purpose the aids of the mechanic arts. Pursuing those views, he was led to the beautiful and important discovery of insensible perspiration, having contrived the famous balance to ascertain readily the smallest difference in the weight of the human body, and for which he is treated with ignorant and misplaced ridicule, by a conceited writer in the Spectator. He proposed a variety of hygroscopes for ascertaining humidity, which so much affects the health; he applied the pendulum to determine the quickness of the pulse, forming what he called a *pulsiloge*, in which the string suspending a ball was gradually shortened till its vibrations corresponded with the beats; and lastly, to measure the heat of the skin, he reduced the apparatus of Heron into a compendious and convenient shape, being a hollow ball with a long narrow stem resting in a cup of water. This simple instrument he exhibited at his public lecture in 1595; and he continued for twenty years afterwards to show it annually, under some variety of form, to the numerous pupils who resorted for the benefit of his instructions from all parts of Europe. By help of his thermometer, Sanctorio made some curious observations; he measured the action of the sun-beams on its blackened bulb, and he imagined that he had been able to detect the heat of the moon's rays, in opposition to a prevailing opinion which attributed to them a certain cold and humifying quality.

Soon afterwards, and evidently without any communication with Italy, the thermometer was re-invented in Holland, by Cornelius Drebbel, the son of a rich peasant at Alkmaer, and who, having from his childhood shown uncommon talents, received the

benefit of a superior education. He excelled in framing curious pieces of mechanism, and was tempted by his exquisite skill to pursue the dream of the perpetual motion. In aiming at this visionary scheme, he had occasion to remark the effect of heat in dilating the volume of air; and, sometime before the year 1603, he produced an instrument resembling the simplest kind exhibited by Sanctorio, but holding dilute *aqua fortis* instead of water, that it might not by freezing burst the tube. This thermometer or weather-glass, as he considered it, was in 1605 brought over by him to England, where he resided several years. Being well received at Court, he amused King James with the sight of his chemical experiments and mechanical contrivances; and it deserves to be noticed, that he astonished the royal favourites, by performing, in their presence near Gravesend, a submarine navigation for the space of a mile under the Thames. Drebbel, who was ever mysterious and reserved, afterwards returned to the Continent, and appears to have spent the rest of his life as an adventurer among princes, and exposed to great perversity of fortune.

The members of the Academy del Cimento, founded at Florence in 1657, and supplied with liberal funds, were particularly active in the prosecution of physical researches. They first repeated the experiment of the concentration of cold by reflection, and marked the effect by means of the air-thermometer of Drebbel or Sanctorio. This instrument they were solicitous to improve. Instead of air, they substituted spirits of wine, a fluid of great expansibility; and to the tube they attached a scale graduated on a regular plan, but after no very fixed principles. The Florentine Academicians constructed, though unfortunately with different scales, three several kinds of thermoscopes or thermometers, as they were afterwards called. These instruments or *measurers of heat*, being copied by Italian artists, were, under the name of the *Florence Glass*, widely circulated over Europe; but, owing to their careless execution, they did not acquire any decided reputation.

Within the short space of less than forty years, the stores of science were thus enriched by the invention of four capital instruments—the barometer and thermometer, the telescope and microscope. Their application unveiled a new system of things, and at length established philosophy on sure and invulnerable principles. Before these helps were devised, the imagination wandered without guidance, and all was loose and baseless conjecture. But henceforward every fleeting hypothesis was subjected to the accurate standards of weight and measure. The invention of a philosophical instrument has indeed always commenced a

chain of new discoveries, which extend themselves in a variety of directions. The remote objects are gradually brought nearer; our conclusions acquire greater precision and extent; and successive prospects rise before us, and expand in continual progression.

About this period, the new philosophy, with a taste for experimental knowledge, was introduced into England, which, in the progress of science and of the arts, had lingered more than half a century behind the Continent. Gilbert indeed had, early in the reign of James I., given a fine specimen of induction, in his treatise on magnetism; but his example had been suffered to pass away without rousing imitation. Bacon had next, with his capacious mind, embraced the whole circle of learning, and strongly urged the necessity of reforming it in every branch. While he exposed the futility of rearing hypotheses, he recommended the constant appeal to facts, and displayed the advantage, in experimental research, of employing instruments to assist the powers of observation. On the proper mode of conducting philosophical inquiries, he has left us some masterly sketches and striking remarks. Unfortunately, the vigorous intellect of Bacon wanted the graces of refinement, and the aids derived from a sedulous cultivation. He was still infected with a taste for the subtleties and endless subdivisions of the schools, and which the habits of his profession had a manifest tendency to rivet; and, scarcely acquainted with the bare elements of Geometry, that great instrument of philosophical discovery, he was ignorant and careless of the mighty revolution in science effected abroad. After his melancholy fall from the highest office in the state, he occasionally relieved his severer studies, and the tedious hours of solitude, by repeating experiments and processes of the simplest kind. He frequently mentions his weather-glass, or *calendare*, as he calls it, but which was really the same as what Drebbel had lately brought over from Holland. The specimens which Bacon has given of his method of induction—the essay on Heat, and that on Winds—were far from being happy or successful. They consist of a loose assemblage of observations and undistinguished facts, disfigured often by credulity, perplexed by nominal distinctions and the admixture of parallel or contrasted instances, and which, after all this parade, lead to no intelligible conclusion. From such examples we may suspect, that it is easier sometimes to strike out general and brilliant views, than to pursue the details of investigation with a minute and discriminating accuracy. The philosophical works of Bacon, however highly we may value them at present, remained long neglected both at home and abroad, and appear never to have had any sensible influence in hastening the progress of science. It is a circumstance ex-

tremely remarkable, that more than forty years after their publication, Dr Barrow, a man of profound learning, conjoined with great acuteness and ingenuity, having occasion, in his mathematical lectures, to enumerate those who had contributed to the advancement of philosophy, does not once mention the name of Bacon. Those works did not perhaps acquire their pre-eminent reputation in this country, till after the commendation bestowed on them by Dalembert, in the celebrated preface to the *Encyclopedie;* nor can it be altogether concealed, that those who have since been the most lavish in their praise of the Baconian philosophy, have seldom had the fortune to be much distinguished by their physical discoveries, or their intimate acquaintance with the nice and difficult art of experimenting.

But if England, with her usual reluctance to adopt any thing like improvement, was slow in entering the course, she soon developed her native energy, and thenceforth atoned for her past supineness, by running the most brilliant career. All the great discoveries in physics, and especially in astronomy, for near a century afterwards, were made in this island. A constellation of talents arose, of the very first order:—Wren, Wallis, Hooke, Halley, Gregory, and lastly Newton, the ornament of our species. The progress which these philosophers achieved, was moreover the fruit of their single and unaided exertions; for they could not receive much encouragement from the public; and they experienced none of that patronage which the governments of other countries are proud to bestow.

During the time of the Usurpation, many persons of family and education, who, in the course of the civil wars, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the ruling party, sought shelter on the Continent; and, being disengaged from public affairs, and having abundance of leisure, they became acquainted with the new philosophy, and by degrees acquired a relish for experimental inquiries. Moray, the first president of the Royal Society, Brounker, Boyle, and others, fall under that description. These respectable exiles, on their return home at the Restoration, imported into England a right taste for prosecuting scientific research. Prince Rupert, too, had the merit of introducing from Germany several ingenious arts, and established at Bristol the first glasshouse in the island. An association was soon formed with a view to philosophical inquiry, consisting of some distinguished nobility and gentry, joined to professional men and especially physicians, and incorporated by charter under the style of the Royal Society; a title easily conferred, and the only thing almost which it has ever owed to the bounty of the Crown. The labours of this illustrious body, from its total deficiency of means, were long very humble and obscure. The publication of the Philosophical Transactions, though without

competition, and in the form of a periodical journal, was repeatedly suspended, owing to their very limited sale. That an institution, directed to the most useful purposes, should have languished for want of due support, is indeed a lasting reproach to the government and to the country. The records of its early proceedings disclose circumstances which are very humiliating. The munificence of the house of Norfolk, indeed, forms a splendid exception; but many of the chief nobility and gentry discontinued for years their small annual contribution, and, though most submissively reminded of their neglect, they had the meanness to refuse the payment of those arrears, and allowed their names to be erazed from the list of members. Under such discouragements, it is rather surprising that a mere voluntary association should from the beginning have been able to effect so much as it did.

One of the most diligent promoters of the Royal Society was Boyle; a man of great worth and benevolence of character, who, though not possessed of the higher energies of mind, nor exempt from credulity, very laudably devoted his time and his fortune to philosophical pursuits. His own writings are feeble, confused, and excessively prolix; but he had the merit of choosing Hooke for his operator, the most original and inventive genius of the age, who was not less ready in contriving pieces of mechanism, than skilled in the execution of them. He improved essentially the air-pump, by securing the joints with oil, instead of water, and substituting for the syringe a barrel, in which the piston was moved by rack-work. With this instrument, Boyle repeated and varied the experiments on the rarefaction of the air; and, by his frequent communications to the Society, he rendered the subject in some degree fashionable. Hooke, being afterwards engaged as curator to that learned body, supplied, from his activity and fertile resources, a continual succession of experiments, calculated both to amuse and instruct. Among other things exhibited before them, the filling of the Torricellian tube, or cane, as it was then called, and still deemed a novelty in England, was repeatedly tried with success; though several of the members appeared to hesitate, or to yield at best a reluctant assent to the capital inference drawn from it. Some steps were however made in the inquiry: the ascent of the mercurial column, from the effect of augmented pressure, was observed at the bottom of coal-pits, and at considerable depths under water near the mouth of the Thames.

Among the first in Britain that attempted to measure the heights of mountains by observing the mercurial column, was George Sinclair, who had been professor of philosophy in the University of Glasgow; and appears to have lost his office in

1662, for declining to comply with the Episcopal form of church government, which was then violently thrust upon the people of Scotland. This very credulous but ingenious man, after his ejection, betook himself to the business of a mineral surveyor or practical engineer, and was employed in this profession by several proprietors of mines, and particularly by Sir James Hope, who, having sat in Barebone's parliament, was probably nowise averse to his Presbyterian scruples. Sinclair, in the years 1668 and 1670, observed the heights of Arthur's Seat, Leadhills and Tintoc, above the adjacent plains. He followed the original mode of carrying a sealed tube to the top of the mountain, where, filling it with quicksilver, and inverting it in a bason, he marked the elevation of the suspended column, and repeated the same experiment below; a very rude method certainly,—but no better was practised in England for more than thirty years afterwards. To the instrument fitted up in a frame, Sinclair first gave the name of *baroscope*, or *indicator of weight*. The favourite termination *scope* was afterwards changed into the more definite word *meter;* and the compound name *barometer*, therefore, signifies 'a measurer of the weight of the 'atmosphere.' *

In those rude attempts at measuring heights by the barometer, the atmosphere was regarded simply as an homogeneous fluid, and possessing the same density throughout its whole

* Sinclair was author of a well known little book, entitled, *Satan's Invisible World Displayed*, and at a former period greedily devoured by the Scottish peasantry. In a quarto volume on 'Hydrostatics and the Working of Coal Mines,' printed in Holland in 1672, and published by subscription, he had strangely inserted *a true relation of the Witches of Glenluce*. But some very learned men of that age were guilty of like follies.—We are concerned to observe, that the celebrated James Gregory, who, with talents of the very first order, yet seems to have had a violent temper, and to have imbibed an hereditary attachment to royalism and episcopacy, should have stooped to attack an inoffensive and perhaps unfortunate man. He wrote a small tract against Sinclair's Hydrostatics, with the quaint title of the *Art of Weighing Vanity*, and under the thin disguise of Patrick Mather, archbeadle of the University of St Andrews. It is a production full of low scurrility, and memorable only for a short Latin paper annexed to it, containing the series first given to represent the motion of a pendulum. There is preserved in the British Museum a letter from Gregory to Collins, boasting of his project, and soliciting information with which to overwhelm his antagonist. It is curious however to observe, that with all his eagerness to heap ridicule on the poor author, he has never once touched on the absurd episode of the witches. Such was the temper of the times!

mass; a supposition which, in the case of moderate ascents, is not very erroneous, but which differs widely from the truth when the elevation becomes considerable. The next step towards improvement, was to conceive the density of the air to decrease regularly with its altitude, and thus form an arithmetrical progression. On that hypothesis, the combined experiments of Galileo and Torricelli gave less than five miles for the height of our atmosphere, or about twelve miles, if we adopt the more correct observation of Güricke; whereas the calculation grounded on the limits of twilight and refraction, though not altogether unexceptionable *data*, represented this elevation to be at least forty-five miles. It was therefore essential to determine the relation between the density of the air and its elasticity, or the force with which it resists compression. Mariotte in France, and Townley in England, nearly about the same time, discovered that important law, and ascertained, by a set of accurate experiments, that the elasticity of this fluid is exactly proportioned to its density. The former, after some obscure allusion to logarithms, contented himself, in 1676, with regarding the decrease of density upwards, as nearly uniform. But the famous Dr Halley, a man of very superior talents and great versatility of genius, setting out from that experimental principle, subjected the rules of measurement by the barometer to geometrical investigation, and delivered in 1685 the beautiful theorem on which the calculation is now founded, and which establishes, that the heights being assumed in arithmetical, the corresponding densities of the air must follow a geometrical, progression. In fact, if we conceive the atmosphere to be divided into a multitude of equally thin horizontal *strata* or layers, it is evident that each successive *stratum* will, to the pressure of the superincumbent mass, add its own weight, which being as its density or elasticity, is therefore proportioned to the collective pressure; and consequently the densities continually increase downwards, exactly in the same way, and after a like progression, as money accumulates at compound interest, where a constant portion of the aggregate fund is regularly joined to the capital. But Halley, uniting practice with theory, observed in 1697 the mercurial column at the level of the sea, and on the summit of Snowdun, and found it to stand respectively at 29.9 and 26.1 inches; the height of the mountain being previously determined by a trigonometrical operation to be 1240 yards. He was thence enabled to conclude, that the air doubles its rarity for every three miles and a half of ascent.

In 1687, Newton resumed the problem of the gradation of atmospheric density, in his immortal *Principia*, and solved it with that generality which suited his penetrating mind. He

there demonstrated, that admitting the particles of air, like other bodies, to have their weight or attraction diminished as the squares of their distances from the centre of the earth, if those distances be taken in harmonic progression, the corresponding densities of the atmosphere will form a geometrical one. * Since the diminution of attraction however, at the greatest height which we are able to reach, amounts only to the two thousandth part of the whole; this difference is too minute to be admitted in practice; and the simpler law first pointed out by the sagacity of Halley, is judged sufficiently accurate for every real purpose.

To apply the principle for calculating heights from barometrical observations, it was previously requisite to ascertain, by experiment, the coefficient expressing the precise relation between the density and elasticity of the air, or to determine the altitude of an equiponderant column of homogeneous fluid. This could be done in two ways; either by finding with accuracy the specific gravity of air, or by comparing trigonometrical measurements with the results obtained on a great scale by the barometer. But the discrepancies appeared very perplexing. Though experiments were now brought to greater nicety, different authors had represented air in all the intermediate degrees from 798 to 885 times lighter than water. This was owing chiefly to the omission of the influence of heat, which dilates the air so considerably, and alters the relation of its density and elasticity. It became necessary to introduce a new element into the computation of barometrical observations; and philosophers were again induced to turn their attention to the improvement of the thermometer.

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* The investigation may be given very concisely in the modern symbols. Let x and x' denote the heights of two stations above the surface, y and y' the corresponding densities of the atmosphere, a the measure of the air's elasticity, or the altitude of a column of homogeneous fluid, which by its weight could balance that elasticity, and r the radius of the earth. The density of the air being as the incumbent pressure, its decrement must evidently be proportioned to the weight of each superadded minute *stratum*, or to the density of this *stratum* multiplied into its thickness and force of attraction. Wherefore $-a\,d\,y = y\,d\,x\left(\frac{r}{r+x}\right)^2$, or $-\frac{a\,d\,y}{y} = \frac{r^2\,d\,x}{(r+x)^2}$, and the complete integral is $a\ \mathrm{Log.}\frac{y'}{y} = \frac{r^2}{r+x} - \frac{r^2}{r+x'} = \frac{r^2(x'-x)}{(r+x)\,(r+x')}$. If r be considered as indefinitely great in comparison with x, then $a\ \mathrm{Log.}\frac{y'}{y} = x'-x$, as in the common *formula*.

The great object was to bring the thermometers to speak the same language. To effect this, it was expedient to select a proper fluid, and to adopt an uniform and consistent scale. Air, spirit of wine, linseed oil, and lastly, quicksilver, were selected in succession. The temperature of cellars and deep caves, as indicating the natural heat of our globe, had long been thought invariable; but farther experience discovered the inaccuracy of that supposition, and showed it to be materially affected by peculiar circumstances, especially the latitude of the place, and its elevation above the level of the sea. Congelation, or rather the thawing of ice or the melting of snow, was then found to remain fixed; an important remark, which had first occurred to Güricke, but was overlooked till a considerable time afterwards. From that point therefore, the thermometers now constructed began their divisions. But three several methods of regulating the scales were successively adopted.

1. The most obvious mode, was to make the divisions on the stem to correspond with the decimal parts of the volume of fluid contained in the bulb. Amontons, a person of great ingenuity and mechanical contrivance, having found that air, whatever its density may be, dilates equally and uniformly by the application of heat, employed that fluid, under a state of high compression, for constructing a standard or universal thermometer. To a strong glass ball of three inches in diameter, he joined hermetically a tube of above six feet long, and which he bent back into a vertical position; then he introduced quicksilver, till this column, by compressing the included air, mounted very considerably in the tube, and stood at 51½ French inches, when the instrument was plunged in melting snow; but, immersing it in boiling water, the mercury rose to 73 inches. The intermediate degrees of temperature were marked at every inch and half inch, in the ascent of the mercurial column. This instrument, which was precisely of the kind now termed a *manometer*, served merely to regulate other thermometers of a smaller and more commodious construction. But, independently of heat, it was besides liable to be affected by the variation of atmospheric pressure; and Amontons evidently sought to avoid, or at least to diminish, that inconvenience, by opposing to such external action the concentrated elasticity of confined air. The error, however, occasioned by extreme change of weather, might still amount to half an inch, or to one of his divisions.—About the same time, or at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Newton himself cast a keen though rapid glance on the subject of heat, and proposed a thermometer of a much simpler and more elegant construction. For the fluid of expansion, he preferred linseed

oil, a very fixed substance. Reckoning the bulb to contain 10,000 equal parts, at the temperature of melting snow, the rise of the liquid in the tube was expressed by 256 parts at blood heat, by 725 at that of boiling water, and by 1516 at the fusion of tin. As these numbers appeared excessively large, he chose to mark the heat of the human body with 12 degrees, and reduced the other expansions, in the same proportion, to 34 and 71 of his degrees. But the primary divisions were not easily determined; and linseed oil, being a viscid liquid and apt to adhere to the tube, was afterwards laid aside.—It certainly is going back the stream of invention, to notice the thermometer which Reaumur produced in 1730, and which, though grounded on erroneous principles, soon acquired and still maintains a most extensive circulation. This instrument was large and clumsy, having a ball of two or three inches in diameter, and filled with a weak spirit of wine that held one third of water: the capacity being divided into 1000 equal parts, the degrees, after this scale, were counted upwards from the point of the artificial congelation of water, and the liquor was believed to reach to 80 at the moment when ebullition began. But spirit of wine, even though diluted, could never attain the heat of boiling water, and must itself have been thrown into ebullition many degrees below that limit.—Roëmer, the celebrated Danish astronomer, who made the fine discovery of the motion of light, first recommended quicksilver as the most proper fluid for the construction of thermometers; and Halley and Amontons had remarked, about the same time, that it expands uniformly with heat, and remains nearly stationary at the point of boiling water. Delisle of St Petersburg, set out from this principle, and produced in 1733 a descending scale. The mercury being distinguished into 10,000 parts, the corresponding contractions were marked on the stem, that of congelation being 153 degrees, or in round numbers 150.

2. An elegant and very ingenious method for graduating thermometers, was proposed in 1694, by Renaldini. He made use of quicksilver, and confined the scale between the usual limits of freezing and ebullition, ascertaining the intermediate divisions from the gradations of temperature observed in successive mixtures of boiling and gelid water, or the water flowing from ice; 11 pounds of gelid being joined to 1 of boiling water, 10 to 2, 9 to 3, and so on, till the termination of these changes. This kind of experiment is the more remarkable as it afterwards led to some very important conclusions respecting the laws of heat, and proved that quicksilver expands uniformly with equal additions of temperature, while spirit of wine swells constantly in a rising progression.

3. But the most accurate, and by far the simplest mode of regulating the thermometric scale, is founded on the equal division of the interval observed between two fixed points. Fahrenheit, to whose assiduity and skill this instrument owes its perfection, was a merchant at Dantzic, who, having failed in business, and being fond of mechanics and chemistry, had recourse to the making of thermometers, as the means of gaining a slender livelihood. At first he used spirit of wine, yet always constructed those instruments very small and uncommonly neat. But, not meeting with sufficient encouragement at home, he was induced, about the year 1720, to remove into Holland; and he spent the rest of his laborious life at Amsterdam. He now preferred quicksilver for filling his thermometers, and took the greatest pains in their accurate graduation. He seems to have begun with the favourite division of the mercury into 10,000 equal parts; of which he reckoned 64, from congelation or the temperature of ice dissolved in water, up to blood heat, and 32 downwards to what he conceived to be extreme cold, produced by the mixture of salt with snow, or rather of ice, water, and sal ammoniac. These numbers, giving an extent of nearly an hundred degrees to the whole scale, were very commodious, and suggested a system of continual bisection. Accordingly, the small mercurial thermometers from the hands of Fahrenheit himself, have their divisions engraved on a slip of paper neatly folded close to the stem, with the degrees numbered by pairs on each side, and the whole enclosed within a glass case hermetically sealed. The same plan was, many years after, followed by Wilson at London, and next at Glasgow, where this ingenious man engaged in the more extensive and lucrative concern of a type foundery. But Fahrenheit soon advanced a step farther. He remarked, in his numerous trials, that the heat of boiling water sensibly varies at different times, according to the state of the weather, but found it to remain always constant under the same atmospheric pressure. With the regulation of the barometer, therefore, at its mean altitude, another fixed point was determined, corresponding to the 212th division of his scale, or 180 degrees above the point of congelation. Thermometers divided in that way, were not only circulated over Holland and the north of Germany, but, from the eminence of the maker, they were generally introduced into this island, by the young men who at that time flocked to Leyden for the study of law and medicine.—The instrument owes its final improvement to Celsius of Stockholm, who, in 1742, placed the beginning of the scale at congelation, and divided the interval between it and the boiling

point into 100 degrees, and extending a portion of them downwards. This thermometer is exactly the same with what has been since called in France the *centigrade* or *centesimal*, and which, from the fitness and simplicity of its construction, deserves to be universally adopted.

The construction of the barometer itself underwent various modifications and improvements. A great object at first was to render its variations more perceptible, by enlarging the scale. With that view, Descartes proposed the compound barometer, in which the tube was swelled out near the top, and then rose with a narrow stem, holding water above the quicksilver. This instrument was afterwards improved by Hooke into the double barometer, a syphon tube being used with a slender branch, containing a column of coloured deliquiate potash instead of water. This ingenious person also constructed the wheel barometer, which is still in pretty general request. Morland and Ramazzini suggested the inclined barometer. The conical or pendant barometer was an elegant contrivance of Amontons, and appears not to be so well known as it deserves. And, lastly, John Bernoulli invented the horizontal or rectangular barometer, a specious yet imperfect machine. But these complex constructions are subject to much irregularity; and it has been found by experience, that the simple barometer, fitted with a proper Vernier, is after all the best and most accurate. The only modifications of it now in use, are the marine and the mountain barometers; the former contrived to prevent the agitation of the quicksilver from the rolling at sea, and the latter disposed in the most portable form, with nice adjustments for the measuring of heights.

Some perplexing sources of error in the indications of the barometer, were detected by degrees. The suspension of liquids in narrow tubes by capillary action, had long been observed. But this force has an opposite effect on a column of mercury, the particles of which having a stronger attraction to each other than to the sides of the glass, approach towards the general mass, and exhibit a convex, instead of a concave, surface. Accordingly, when the tube of the barometer is narrow, the quicksilver does not rise to the true height. This inaccuracy, however, is removed in the latest constructions; the surplus mercury being contained in a bag or box, and its surface always brought, by the pressure of a screw, to a constant mark in a smaller connecting tube, of the same width as the main column. —Another cause of discrepancy required more investigation. On washing the inside of a barometric tube with spirit of wine, for the purpose of cleaning it, the mercury, on filling it again,

was perceived to stand unusually low; which effect seemed owing to the elasticity of the diffuse vapour collected within the vacant space at the top. The great object was, therefore, to discharge from the mercury every particle of air or moisture which might adhere to it. Cassini, early in the last century, boiled the quicksilver within the tube; and this capital improvement was, in the sequel, revived by Deluc, and is now generally practised. But even the boiling must be regulated; for if the mercury be too long exposed to the action of heat, it will suffer a partial oxydation, and will line the inside of the tube with a thin yellow crust, which attracts the column upwards. Laplace was evidently mistaken, in supposing the mercurial column to assume a horizontal surface, from being thoroughly purged by careful and continued boiling; since it can only proceed from a counteracting adhesion, similar to what obtains when the inside of the tube is rubbed with grease or oil.

After the law of the progression of density in the atmosphere had been discovered, and the barometer and thermometer brought nearly to a state of perfection, nothing more seemed wanting towards ascertaining by their means the height of mountains. Yet still for many years was the application of the barometer to that object, though not entirely forgotten, suffered to make a very slow and doubtful advance. The rule which Halley gave, and which proceeded on the compensation of errors, was only a rough approximation. Reckoning water 13½ times lighter than quicksilver and 800 times heavier than air, it followed, that this fluid is 10800 times lighter than quicksilver; or that a column of air 900 feet in height, would correspond to the difference of an inch in the altitude of the mercury. Assuming 30 inches, therefore, as the medium range of the barometer, he instituted this proportion—As .0144765, or the arithmetical mean between the differences of the logarithms of 29 and 30 and of 30 and 31, is to the difference of the logarithms of the altitudes of the mercurial columns at the two stations, so is 900 to the observed height in feet. The result, computed in this way, was evidently the same as if the logarithmic difference had been multiplied by the constant number 62170, and which would correspond to an equiponderant atmospheric column of 27000 feet.—Daniel Bernoulli, who succeeded at a great interval of time, threw out, in his *Hydrodynamica*, some vague hypotheses respecting the constitution of the atmosphere, and rashly deviated from the principle of the geometrical progression of density. In this departure he was followed by Cassini and Horrebow, who inferred, from their partial observations, that the barometer is subject to irregularity; and that, near the surface of the earth, it

obeys a different law from what obtains at great elevations. An important step however was, in 1753, made by Bouguer, an able mathematician and a very skilful and ingenious observer, who had been several years employed in measuring a degree on the stupendous ridge of the Andes. From the comparison of more than thirty distinct observations, he deduced a simple and elegant rule for computing heights by help of the barometer: It is, that the difference between the logarithms of the mercurial columns at the two stations being diminished by the thirtieth part, and the decimal point shifted four places back, will express the required elevation in toises. But Bouguer was persuaded, that this rule would not hold exactly in Europe, or in the lower regions of the torrid zone; and to explain the deviation, he had recourse to the forced supposition, that the particles of air have different degrees of elasticity, nearly similar to what Newton had formerly advanced, in attempting to reconcile theory with the actual propagation of sound. Lambert, a philosopher of great originality and penetration, afterwards published some excellent remarks on the comparison of barometrical measurements. But no material progress was made till 1755, when Deluc of Geneva resumed the subject, and carefully combined experiment with observation. For the space of upwards of fifteen years, he prosecuted his inquiries with persevering diligence, assisted by the peculiar advantages of local situation, in a city abounding with artists, and seated amidst lofty mountains. The discrepancies which had hitherto created so much embarrassment, proceeded chiefly from the inattention of observers to the disturbing influence of heat, and especially its effect in expanding the air, and consequently augmenting the elevation due to a given difference of atmospheric pressure. Deluc's first object was to improve the thermometer of Reaumur; and having ascertained, from a set of experiments like those formerly made by Renaldini and Brook Taylor, that quicksilver dilates equably by the accession of heat, he substituted this metallic fluid in place of spirit of wine. He next examined the expansion of air at different temperatures, and corrected the results by numerous observations, in which the barometer was combined with the thermometer, along the vallies and on the summits of the higher Alps. The *formula* which he thence deduced for the computation of barometrical measurements, was, in 1772, published in his *Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphere*, and seemed to attract, particularly in this island, a very considerable degree of notice. Maskelyne translated it into English measures, and Horsley commented on it. But what was more important, other accurate observers, prompted

by Deluc's example, entered the same field of inquiry, and provided with instruments still finer and of much better construction. In 1775, Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn visited the mountains of Savoy, and conjoined trigonometrical operations with corresponding observations by barometers and thermometers from the hands of Ramsden; and about this time likewise, General Roy, not only measured, with instruments made by that admirable artist, some of the principal heights in Scotland and Wales, but instituted a series of delicate manometrical experiments. From these combined observations and experiments, it followed, that, for each degree on Fahrenheit's scale, mercury expands the 5412th part of its bulk, and air at the rate of .00245; and, that the logarithm of the ratio of two atmospheric pressures, reckoning the first four figures integers, will express in English fathoms the difference of elevation adapted near the temperature of freezing water. It farther appeared, that the heat of the air decreases upwards nearly in a uniform progression. The mensuration of heights by the barometer, requires therefore two corrections, the one applied before, and the other after, the logarithmic subtraction. A barometer on the top of the mountain, and another at its base, are simultaneously observed, each having an attached thermometer indicating the heat of the quicksilver, and one detached and suspended freely to mark the temperature of the ambient air. In computing from these data, the upper mercurial column is enlarged to the density of the lower, or it receives an augmentation proportioned to its decrease of temperature: The difference between the logarithm of that corrected column, and of the one below, removing the decimal point four places back, gives the *approximate height* of the mountain; to which the final and most important correction is made, being the expansion of the air above the point of congelation, as estimated from the mean of the detached thermometers. General Roy besides proposed a farther modification, depending on the diminished gravity, and consequently increased altitude, of the equiponderant atmospheric column, in the lower latitudes, caused by the influence of centrifugal force, and indicated by the length of the pendulum. Several years thereafter, Professor Playfair, in a learned paper, inserted in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, examined all the circumstances affecting barometrical measurement, and discussed each question, with that ingenuity and precision which might be expected from his distinguished abilities. At nearly an equal interval of time, the celebrated Laplace, in his *Mechanique Celeste*, resumed the subject; and availing himself of the most recent experiments, without omitting the slightest consi-

deration that could affect the result, he gave a very general solution—laborious indeed, and excessively complicated. Biot now follows the same track, and engages in a complete investigation of the problem. His process however, it must be confessed, is circuitous, and appears, notwithstanding its display of analytical resources, to be rather clumsy and inelegant. Nor can we help blaming that affectation of accuracy beyond what the nature of the subject will admit, which is often remarked in the later mathematical productions of the Continent. Conditions are assumed, only to be afterwards rejected; and the result, obtained with all this expense of labour, is finally softened down into a manageable form. In the present state of physical science, precise experiments are more wanted than the powers of a refined calculation. Yet Biot attempts, by blending hypotheses with imperfect observations, to estimate the minute effects of humidity, in modifying the degree of atmospheric pressure. From some careful experiments performed by him in conjunction with Arrago, he concludes, that air, at the point of congelation, and under a mercurial pressure of .76 *metres* or 29.922 inches, is in the latitude of Paris 10463 times lighter than water at its lowest contraction; which, being reduced to the level of the sea, gives a coefficient of 18334 *metres* or 60148 feet. The numerous observations that Ramond lately made among the Alps, afford, after reduction, almost the same quantity, or 18336 *metres*, corresponding to an equiponderant column of 26124 feet. But, for the sake of convenience, Biot, adjusting the whole to an elevation of 1200 *metres*, at which the barometric measurements usually commence, modifies the coefficient into 18393 *metres* or 60346 feet, and abridges the complex expressions into the final result, $18393\,(1 + .002837 \cos. 2\psi)\left(1 + \frac{2\,(T+t)}{1000}\right) \log. \frac{H}{h}$; where ψ denotes the latitude of the place, T and t the temperatures indicated by the detached thermometers, and H and h the corrected altitudes of the mercurial columns. To this *formula* the barometric tables are adapted, being so framed as to facilitate the computation of each distinct part.

These tables, with a little practice and address, will be found to give us, independent altogether of logarithms, very considerable facility in calculating the measurements of the barometer. The operation might be still further abridged, by omitting the correction derived from the variation of gravity along the surface of the globe, as the difference, reckoning from the mean latitude of 45° to the equator on the one hand, and to the pole on the other, is equivalent only to the 352d part of the whole; and therefore scarcely exceeds the effect of a single degree of

Fahrenheit on the height of an atmospheric column. But, till the various circumstances which alter the volume of air have been more precisely determined, we are inclined to prefer the method of calculation briefly stated by Professor Leslie in the second edition of his *Elements of Geometry*, and which is remarkable for its simplicity and neatness. The centigrade thermometer is there used, being evidently the best adapted to barometrical observations. 'Mercury expands about the 5,000dth 'part of its bulk, for each degree of the centesimal scale; hence, 'the *previous correction*, or the small addition to the upper co-'lumn will be found, by removing the decimal point four places 'to the right, and multiplying by twice the difference of the at-'tached thermometers.' The difference between the logarithm of this corrected column and of the lower mercurial column, being multiplied by 60,000, exhibits in feet *the approximate height*. But the chief and *subsequent correction*, depends on the temperature of the air. Since air expands by heat twenty times more than mercury; 'if the approximate height be multiplied by 'twice the sum of the degrees on the detached thermometers, 'the product will give the addition to be made.' It would be easy to conjoin with this plan of computation the influence of the variation of gravity. The centrifugal force, being as the square of the cosine of the latitude, is therefore, according to the best observations confirmed by theory, proportioned to the mean temperature; and since this force amounts to the 176th part at the equator, where the medium heat is 29 centesimal degrees—it hence appears that the final correction would be obtained, if before the multiplication, to twice the sum of the degrees on the detached thermometers were added the fifth of the mean temperature of the place at the level of the sea.

A very near approximation, however, is attainable by simple arithmetic, without employing logarithms at all. The rule delivered in the work already quoted, was drawn from geometrical principles only; but it easily follows from the first terms of the series for the logarithm of the ratio of two numbers, depending on the relation between their sum and difference combined with the double of the *modulus*, which, in reference to our atmosphere, is about 26,000 feet. 'As the sum of the mercurial columns 'is to their difference, so is the constant number 52,000 to the 'approximate height.' This rule may be deemed sufficiently accurate perhaps for elevations not exceeding a mile; but it may be easily extended higher, by assuming intermediate measures.

The computation of barometrical measurements is most expeditiously performed, by help of a sliding rule contrived for that purpose. An instrument of this nature, manufactured by Cary

of London, seems to unite every practical advantage, being very manageable, and exhibiting the result with only two settings of the slider. Accompanied by a barometer of the lightest and and most portable kind, it would prove a very useful implement to the geological traveller. The mountain barometer, which we owe to the zeal of Sir H. Englefield, is tolerably commodious; but a simpler and much lighter instrument might be devised, on the principle of the conical barometer. To multiply the chances of observation is a great object; and in such cases, accuracy may to a moderate degree be sacrificed for convenience. Physical geography would acquire prodigious improvement, if by means of the barometer, sections or profiles of countries were made, and a system of distant levelling conducted in different directions.

Much however still remains to be done. That the temperature decreases uniformly in ascending the atmosphere, is an assumed principle; but the observations of Saussure, compared with those of Humboldt, betray an evident deviation, and prove that the decrements of heat increase in the greater elevations. The manometrical experiments of Roy are far from being unexceptionable. They were made on dry and moist air; a distinction which appears extremely vague. He besides mistook a dilatation produced by the continual addition or solution of humidity, for the usual expansion of air which had been previously damped. On the ingenuity of Mr Dalton, we would bestow unqualified praise; but knowing the very rude and imperfect apparatus with which he generally contents himself, we cannot avoid regarding his numerical results as mere conjectural approximations, which often do credit, indeed, to his sagacity. Gay-Lussac has so closely followed Dalton, that their marvellous coincidence, in points hardly susceptible of such nicety, and contradicted by the tenor of more extensive analogies, is not the best calculated to remove all suspicion. We should on this occasion have hazarded a few remarks, if we had not already abused the patience of our readers. When quantities are concerned, it is the most difficult by far to perform accurate experiments; nor is the merit of procuring such results ever fully appreciated. The more improved branches of physical science are hastening to that stage which Astronomy has long attained, where individual exertions are but of little avail; and where, to reach the higher degrees of perfection, the support of powerful associations, or the liberal and efficient patronage of the State, become indispensably necessary.

ART.

ART. XI. *Two Plays: Mantuan Revels, a Comedy in Five Acts; and Henry the Seventh, an Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By Richard Chenevix, Esq. F. R. & E. S.; M. R. I. A. &c. 8vo. pp. 317. London. 1812.

We really begin to suspect that it is not easy to write a tolerable play; and are satisfied, at all events, that it is a great deal more difficult now, than it used to be when tolerable plays were more abundant. The difficulty, however, we conceive, does not arise so much from our predecessors having taken possession of all the good subjects and ways of treating them—for we have unlimited faith in the creative power of genius—as from our increased intolerance of faults that are perhaps inseparable from the higher order of beauties. There are certain extravagances, and blunders and inaccuracies, that are held not to be admissible, upon any terms, in modern compositions; and yet they occur perpetually in these older writings, the beauties of which, with all our refinement and fastidious correctness, we must confess ourselves utterly incapable of imitating. Is it a very rash or unlikely conjecture, then, that our failure may have been owing, in part at least, to our fastidiousness; that we have miscarried by attempting to separate what is inseparable; and have fallen short of the beauties of Shakespeare, principally because we have been too much afraid of falling into his faults? It is certain at least, that our effeminate horror for some classes of defects is always indulged at the expense of some noble quality. If we are always to be scrupulously polite, we must part with some portion of our sincerity;—if we must preserve the delicacy of our complexion, we must be content to give up our robust strength, and perhaps even our courage, and the lofty deportment which belongs to it. —The case is still stronger as to the attributes of genius and fancy. Their domain is a mountainous region; not only full of inequalities, but abounding in gulphs and abysses; and in which no one will ever meet the unclouded sun, or breathe the fragrant airs on its summits, who trembles at the accompanying racines, or dreads to soil his feet in the intervening morasses.—The sober and anxious frame of mind, in short, which is produced by eschewing little faults, and labouring after petty graces, is quite incompatible with the raised imagination which gives birth to the grander beauties of poetry; nor can we possibly taste the flavour of that enchanted cup, without hazarding its intoxication.

The volume before us affords a new exemplification of these recondite truths; and is a new instance of failure in that pur-

suit of dramatic excellence, in which success would be the greatest of all novelties. Mr Chenevix, however, has other merits besides that of boldness in his attempt; and the work altogether is an object both of interest and curiosity.

Mr Chenevix has long been known as a learned chemist and mineralogist; but we confess, we never heard before of his pretensions in the capacity of a poet. He is also understood to have resided a great deal abroad, and to have acquired a thorough knowledge of the taste and literary attainments of the different nations of the Continent. If we had ever regarded him as a likely competitor for poetical fame, therefore, we should certainly have apprehended that he would have joined himself to that learned and accomplished band, who exclaim against the peculiarities of our native poetry, and find matter for little but ridicule in the peculiarities of our native drama. Our agreeable surprise at seeing him start up in the character of a poet, therefore, was not a little enhanced by finding him take his place as a professed idolater of our antient dramatists; and, so far from being disposed to treat their peculiarities with irreverence, as actually to have hazarded the rejection of very weighty pretensions to public favour by the excess of his admiration.

The two plays contained in this volume may be regarded, we think, as the boldest, the most elaborate, and, upon the whole, the most successful imitation of the general style, taste and diction of our older dramatists, that has appeared in the present times. The general tune and structure of the verse, and the cast and character of the language, indeed, appear to us to be very perfectly copied; and even the more substantial peculiarities of the composition, in so far at least as relates to the utter disregard of the unities—the free mixture of lowness and familiarity—the profusion of violent metaphors—and the occasional interchange of bombast and buffoonery, seem to be imitated with very laudable fidelity. The misfortune is, that there is no powerful passion—no living trait of character—no simple and original touches of sentiment and universal feeling—no new and yet familiar picture of life and manners;—nothing, in short, of the greater elements that give its tenderness or its terror to the matchless poetry of Shakespeare,—and not only redeem, but sanctify all the errors of his taste and all the extravagancies of his fancy. These loftier attributes we do not think indeed that Mr Chenevix has even attempted to imitate. He has taken his pitch, as it appears to us, from the idle and more fantastical passages in Shakespeare, where, in the absence of strong passion or commanding character, those legitimate masters of the dra-

ma, imagination and ingenuity, are allowed to play their vagaries and scatter their flowers, and to fill the vacant scene with their ostentatious and artificial exhibitions. Now, however graceful these may appear when they are offered merely as interludes, or preluding flourishes to the deeper harmony of the piece, it is obvious that a whole play, composed entirely in that taste, must be equally unimpressive and unnatural; and that such a profusion of mere gratuitous ornament, must not only lose its effect, but produce a feeling of disappointment, when presented without its weightier accompaniments. These eternal tropes and figures of speech, in short—these turns of phrase and sudden strains of thought and of language, are but poor substitutes for the interest of a story sustained by the glow of passion, and the magical presentment of characters,—though they may relieve the intervals of their action, or set off the tamer scenes of their development. Detached from these, however, they seem to lose their great charm in losing their propriety; and, like the minute and fantastical embellishments of Gothic architecture, which have a wonderful effect in enriching the vast and solemn piles to which they are appropriate, are no sooner presented apart, than they become positively displeasing, by the laborious littleness, the hardness, and complexity of their execution.

Such, however, is the style in which the pieces before us seem to us to be wholly composed. Every sentence exhibits some small detached prettiness in thought or in diction. The whole dialogue is carried on in metaphors and forced turns of expression; and the author proceeds, through the whole piece, by short flights and irregular starts of fancy, without once being borne away by genuine passion, or permitting himself to be carried along by the smooth current of simplicity. Accordingly, he is never, by any accident, direct or natural for a single instant; and though his conceptions are often striking, and still oftener ingenious, there is such an appearance of artifice in the whole structure of the style, that the reader is at last both wearied and disappointed. This, however, is by no means the worst of his peculiarities. The perpetual recurrence of metaphor, and the attempt to copy the boldness and originality of the metaphors employed by Shakespeare, render him very often obscure, and, to say the truth, not unfrequently altogether unintelligible to our weak faculties. The whole dialogue, in short, is a series of enigmas; one half of which, we verily believe, might defy the solution of ordinary readers; and thus not only is the attention kept perpetually on the strain, in order to have a chance for discovering the meaning of the author, but a

certain feeling of indifference and provocation is excited toward the persons of the drama who thus persist in talking in parables and dark sentences, instead of honestly speaking out their minds to the spectators and each other. It is owing partly to this extravagant use of figurative language, and partly to the frequent introduction of obsolete words and combinations, that the sense frequently becomes so questionable as to make it necessary to recollect that we are reading the works of a living author, printed under his own inspection—not to exclaim against the hallucinations of ignorant transcribers and editors, and to set our critical sagacity to work in conjectural emendations of a text that seems so manifestly corrupted. For this reason alone, if there were no other, we are satisfied that these plays never will become popular; and though the admirers of Shakespeare will always listen, not merely with indulgence but delight, to any thing that reminds them of his manner, and the fanciers of poetical images receive with gratitude any addition to their collection, we are afraid that the great proportion of those whose suffrages ultimately dispose of reputation, will not exempt this volume from the common doom of mortality which has gone out against almost all our contemporary dramatists.

Such as they are, however, we think that the merits and demerits of those plays are all in their diction; and that if they do not succeed as collections of little pieces of poetry, and ingenious imitations of the style of our old dramatists, there is but little chance of their succeeding on account of the contrivance of their story, or the interest that is excited by their characters. We do not believe, indeed, that the author has any serious pretensions in that way; and are persuaded that he intended them, and especially the first, rather as exercises in diction, and vehicles for the studied expression of a few favourite conceptions, than as specimens of dramatic invention, or examples of force and originality in the delineation of character.

The first piece, which is entitled 'Mantuan Revels, a Comedy,' has nothing in the least comical or ludicrous in its whole compass, except the very dull and ill executed buffoonery of the servants. The rest is mostly in blank verse—and abundantly serious and even tragical in its substance. It has a double plot; and is made up of two very old and well known stories:—one of a man who, by the help of a mask, is made to marry a lady whom he had deserted, instead of one whom he is attempting to seduce; and the other of a whimsical husband, who insists upon his friend putting his wife's virtue to the proof, and rages upon a mistaken idea of her corruption. Both of these deluded persons resolve to revenge themselves on their blameless spouses; and both, er-

roneously imagining that they have murdered them, fall into great agonies of remorse on the discovery of their innocence; and are made quite happy at the catastrophe, by finding that they are still alive. The two stories, it will be observed, have no manner of dependence on each other, or indeed any sort of connexion, except the very accidental and providential one of their happening at the same time in the same city, and of the two supposed murderers being saved from the gallows by the good offices of one common friend, who arranges the resurrection of the slaughtered innocents, and gives them back upon their promises of reformation.

The other Play is 'Henry the Seventh, an Historical Tragedy,' in which, of course, there is as little room for invention as for the observance of the unities. There is infinitely more merit, however, we think, in the conduct of this piece, than of the other. The author gets over his ground rapidly; and has not only condensed a great deal of matter in a short compass, but has marked and contrasted several of the characters with considerable force and felicity. He takes part decidedly against his hero; whom he has represented as more cold, cruel, and selfishly vindictive, than the greater part of the prose histories. He has also made the queen more touching and amiable, and has even approached to the pathetic in the scene of her death.

We have now only to give a few specimens of the peculiar style, for which alone we think this volume is remarkable. The following is a fair example of the obscurity of which we have spoken; and will serve at the same time, as well as any other passage, to show the author's proficiency in copying the general manner of his models. Arsenio, after having insinuated to Olivia that her absent lover Octavio was disposed to be inconstant, proceeds—

'*Ars.* I'll not say
Octavio's false, Octavio loves no more;
That were a very palsy of the mind,
And we should pity him. He is most true.
His eye doth choose the wholesome food it loves;
His pulse doth quicken at Olivia's name:
But 't were a vile infection that could fix
On the immaculate day such blotches
As do deform the ugly night; and read,
In that fair page of nature, such conceits
As blast the maiden rose of innocence,
And make its blushes rank!

'*Oliv.* Our compact, sir.
This is not Peregrino: speak to that.

'*Ars.* Is it not vile, that he, a base-born carle,
An offal of fair breeding, be *confided*
With doubts that injure heaven? Oh, is it meet
That he should brawl them in the stews of Mantua,
And sully Dian in the mantling fumes
Of pestilential wine?' p. 25, 26.

The following speech is still darker; and yet it is of special moment to the play. It is addressed to the wife whom her husband had exposed to the courtship of his friend; and it is upon overhearing this speech, and observing that she listens to it with apparent pleasure, that he becomes satisfied of her guilt. The reader will judge, whether it affords ground for this—or for any other certain conclusion.

'*Ant.* Such love as binds me Claudio's, even with such
Is my soul thine. And prize not less my friendship,
For that the hand of mellow-paced Time
Hath not the wild shoots of its infancy
Plucked from the stem and body of its root.
Oh there be spots upon the wings of Time,
Like meteors on the pitchy face of night,
That shine resplendent off. Occasions, chances,
And all the steeled rubs of this hard world,
Are Fortune's tools whereby she fashions us;
And, from the bulk of our great natures, strikes
Such fiery sparks and flashes of high worth,
As sober day owes not. I have gone through
This brake unseath'd, and what remains of life
Is dedicated yours.' p. 70, 71.

We may add a little from the first scene between this jealous husband and his injured mate; as we think the author's passion for metaphor, and his ambition of rivalling even the most questionable *hardiesses* of Shakespeare, are nowhere more conspicuous. The following does not appear to us the most simple or direct way of saying that there are cares in which the gentle nature of women should not be made participant.

'*Claud.* It is not so. Or, grant it; there are cares,
Which, in the ebb and shallow of our fate,
Beat with such riotous and roaring might
'Gainst our weak sides, that but the well-knit bark,
Whose ribs are of the male and manly oak,
Dares live in such a storm. Women are made
For sunshine holidays, and summer seas.' p. 41, 42.

After a little more of this, he bounces out of the room; and his wife says—

'Does Claudio say so? I have seen him lately
Of every jarring element, that makes
The flaws and disproportions of the world;

And all within the compass of a time
Too short for telling it. Upon his face
All fair things lie in broken perturbation;
Like to the chafed bosom of a lake,
Where nought is seen but storms. Wherefore is this?
For I have known him patient and enduring,
Meek with the meek, though cogent with the strong;
To each what best became him: for his worth,
Praise could not ornament or censure dim;
And, when he woo'd, no tongue misquoted him
But hers who envied.' p. 43.

Then he bounces back again.

'Yet a word, Amanda.
The world's a many-headed Argus. Eyes,
More number'd than the unseen stars which pave
The milky path in heaven, encounter us.
But Argus waked to watch; the world, to damn.
Then be thou chary. Fortune, fairness, youth,
Make censure bold, though even virtue guard it.—
—Some there be,
Not daring to abide with melancholy,
Draw it to shapes of an enforced mirth;
And push by sorrow with so rude a hand,
That they o'erthrow the majesty of grief;
And all the dignity of sufferance lose
In riotous outdoings.—Speak, Amanda!' p. 44, 45.

Upon this the lady offers, if it will please him, to pass the whole time of his absence in solitude. To which he replies—

'That's perilous.
To sequestrate the dear and thinking soul
From its blest fellows! this fair-peopled world
To make a desert of! Such loneness is
The pamper'd nurse of misconceived affections,
And feeds them with her foulness; while the spirit
Grows rank within. Mark when we sit alone,
By hill or valley, forest, mead, or fount,
Or by the rocky murmur of a stream,
Where wild winds make neglectful harmony,
With what retentive might our spirits bound?
Our properties and natures grow thrice over,
Trebly themselves; and all their hues do colour
Our secret'st workings. Not of all our tribe,
Could one escape the tainture. And shall woman,
With less to sway, and more that would be swayed?' p. 45, 46.

The grave and moralizing personages of the play do not speak a plainer language. The following is part of an exhortation addressed to this moody husband in his penitence.

'And what art thou,—
At once thine own deceiver and thy dupe,
The vane that varies, and the blast that shifts it,—
That, of God's presence in thy breast, dost make
A shroud for every sin, a common cloak,
And which the wind of all occasions blows
To cover where thou akest? What was thy day,
Thou makest night; and thou dost grope to lose
That which thy hand hath grasped. What was thy reason,
Thou makest madness; for thou dost maintain
A fever in thy blood, while health remains,
That undoes health. But when the fever comes
That ends the cheat, thoul't tremble to behold
Thou wert so long a dreamer; and must end,
With one short sigh, the vast account with Heaven
Which thy whole life hath kept.' p. 132, 133.

We shall add but two other short passages from this comedy, as exemplifying the range of Mr Chenevix's powers of imitation. The first is addressed to a weeping damsel.

'Let them flow!
The tears of woe oft are as dews, that fall
Upon some sad and sun-distempered seeds
The heedless winds had from their bosom scatter'd;
Which now, conceiving by the pregant drops,
Load all the vagrant air with sweets,—the sweeter,
That once we knew but anguish in the shower.' p. 32, 33.

The other is the concluding speech of the piece, in which the sage friend and monitor of the whole party announces his determination to retire from the world. The diction, we think, a very perfect copy of that of our older dramatists.

'My day is run through; and this holy habit
Binds me till death.—Nay, do not answer me.—
'T is not the bent of a diseased hour,
The times' corruption, nor the world's distaste,
Nor aught of matter thou hast put on me,
As thou perchance might think it, that have wrought
To bid me from the world. 'T is a fixt vow,
Upon a firm, fixt purpose. Fare thee well:
We 'll yet be happy in our several states;
You in the peopled commerce of mankind,
I in my pious service and devotion.' p. 146.

From Henry the Seventh, we can afford but very few citations. The style is equally overrun with figures as in the other piece; and some of them at least as startling and mysterious. The following personification of *opinion* is not over and above intelligible.

'Why then be just, and bridle in opinion.
It is a fiery steed, whose untamed hoof

Doth tread on *circumstance*, and overbound
The mere of fair proportion: if thou master 't,
'T will bear thee bravely; if thou give it rein,
Beware the spur of accident.' p. 176.

The following is unsavoury—

'I shall but taint your cause; and carrion flies,
Drawn by the morbid humour of my mind,
Will suck its marrow.'

The next is of the same flavour—

——— 'And ever 'tis the curse of policy,
Whose scent is rank, that they who once have *smelt it*
Can wind it from afar.'

The following is one of a thousand instances of the forced metaphors that darken and debase the style of this author, with a great waste of wit and ingenuity.

'Th' integrity and soundness of the realm,
Whose mantle, piled to the uncover'd threads,
Is shredded by contention.'

The reflections of the Lord Stanley, when he falls out of the King's favour, are copied rather too closely from those of Wolsey.

——————— 'I have steered
My little bark amid the stormy waves
Of factions, treasons, and conspiracies;
Yet could not 'scape the quick and shallow sands
That lye dispersed in the unseen depths
Of a king's favour. When this sea was smooth,
I trusted it, and dreamed I saw reflected
My image there; but, as I gaz'd upon it,
It sunk beneath me, and upon the point
Of a rude rock it shattered all my fortunes.
Yet I've one plank, and that shall never leave me:
It bears me on the mighty billows' top,
And my soul rides it bravely—Honour.'—— p. 241.

What follows is a good specimen of his more subdued style.

'The attributes and qualities of men
Are children of occasion, which conceives
Our good and evil as the soil wherein
Their seeds do quicken; and their praise or censure
Our time and we must share them. Kings do stand
Within this rule more special, and most special
Henry of Richmond; therefore, curse him not.
Bating his hate to York, he is most prudent,
Valiant, and frugal; just in framing laws,
And less ambitious than he's wise or wary.
Yet after-times will call him cold and cruel;
And add a meaner and a juster charge
To close the tale—that's sordid avarice.' p. 241, 242.

Warbeck's encomium on England deserves to be extracted.

——' Oh now, fair England, learn,
Thou precious jewel in Europa's crown!
Thou Neptune's great vicegerent, and his queen!
Thou nurse of future empires; and thou citadel,
Framed to defend the worth of all mankind!
—Thou reason's temple, freedom's garden, learn!
Never let foreign fiends approach thy heart;
Or foreign syrens sing thee to repose;
Or foreign vampyres suck thy sleeping blood.
They are thy foes that smile, and hate, and envy,
And would bring harm to thee; while all thy good
Flows in thine own rich veins. Seek none but there;
For none will ever be so true to thee,
As thou may'st to thyself.'— p. 261, 262.

We add but a few sentences from the Queen's dying scene. She is speaking to her attendants.

' Love me when I am dead; and love my child,
Whose cherub voice hath toll'd my knell!—His life
Hath been my death. Since he came weeping hither,
I felt my going hence. My funeral peal
Was his first cry;—my darkness is his light!
And, in his small and blessed mould of man,
He hath, to dear exhaustion, sucked from me
My blood, my spirit, and my quintessence,
Leaving a joyful ruin.—Where is he?
He hath not lain upon my heart to-day.
I have not said a prayer o'er him since morning.—
—I'll shortly rest. What can I do so sweet
As die for him I love? It is not death,
'T is life transfused; and I but breathe my soul,
Now rambling through this wide and shattered temple,
Into its dearest shrine.—
— And lo, in this
Might Richmond envy me; for he but lives,
While I die for my child!—
—I'm, on the sudden, weak.
I feel sweet sleep again, and heavenly dreams
Come to invite me.—Lo, I see a cherub
Stretching his little arms—I come, I come—
Stay by my side, and talk as I were with you;
'T will banish idle spirits from my couch.—
If sometimes I were hasty, harsh, unjust,
Pray you forgive me! Heaven forgive me too!
And God bless those who wrong me!—I would see
My child when I am warmer: these cold lips
Would fright him from me.—I shall live to kiss him!—

' *Sir T. Broughton.* Her touch is death,
And she hath breathed her last.—Oh, blessed spirit,
Sweet was thy passage from mortality!
For thou art lovely, calm, and beauteous still!
A holy temple, where, but yesterday,
Thy Maker sat in glory!—for virtue, sweeter
Than all the spicy conserves of the Nile,
Embalmeth beauty 'gainst the rotten breath
Of the corrupted grave. Heaven sets his mark
Upon the brow and forehead of our deeds,
That our last rising may proclaim our worth.' p. 307–312.

These few extracts may serve to give the judicious reader a pretty just conception both of the faults and the beauties of the singular volume before us. It is evidently the work of a person of no ordinary accomplishments and intellectual activity—possessed of considerable taste and fancy—and of a just relish for the higher kinds of poetical beauty;—but actuated, in this instance, by an ambition too lofty to be gratified, or even indulged without hazard, in this age of the world. There is something delicious, however, to our ears, even in the faintest echoes of those enchanting strains which were born in the golden days of our poetry; and our sympathy with the unexpected nationality of Mr Chenevix's taste is so strong and so pleasant, that we are not sure—with all our efforts to be severe—whether we have not said more in his praise than will be sanctioned by judges absolutely impartial.

ART. XII. *Considerations on the Causes, Objects and Consequences of the Present War; and on the Expediency, or the Danger, of Peace with France.* By William Roscoe, Esq. London, Cadell & Davies.

WE will fairly confess, that it is not with a view to enlarge upon the contents of this publication, that we have prefixed its title-page to the present article: But we wish to take an opportunity of once more calling the attention of our readers to that subject, in comparison of which all other political questions sink into insignificancy—the Prospect of Peace. It is long since we discussed this subject at any length; and, even at present, we do not mean to do more than begin the renewed consideration of it,—confident that time will only strengthen the inducements to entertain this question, however it may seem to multiply the obstacles which lye in the way of its decision.

To pretend that there is no doubt or difficulty in the matter—to see only the fair side, namely, the temptations to get out of the war, without looking at the dangers which may arise

from peace, and to shut our eyes against the obvious impediments that retard its accomplishment, must appear to all persons, and most justly, extremely weak and thoughtless. Nor is it less so, to regard this question as depending on fixed, abstract principles, uninfluenced by times and circumstances,—and to speak of Peace as we would of Reform, or the Liberty of the Press, or the Abolition of the Slave Trade. There are, indeed, certain parts of the subject which are of this description. We hold, for instance, that no principles can be better established than those which should lead England to desire conciliation and friendship with all nations not under French influence; and even to seek peace with France herself, as often and as long as her honour and safety will allow. But then it is equally clear, that these principles do not carry us very far on our road towards the practical decision of the question, which must, in every case, resolve itself into an inquiry, whether the proposed time and terms come within this undeniable rule.

Having premised thus much, in order to exempt ourselves from the blame justly attached to those who rather clamour than argue for peace, we may perhaps be permitted to observe, that if there are obstacles, and formidable ones too, to the attainment of that desirable object, in the unparalleled power, ambition, and animosity of the enemy, there are others of no slight account in the feelings, or the forgetfulness of feeling, which have been engendered among ourselves, by the duration and the character of the war, and by the arts of those whose interest it is to prolong it. It is a remark of Mr Hume's, that all the wars which England has ever waged, have been persisted in by her long after the period of their legitimate termination; and it is proper at least to put us on our guard against the hazard of a similar miscalculation in the present circumstances of the world. It does not, indeed, depend entirely on ourselves, whether we shall again have peace in the lifetime of the present generation;—but at whatever time it may happen, it will of course require our cooperation;—and it is a step, and perhaps no slight one on the way to its attainment, to endeavour to dispel those prejudices by which our cooperation might be *unreasonably* withheld, and to bring one at least of the parties to that calm and impartial state of feeling from which there is reason to think that both have departed—though no doubt in very different degrees. With this view, therefore, we now propose, in the first place, to take a deliberate survey of the benefits which this kingdom might reasonably expect to derive from a termination of the war.

This, at first sight, may appear a very idle and superfluous undertaking; but it really is not so. War has become, from

its long duration, almost the natural, certainly the ordinary and habitual, state of the country. It is about twenty years since we were clearly at peace—a period of war quite unexampled in modern history. Equally novel have been the extent and variety of warlike operations, and the consequent excitement of national feeling, by hatred, rage, enthusiasm, glory, curiosity—by the alternations of hope and fear—of sympathy and selfishness—of anxiety before, and self-gratulation after escapes—or despair after disasters. The burthens and actual sufferings entailed by these varied operations, have been proportionably great, and exceeding all former experience—or even imagination; and nations having both done and suffered what would in former ages have been thought impossible, men's minds have become unhinged in all calculations; and they are now prone to believe in absolute impossibilities, for no better reason than that they have already been deceived or mistaken. Consider only the effects of all this, and the strange, diseased, unnatural frame of mind which it has induced. The great bulk of society, that is, of the most active and important class of men, those from twenty to forty years of age, have passed their whole lives, politically speaking, in a state of universal war; and they only know from history, that there ever was such a thing as peace in the world. The rest are, by twenty years' experience—by far the largest portion of their lives, and the latest portion—so far habituated to war, that it requires a strong effort to disengage themselves, and recollect what peace was. Hence the notion generally prevailing of war, is that of a very usual and natural state of things, in which there are regularly a certain number of soldiers raised and killed—sailors impressed and drowned—gazettes with promotions and appointments—victories and defeats—debates about measures of conquest or finance—and taxes heavy, but only gradually increasing. That peace is a sweet prospect—a fine theme to talk about—something vastly delightful if it were possible—all freely admit; but they admit it much as they would the delights of the millennium, without any precise notion of its advantages, or any definite wish for its arrival, or the smallest idea that they shall ever live to see it. The state of war is that which they are accustomed to—things have gone on long so, and may long so continue. We used to think we could never bear a twentieth part as much as we have borne with ease; so we may even go on and bear a little more; and, should nothing worse happen than that things remain as they are, or slowly grow worse, they will last our time at any rate; and we need not be very much alarmed for our own sake or our posterity's. The deep-rooted prevalence of such habits of thinking, makes it quite ne-

cessary that we should begin with stating plainly and fairly, in what manner a peace will affect the country, and come home to the comfort and daily enjoyments of every individual it contains. If this exposition should fail of producing any better effect—if it do not wean men from the love of war, or rather awaken their feelings from the callousness which now binds them—it may at least do thus much for humanity—it may propagate a more universal hatred of those men, wherever they be—over which state soever they are permitted to rule by an offended Deity—whatever country they disgrace by belonging to it—whose ambition or whose foolish intrigues perpetuate the countless, the unutterable miseries of savage war.

There is no need of dwelling upon the ordinary topics connected with this great subject,—that if peace were made, we should no longer send so many of our fellow-creatures to perish by the sword,—that the hearts of thousands would no more ache each time the firing of cannon announced some advantage,—that our seamen would in safety carry our commerce over the world, and no longer be deprived of the privilege of personal liberty;—these, and other things of the same kind, are so obvious as to require no mention, even in an enumeration like the present, the professed purpose of which is to dwell upon trite subjects, and arrest the attention to considerations never very remote from the view. But let us only fix our eyes upon the immediate effects which a peace must produce upon the Commerce and Manufactures of the country.—Does any one wish to have a criterion whereby he may estimate their amount? Let him only look to the recent events—let him contemplate the influence of *a partial pacification*—of the renewal of trade with America, by the repeal of the Orders in Council. He will there see how repugnant war is to the happiness of man. In one day the whole manufacturing counties of England, from a cheerless waste of idleness—listlessness—wretchedness and discontent, became a scene of busy—happy—cheerful and peaceful men. The measures of the government did not remain a dead letter—they were not like some barren victory—or some success gained only to be looked at and talked of—they did not stand forth merely in a Gazette to be stared at, and turned into bad sentences, and worse rhyme—they came home, indeed, to the bosoms of men—they pervaded the cottages of the best part of the country—and hundreds of thousands not only thought that a national benefit had been gained—but, what is ten thousand times better, they felt it in their own persons—for they had bread, and fuel, and covering for themselves and their little ones, instead of starving with hunger, cold and nakedness, as they had done but the moment before.

Perhaps we cannot go beyond this simple appeal to recent facts; yet we must dwell a little longer on the subject. The thousand ways in which trade is impeded and stunted by war, need scarcely to be enumerated. The best trade of every country, is that which it drives with the *nearest* foreign nations. A trade between the provinces of the same country, it is admitted, is of all others the most profitable. The home trade is beyond all doubt more lucrative—in every sense more important to a country, than its whole foreign commerce put together; and the trade between England and France, or England and Holland, is scarcely less advantageous to both, than the trade between England and Ireland, or England and Scotland. No doubt it is advantageous to both; and so must all trade be, otherwise it can benefit neither. The nearness of the market—the consequent safety of the concerns, and the quickness of the returns, is the cause of this great advantage of such branches of commerce over all others. Unfortunately it happens, in the course of human folly and wickedness, that the nearest neighbours are the most disposed to quarrel; and hence we are so often deprived of our best customers, that the general state of our trade is to be driven into the most distant, roundabout, and unprofitable channels. But it would be well if we could only make the experiment for a few years of the best kind of trade—if we could but carry on the commerce which the hand of nature points out to us—and taste for a while its boundless advantages. After twenty years enjoyment of it, we might again get pampered and nice—we might contemn the source of our wealth, and feel disposed to risk its continuance by a rupture;—but, for at least twenty years, there is little doubt that we should feel disposed to slake our thirst of gain at this copious and easy fountain.

It is scarcely possible indeed to imagine the effect which a state of uninterrupted commerce with the Continent, would produce upon the industry and the wealth and the happiness of this country. At the time when it was destroyed, our capital and credit had reached an unexampled height, so that even the war could not subdue it. Under all the disadvantages of universal hostilities, it struggled on, and increased enormously. What would have been the consequences of a continued peace?—What a spring would it now take, if that peace were restored? If, under every disadvantage—if against the most rigid police ever devised for any purpose—if in the face of denunciation of fire and sword, our goods still find and force a way through the iron coasts of the enemy to the hands of their consumers—in what unheard of—what unimagined abundance must they not burst into the markets of the world, if those restrictions were at once

removed? Never were they in any former time so well calculated for this universal diffusion: And if they are so much better prepared for it, equally true is it, that at no former period was the population of the world so anxious—so greedy to receive them. All the enemy's measures would now work in our favour; and the want of British goods which he has inflicted upon Europe, would only make all Europe more insatiable in its demands for them, the instant those measures were at an end. The imagination is lost in contemplating the immense increase of our exports, which must instantaneously follow the cessation of hostilities between France and this country. Nor can it even equally well pursue the infinitely varied and extensive effects of such an augmented commerce upon the wealth and industry of England. It is hard to say whether the land, or the manufactures, or the population of the empire, would gain most by this happy change.

But we wish to confine our attention rather to the comforts of the community, than to what we usually term its resources. We wish to point out in what way each man in the country would be the happier for a peace, rather than to show how far the grand total of national wealth and disposable power would be augmented. Let us then consider, that such an increase of trade and manufactures as we have supposed, would, by augmenting the capital, diminish the profits of the trader, and lower to the consumer the price of every article, whether of necessity, or comfort, or luxury. Every man in trade, or possessed of any income connected with trade—every landed proprietor, and all those depending on land—every manufacturer and his dependants—in short, all the industrious and proprietary classes of the community, including a great proportion of the professions trading on skill and not on capital, would be greatly richer than they now are; while at the same time every consumer—that is, every person in the country—would find that the same money went a great deal further in the purchase of every article of use. Men would gain in both ways therefore; they would have more money in their pockets, and they would have less to pay out of their pockets, for what they wanted to buy. A man who now has five hundred pounds a-year would have six hundred; and would live in the same way as formerly for three hundred instead of four;—he would save by the year three hundred instead of one hundred, to provide for his family, and increase his income at compound interest;—or he might indulge himself and his family in this proportion. This is as undeniable an effect of peace, as any consequence deduced by mathematical demonstration. We do not argue from hence in favour of peace; we do not say that it follows from hence, that

peace should at all events be made; we are merely stating the consequences of making it;—and those consequences follow from the nature of the thing, whether it be attainable or no—whether it be, upon the whole, desireable and adviseable, or no.

We have been speaking of the necessary effects of an extended trade;—but let us only take one illustration from the effects which peace would instantaneously produce upon the trade already in existence, and the circumstances of those who are immediately or ultimately concerned in it. Upon all goods exported and imported, the war occasions a certain sum to be paid under the head of insurance. If the imports of this country amount to forty millions, the insurance upon which in peace might be at a medium two and a half per cent., but in war near five per cent., we have here in the hands of the importer about a million sterling, levied by the expenses of war, in this article alone—(the cost of freight and seamen's wages must be raised in a much larger degree; but we now speak of the comparatively trivial item of insurance alone.) This million, before it reaches the hands of the consumer, is probably trebled; and in many instances the consumer raises his demands on those articles produced by himself, in consequence of his paying higher as a consumer of the imported produce. It is certainly not estimating too high to take the sum paid by the whole consumers of the country, in war insurance alone, at five millions sterling;—a sum large enough to be sensibly felt by every family throughout the kingdom. The additional costs of navigation, from freight and wages, certainly exceed twice that sum, estimated in the same way;—and this calculation refers to the present amount of our trade, and to this one line of consumption.

But let us next view the effects produced upon every man's expenditure by the introduction into all markets of the great and wasteful consumer, to whom war gives, if not existence, at least appetites and purse. It is needless to say we allude to the Government. The expenditure of this country, during the year 1811, exceeded one hundred and four millions—or two millions sterling weekly. Doubtless much of this enormous sum went to pay the interest of the public debt; but had there been no war, there would have been no debt, and the capital thus sunk in barren expense would have gone to fertilize the land, or promote the manufactures of the country. But, grant that we should deduct the interest of the debt, and also the expenses of civil government, which must be defrayed in peace as well as in war, it cannot be doubted that half of the above expense is occasioned by war. And how is it incurred?—Government is in every market. It deals in all articles of consumption—it feeds

and clothes, wastefully, half a million of men—supports a thousand ships with all articles of naval consumption—keeps up barracks and other public buildings in every considerable town—deals by wholesale in stores, and all articles subservient to them—in short, spends fifty millions in the different markets of the empire, more than it would spend in time of peace. We need scarcely add, that governments are not the most careful and economical dealers; and that this sum is at least as much calculated to raise the market, and to make every other person resorting to it pay dearer for what he wants, as if it were distributed among some thousands of individuals, and spent by them with the economy usual among private consumers.

We have only then to figure to ourselves the consequences of such an influx of money into the markets for all commodities;—so many men taken out of every district to labour at an unprofitable calling—so many thousands of persons sent to consume every where without producing—so great a demand, in short, for articles of every kind, and, among others, for labour, which affects all other articles;—and we shall be able to conceive how great an increase in the price of all articles, whether of necessity or enjoyment, is occasioned by the fifty millions of money which the war costs, independent of its other effects in the same way. There is not a family in the empire that does not pay much higher for almost all the articles of consumption which it buys in the course of the week; because the war obliges, and the taxes enable, the Government to frequent all markets, and bid for the things which the expenses of the war require, to the amount of so many millions a year. To say that prices are not affected by the war—is as silly a delusion, if it is not rather as base an imposture, as was ever practised on this very warlike and credulous generation. If the sums now taken from the people, and lavished in war expenditure, were retained by them, they would, in the first place, be spent far more economically; secondly, they would, in a much less degree, go to support mere expenses of consumption—expenses which do not at all reproduce the funds that support them. Expended by the government, those vast sums not only are much more lavishly laid out, but they go entirely to expenses of mere consumption. If the people had them to lay out, the far greater part of them would be employed in supporting some line of industry, which must reproduce the stock with a profit, as well as wages; and, by multiplying the produce of the country, lower the market to the consumer more than the original outlay of the money could have raised it.

To make this plain by an example—Take the case of a village

or country town, in which ten thousand a year is raised by taxes during war, instead of five thousand during peace; and suppose that this additional five thousand is expended in the same neighbourhood on barracks, or soldiers quartered there, and recruited from thence—the consequences would be, first, that the inhabitants would pay more for day labourers and servants, when two or three hundred soldiers are taken from among their numbers; next, that about a hundred pounds a week would be spent in buying bread, meat, ale, and clothing for those men, which would make the rest of the inhabitants pay a good deal higher than if no such hundred pounds were spent at all; but if it were spent by themselves, (who now pay it in taxes), they would not lay it out in buying those articles of consumption further than they wanted them, in order to support more labourers for the purpose of growing more corn, clearing waste ground, or making more cloth and other fabrics, which would tend to lower the prices of those articles at least as much as the spending the money tended to raise them. The expense, too, would be incurred much more judiciously and economically. Thus every one man, woman, and child in the village would live cheaper and more plentifully;—in short, would fare better, and be happier, if this great and wasteful consumer were out of the way; and that without at all taking into the account the circumstance, of all others the most material, that the money which meets them in the market is their own;—that they have furnished at their own charge—to their own great privation and additional loss—the very weapon now used to crush them.

An illustration of these remarks is afforded by the facts which came out in the late inquiry before Parliament. It appears, that about one third of the whole manufactures of Birmingham, and the neighbouring districts, is for the supply of the public service, chiefly in gun and pistol barrels. About eight hundred thousand pounds yearly are thus expended in this district; that is to say, one third of the industry of the district is employed by the money raised in taxes to supply the war; and all articles of hardware are increased in price. Had the same sum been spent in making scythes and sickles, the workmen of Birmingham would have been equally well employed; the capitalists would have derived the same profits; and though the prices of such articles might have a tendency to rise, yet the produce of the country, being increased, would have kept them down; and the other articles of use would have actually fallen in price. Whereas, now, all those thousands are squandered in raising the prices of hardware, and without obtaining any increase in the produce of the country.

We pass over the effects of such a monstrous expenditure, as that of the country now is, in attacking the whole fabric of the constitution. This topic is beside our present plan,—although, surely, in enumerating the comforts of Englishmen, liberty might enter the list; and when discussing the effects of war in lessening our enjoyments, we may be permitted to state the real, practical evils of having, in every corner of the country, a power armed with hundreds of thousands to be spent in such way as best tends to augment its influence, and to crush all attempts at opposing its views. No country gentleman can now feel his weight, or even his independence, as he used to do. He must either be of the *right* side, or he will find himself attacked in his own neighbourhood by some upstart endowed with no brief authority from the public boards—representing the general patrons—entrusted with the disposal of public money, and holding out to the multitude the visible appearance of the organ of that great spendthrift (as Dr Adam Smith calls the Government), upon whose extravagance and wealth so many myriads may always fatten. All this we pass over—not because it is foreign to our purpose, but because we had, on a former occasion, an opportunity of fully exposing its details. We refer the reader to our article on the Influence of the Crown, in the Number for April 1810. It is a detail, and a *practical* one, well worthy of attention at times like the present, when a general election may be expected.

We now hasten to the most material point of view in which this subject can be contemplated. We have been describing the effects of the public expenditure on the general market of the country. Whence do the funds arise by which this market is thus raised against every consumer within the empire? What money is it, wherewithal the government comes into every mart to bid against each of its subjects? Our own money—money taken from each of us by taxes, with the exception of the loans, an exception more apparent than real: For, in the first place, we pay in cash the interest of those loans, and the expenses of making them, and of raising the interest; and next, the government, being the great borrower as well as consumer, meets us in the money market as well as elsewhere, and prevents us from borrowing at the rate at which we might otherwise obtain supplies for carrying on our trade, and stocking our farms—nay, often prevents us from borrowing at any rate; because it frequently absorbs all the money in the market. However, let us merely consider the sums actually taken from the people for the necessary charges of war, and reflect how these demands trench on the comforts of every class of the people

directly and indirectly. This mass of taxation has grown slowly to its present enormous bulk, else it could never have been borne. In 1799, Mr Pitt laid on 10 per cent. upon income; and he raised less money by it than was a few years afterwards gained from a similar imposition of 5 per cent., when the people were more accustomed to the burthen, and the expertness of the tax-gatherers, and the powers and contrivances of the machinery were somewhat more improved. By two other additions, this imposition was brought to its present amount of ten in the hundred; * when it raises, we believe, above twelve millions within the year, or two millions more than Mr Pitt's original calculation; which all mankind, at that time, thought (as it in fact was) utterly extravagant and chimerical. Our other burthens have, in like manner, been gradually, perhaps rather than slowly, augmented; and it seems now to be ascertained, that the grand secret of taxation consists in constantly laying on a little and a little more, with as few changes as possible in the direction of the force—in always screwing the same parts of the machine somewhat tighter, until the work seems just about to give way, and its produce begins to be decreasing. No other mode is likely to be profitable, perhaps none other is very safe. But it is wonderful how much men may be brought, by a process like this, to submit to. The whole powers of the Grand Seignor could not, in any part of his dominions, levy a hundredth part as much as the Parliament in this free country easily raises every time the minister of our limited Monarch walks up to the House of Commons with his budget.

But though these means enable the government to get at the money, and though the subject does not feel its loss at each step so severely as if less frequent, but larger strides were made towards stripping him of his all; and though he is in fact the more able to meet the demands of the State, the slower those demands increase upon him; yet, it would be a great fallacy to

* We here omit the other property-tax paid by landlords, namely, their farmer's property-tax. This absurd and iniquitous tax falls ruinously on the farmer whose lease was granted before the date of the tax; and in all cases where land has, since that time, been let, it has fallen upon the landlord, being deducted out of the rent, which it has either caused to fall, or (what is the common case) prevented from rising as much as it otherwise would have risen. We trust, however, that this tax will be equalized ere long. A greater improvement cannot be conceived;—nor can the House of Commons more worthily employ themselves next session than by inquiring into this subject. Scotland, above all other parts of the empire, can furnish evidence to the oppressive nature of this tax.

think that the total amount of the pressure, at any given moment, is not most severely felt; and still more foolish to doubt the immense relief and joy which the sudden removal, by a peace, would produce; when those burthens would at once be taken off, which many years of war, and many succeeding budgets and financiers have gradually heaped upon the people. It is pleasing, even in fancy, to indulge in the contemplation of such a prospect; and it falls immediately within the scope of the present article to stop for a season and dwell upon it.

Let us, then, confine our view to a few of the burthens which would the most assuredly be taken off, were the war at an end. How far the present great establishment could be safely reduced, may not be a very easy point to determine. Some things, however, are certain. We need have no more loans: We need no longer add twenty millions every year to the principal of the public debt, and one million every year to the sums annually drawn from the people. In the present state of things, this is something. If peace brought no other relief, we should at least be sure that we were not growing every year poorer and poorer. We have lately heard from the highest authority, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the 'credit of the country is labouring.' The declaration was an honest one, and betrayed nothing of the quackery and systematic deception so usual in that high office. But it spoke a melancholy truth, and prepared us for the next avowal, which the same eminent person seems to have made soon after, that we had almost reached the utmost limits of taxation; and that in the impossibility of levying any more from income, the government must now attack the capital of the country; in other words, that some measures must be taken to raise the supplies without a loan; and that, to do this, we must surrender our lands, and looms, and warehouses,—in short, our stock in land, and in trade, and in possession,—thereby diminishing, for ever after, our income in the same proportion, but in a much higher proportion than the government gains or saves by the advance; since the saving is only 5 per cent. yearly to government; while to the capitalist the loss is 10 per cent. on whatever be the rate of his profits; diminishing, for the future, taxes on income in this higher proportion. When things are come to such a state as this, we may predict either a speedy stoppage of supplies beyond those already raised, or infinite confusion and misery to the country. It is something, then, to be rescued from this woeful alternative;—to spare the country, on the one hand, the open discomfiture of *stopping*, as it were, with all the evils arising from hence to public credit; or, on the other, to save

the people from an intolerable addition to their already scarcely bearable load.

Next, the loans being stopt, the sinking fund goes on every year redeeming a vast amount of capital debt. Thus, next year it will redeem between thirteen and fourteen millions. To interfere with this fund while new loans are yearly contracted, and while the war lasts, would be highly dangerous to public credit;—it would augment the disadvantages under which we continue to borrow;—it would lower the value of the stock already funded. But in time of peace, it might be quite safe to consider the sinking fund as high enough, when it had reached fifteen millions—or even twelve millions; and to set free taxes in proportion to the present surplus, and to the growing excess of the fund. This latter arrangement would enable government next year to take off taxes to the amount of between one and two millions a year; and every subsequent year, to strike off taxes to the amount of above half a million: so that, in three years, above three millions yearly of taxes would be repealed by this operation alone, while the capital of the debt was annually diminished by twelve millions: * Or it might be thought more expedient to take off at once taxes to the amount of five millions, leaving the sinking fund, of between eight and nine, to begin and go on again at compound interest, as before. In either way, the public credit would be safe, and a great weight would be removed from the people. Such a reduction would at once get rid of some of the most oppressive parts of the consolidated fund—such as the worst parts of the excise and customs; and afford unspeakable relief to the poor and middling classes of the people. In this reduction might also be comprehended the most odious of all our taxes in a moral point of view—the lottery.

But we have not as yet come near the War Taxes.—Let us pass over other matters to get at them. Although the extent of the peace establishment may not be easily estimated, yet, that the whole of the militia, and a great part of the navy, with a considerable part of the army, might be reduced, is sufficiently clear. We shall take these reductions with the reductions in foreign subsidies, as amounting to only twenty millions, exclusive of the loans. This is leaving a very high peace establishment; for it leaves about sixty-five millions, which is above thirty-five millions for expenses over and above the interest of the debt; subject, however, in that item, to the deductions aris-

* The original plan of Mr Pitt proceeded upon some such principle; at least, it fixed a certain limit, beyond which the fund should not increase.

ing from an arrangement of the sinking-fund. This twenty millions, taken from the present burthens of the people, would indeed be a gladsome change. First, away goes the most grievous of all our taxes—the property tax; and then we are relieved from the greater part of the assessed taxes. It would of course be the duty of government to take off those burthens which press the most heavily, and are the most unequal in their operation, and the most repugnant to sound principles of taxation;—burthens imposed during the hurry and pressure of war, and often from want of better expedients, and want of time to look abroad for them. But the relief from the property-tax, and the worst of the assessed taxes, would surely be instantly given; and it is perhaps scarcely necessary to say more respecting the blessings of peace. There are so many people, however, who can understand nothing till it be set before them in a special case, that we must be excused for going a little farther into detail.

The sufferings which we all endure from the present weight of taxes may be illustrated in various ways. The middle orders, in all parts of the country, no longer live in their former comfort. Their enjoyments are universally abridged—the comforts of their station are curtailed—and the defalcation begins to touch even on what may be called necessaries of life. Take an instance or two. How few families now drink wine as they were wont to do a few years ago! How many of a lower description go without their share of butcher meat! We have no sort of doubt that the tailors in London receive at least a fourth part fewer orders for clothes than they used to do;—indeed we understand this to be the fact from persons who have inquired. With shoemakers it is different,—because the article they make cannot be saved; and, accordingly, the government has thought fit to lay on it a tax which must affect the price of labour, prove unequal and oppressive to the lower orders, and fail to bring in any material addition to the revenue. Again—How little do fathers of families now lay up for their children, compared with what they used to save?—But we will take a view of this subject which strikes us as being very well worthy of attention. A man earns his income, we shall suppose, by some laborious profession, in which skill is required as well as diligence—and, hardest of all, in working his way to eminence or even mediocrity, in which he has toiled through years of obscurity, poverty, and sorrow. He is at length arrived at the point when he can live by his genius; but must labour—aye, and think and contrive also, in order to compass the object—(for what is the pain of bodily labour compared to the fatigues of the mind; and

more especially those fatigues which are encountered in the exercise of skill and genius, as well as mere industrious plodding?)—And now he may thus occupy himself, and tear his mind as it were in pieces for five long weeks, almost day and night; and after running all risks of failing in each attempt, he may be so far successful as to earn the average gains of his employment: At the end of the period he has this soothing reflection—'I have been all this while toiling and inventing and 'adventuring, and I have, after much fear and anxiety, succeeded well. *I have gained exactly enough to pay my property tax for this one year, and no more.* My subsistence, 'and that of my family, during these five weeks, is unprovided 'for. This must fall upon the rest of the year's work, which 'I shall have to myself, after thus labouring for the state.'—'No, indeed you shall not,' says the collector of Assessed Taxes;—'you will now be pleased to work five weeks more on '*my* account.' Here then are ten weeks taken out of his year, and devoted to the service of the government,—in order that the war for our happiness and security may be gloriously carried on, by well-pensioned ministers and luxurious princes, and a set of harpies who fatten in idleness and sloth on our very vitals. During those ten weeks he has made nothing for the current expenses; those must be divided among the rest of the weeks;—and we should therefore make a still larger deduction. Here, too, we are reckoning nothing for the ordinary taxes, nor even taking the whole of the war taxes. But, moderate as the estimate is, we think it sufficient to awaken men to a feeling consideration of their intimate connexion with the state. The person whose case we are figuring to ourselves, may have toiled during the dog-days, and during the bitterest cold of the most inclement season;—he may have exposed himself at sea for a West India voyage and back again;—he may have followed the standards of his country during a whole campaign,—bled in its service, and covered himself with sweat and dust for a summer, or pined away under the less glorious warfare of epidemics and marshes during the hospital season;—he may have worn away his mind, as well as his body, in forensic pursuits; or wasted the midnight oil in preparing amusement or instruction for his countrymen. His risks of failure may be over—his anxieties at an end—all his hopes gratified. He may have escaped destruction, and preserved his reputation;—and when all is thus happily ended, he has the consoling, the pleasing reflection, that he has encountered all these perils and chances, and undergone all these toils, and racked both his body and his brain—in the service of the Exchequer!—in gathering

together a sum, every farthing of which he must pay over to the public funds, for the privilege of toiling as hard during the other months of the year, in order to support himself and his family; and, at the same time, (for Government does not quit him here), to support, by more contributions, the ordinary expenses of the state. Perhaps we underrate the public burthens when we say that he labours two thirds of his life for the Treasury; but we are now confining ourselves to the share which the present war has in his labour, and speak not of the ordinary and necessary charges of government, and the still heavier expenses which former wars have entailed upon us. *

Let us then, without going further into the detail, only figure to ourselves the innumerable comforts which every man in the country would derive from such happy changes as these: And in order to comprehend their benignant influence the more clearly, let us take the case of a man of five hundred a-year, with a family, whom he now barely supports on this once comfortable income—a man now sinking into the lower, from the middle orders of society, under the pressure of the measures adopted (most likely with his own blind concurrence), for the purpose of preserving to him the blessings of social order, and to save his property from pillage. At present, he pays fifty pounds a-year in property-tax, and not so little as fifty pounds more in assessed taxes. In indirect taxes and others, which an arrangement of the sinking fund may repeal, he probably pays fifty pounds more; and the depression of trade, and expenditure of government, in the way above described, in all probability does not cost him less than another fifty pounds. It is clear that this estimate is not too high. Can any one doubt that, twenty years ago, a man was as well off with three hundred a-year as he now

* It would not be an easy matter to calculate how much of each man's income is actually paid to the government, and goes in supporting placemen—necessary, and useless—and in maintaining '*just and necessary wars.*' But some approximation to it might be obtained, if any one, whose scale of living had not varied, were to keep an account of his whole expenses for one year; and, putting of course in one account his contributions to the state in the form of direct taxes, were to note the difference between his other expenses this year, and twenty years ago, and then to deduct one fourth from the increase for the depreciation of money:—Another way would be, to take the prices of ten or twelve articles of ordinary use, at the two periods, and deduce from the increase as before:—In these cases we should learn the advance in the demands of government since the beginning of the war. We cannot get at the *total* expense which the state costs us, without a much more complicated estimate.

is with five? He was, in fact, better off than he would now be with six hundred a-year. The depreciation of money is one cause, and renders this change in part only nominal. But this depreciation is only a small part of the evil: for, let us take the rise of the market price of bullion above its mint price, as the best criterion of the allowance to be made on this score—it is not much more than in the proportion of three to four;—so that a man of three hundred a year, in 1792, was only as well off as he would now be with four hundred, if nothing were to be reckoned but the depreciation of the currency;—instead of which, there is a further difference to be allowed for, of two hundred pounds a-year—for he was certainly, before the war, as well off as he now would be with six hundred a-year. This further difference is real, and not nominal;—it can only have arisen from the war, with its necessary concomitants of taxes direct and indirect, and the increase of prices, by the wasteful consumption and unproductive expenditure of the government. Now, we are supposing a much less increase than the proportion of three to five;—we are only taking five to seven.

One man of five hundred a-year, then, would, by the first operation of the peace, save a clear two hundred a-year: He would be as comfortable, in those particulars which we have above stated, as if, with the present taxes and expenditure, a clear two hundred were added to his income: He would have his whole five hundred to spend upon his own family and comforts, or to lay up in providing for them; or in augmenting his own capital, and afterwards his income;—and with this reflection, that, by increasing this income, he was making a clear addition at each step to his disposeable funds, and not an addition—such as he now must make, if he makes any at all—one which the government is to step into, and share. Such is the degree in which his situation will be bettered, in comparison of his present condition. But if we compare it with the state to which a continuance of the war must infallibly reduce him, the contrast is still more striking: For, should this contest last a few years longer, his five hundred pounds will assuredly be ground down to two; and, considering the comparison as made between his condition five years hence, if the war lasts, and at the same period if peace is speedily made, and continues,—we certainly do not go too far when we say, that, in the latter case, his income will go much more than half as far again as it can reasonably be expected to do on the former supposition. He will be better off by above one half in the one case, than in the other;—his five hundred a-year will go as far as above eight hundred then would.

Let it not then be thought that we are very well off—that the burthens of war may still be cheerfully borne—that the notion of peace needs not enter our thoughts: for it is chimerical,—and, were it within our reach, its blessings are greatly exaggerated. —Chimerical it may be, and beyond our reach: but to exaggerate its blessings is not easy. They can scarcely be too strongly stated;—they are real and solid—they come home to every man's whole happiness and comfort—they mix themselves up with his whole scheme of life—he is concerned in them at each turn. Were they indeed in his possession, he might feel them at every breath he draws. He would be a changed man; and every feeling and action of his existence must necessarily be affected by the alteration. The sudden acquisition of wealth by a beggar, is a kind of proverbial expression, to paint happiness that scarcely can be described: It seldom, indeed, is realized: We dream of it—or fancy it—or read of it in the fancies of others. But the change which a peace must needs effect in the circumstances of each man in the country, approaches as nearly as may be to this figure;—it would be as sudden, and substantially as great. So unnatural is the vast pressure of burthens under which the long duration of war has laid us, that a relief from the load would produce effects scarcely within the common course of events—effects more resembling the romantic feats of men under the influence of supernatural agency, than the known scenes of real life. If any one, however, doubts whether, in our deductions, we have not got beyond realities, and suspects that we have been carrying him, by a long circuitous route, out of the true path, let him but retrace his steps, and he will find there has been no deviation;—or, if he is weary and unwilling to plod back his way, we shall show him a short cut homeward from the point at which we now stand—a path that clearly takes him at a single step back again to undoubted realities—the Property-Tax and the Assessed Taxes.

Now we naturally are led to conclude, that blessings of such a kind as those which we have been contemplating, ought not to be withheld from the people of this country, if it be possible to bestow them. But before considering how far this is possible, we must observe, that one other inference arises out of the foregoing deductions;—we mean, that the purchase of advantages so incalculable, ought not to be declined on account of ordinary costs and risks. And this is obvious, from one simple consideration, that, independent of the immense actual gains of the purchase, by refusing it we shall infallibly expose ourselves to very great risks, and incur immense losses. On this subject we touch lightly, because it leads us over suspected and dangerous

ground. But one cannot avoid remarking, that they who talk so much of the danger of foreign invasion, in the bosom of peace, and attacks on a great country *unprepared*—an island, too, mistress of the sea—by a power little famous for naval feats—speak of things not the most likely to happen:—while he who should allude to the dangers of commotion from general misery—of the people sinking into sullen despondency under their burthens—of the chances of confusion, by an overthrow of our 'labouring credit'—of indisposition towards the contest brought on by the apathy of distress—would speak a language—not indeed very palatable, but somewhat more near to reality, and perhaps better adapted to the times. The honour of the country, indeed, must not be yielded for any consideration;—but it stands too high to be brought into question by its government yielding to the just and natural wishes of the people, and consenting to meet a powerful adversary half way in the attempt to give peace to the world. We are known to be invincible—we have even been victorious;—but we are mortal, and cannot destroy our antagonist. Then what shame is there in terminating a contest, in which we can no more conquer him, than he can subdue us?—But, he is not sincere in his offers?—We may at least try him. If he only offers us terms, the acceptance of which cannot commit us—cannot place us in a situation different from our present, or at least deprive us of one position which, on the rupture of the peace, should he really prove faithless in his offers, we could not instantly resume.

We are thus naturally led to examine the late overtures of the French government. But this is too large a subject to be handled at the close of so long an article. We must therefore reserve it for a separate discussion in our next Number. Suffice it, in the mean while, to remind our readers, without entering upon the details of the question, of one or two of its leading features.—The negotiation in 1806 broke off upon Sicily;—and now France gives up Sicily entirely to the dynasty which we patronize. The peace of Amiens was broke for Malta;—and France now consents that Malta shall finally, wholly, and for ever be ours. Again, the war was begun to save Egypt from the enemy's power;—yet the enemy now abandons all thoughts of Egypt. We held out Egypt as important—not on its own account, but because it was the key to India;—but France shows so little desire to enter into that country, that she allows us to retain our whole conquests there, and gives up whatever she there possessed; excluding herself now, and her allies and subjects, even from that footing in Asia, which we ourselves allowed her to have at the last treaty. The former peace was interrupted by the

French colonial schemes;—but France has now lost every thing like a colony, both in the East and in the West. Holland, too, has lost her foreign settlements. Every one of those, both French and Dutch, is in possession of England;—and France consents to our keeping them all. Formerly, and especially in 1806, Spain was French; and Portugal was believed to be so exposed, that the best we could expect was the emigration of the Braganzas to Brazil, and the incorporation of Portugal with the French power in Spain. Yet, then, we should have made peace, if Sicily had been out of the question; though any treaty which could have been made, must have left the whole Peninsula at the nod of France, to be ruled by her in peace, to be occupied by her arms, or directed against us by her councils, the moment the treaty should be broken. Now the obstacle of Sicily is removed; and the French armies, withdrawing from the Peninsula, offer to leave Portugal to the Braganzas, and Spain to a king wholly unpopular, with a rebellion in his country, and an armed people hating France as cordially as they love England. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies, too, the most valuable parts of their empire to us, are saved from all chance of French interference. But the new king of Spain is to be a Frenchman!—And who is the actual sovereign of Sweden?—But we are bound in honour to the rightful king of Spain! Indeed! The rightful king is Charles; and we have made a treaty with his son, who is only heir-apparent to the monarchy. But, to Ferdinand we are bound by this treaty! Then, let us hear no more of objections to a Buonaparte ruling in Spain: For if we have any sense or manly wisdom left—if we argue and think like statesmen, from views of policy, and not from childish dislikes and effeminate prejudices against houses—we can only object to Joseph because he is influenced by France; while, in truth, Ferdinand, notoriously as weak as the weakest of princes, has in all probability been schooled into French views by a five years apprenticeship; and, even if we could trust his honour, his weakness is sure to dispose of him. Let us not, then, deceive ourselves. We are at war for Ferdinand the Seventh. We have unwarily made a treaty; and though the very persons for whom we stipulated, as well as the circumstances under which our obligations were contracted, are totally altered, we adhere to the words of the articles; because they furnish a pretext for continuing a war, which we seem resolved only to give up when our utter ruin compels us to be wise too late.

The truth is, then, that our engagements with Spain and Portugal are not the causes of our continuing the war, but the effects of our determination to continue it—not the substantial

obstacles to peace, but pretexts and occasions for justifying our disinclination to it. The war is continued now, partly, and we are afraid in no small degree, from feelings of rancour and animosity, and partly from an apprehension that, in the neighbourhood of such a power as France, we are *safer* with our arms in our hands, than without them. The only intelligible motive for our wishing to persist in hostilities, is a regard to our ultimate security. We do not mean to deny the weight of this motive; or to assert, that it is altogether absurd to connect it with this effect. The question is no doubt full of anxiety; yet we do not think that if the particular and accidental causes which actually produced the war had not existed, it would ever have occurred to any one, that this mere general danger, arising from the greatness and ambition of France, would have justified us in violating a subsisting peace; that the mere greatness of our neighbour (for ambition is inseparable from power) would have been a good cause for declaring war against her; or that this anticipation of hostility was the best way to avoid the dangers which could be produced by hostility alone. It should be remembered also, that we are not to throw away our arms, though we should cease to wield them; and that it is a very different thing to part with our means of defence, and to suspend that vehement and eager exertion of them by which they are exhausted and impaired.

In the foregoing enumeration of the advantages of peace, if we should seem to have made a statement all on one side, and deferred the question of practicability, let it be observed, that we have cautiously abstained from perhaps the strongest view of the question. We have said nothing of the present unexampled distresses of the country. We have not availed ourselves of the prospects held out by those distresses, so unfavourable to a protracted warfare. Undoubtedly, the reconciliation with America, which has happily been forced upon the government by the people, and which the Americans will, if necessary, force on their government, alleviate, in a great degree, those dreadful sufferings. But no man who has attended to the facts of the late inquiry can doubt that much of the misery so feelingly exhibited in the course of it, is owing to the general features of the war; and we believe it is well known that the spirit of peace has risen up in the country rapidly—it may be irresistibly—along with the spirit of American conciliation.—They who think that the country will stop short, and be satisfied with a partial pacification, are probably somewhat mistaken. The people have begun to open their eyes wider and wider, as the markets abroad shut for their wares, and the markets at home

rise for necessaries and comforts. They come more and more to their senses, about victories and balance of power, as money grows scarce, and the tax-gatherer comes his ceaseless round. They have learnt a little of their true interests of late; and they have learnt, too, a good deal of their real strength. They have gained an unparalleled victory over the pernicious measures of their rulers—a triumph over the Government itself. And they will not rest satisfied with one success, or one mark of their power: —They will look forward from conciliation with America—to a General Peace.

ART. XIII. *The Speech of Henry Brougham Esq. M. P. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 16th of June* 1812, *upon the present State of Commerce and Manufactures.* 8vo. pp. 59. London; Longman & Co. and Ridgway. 1812.

IN some of our former Numbers, we entered into a pretty full consideration of these celebrated Orders; and endeavoured to point out the effects which were likely to arise from their adoption, and to be consequent on their being persevered in. As usual, the watchword of Government was let loose upon us; and we were accused of wishing to lower the flag of England to her former rebellious colonies; and, in conjunction with our Transatlantic brethren, to aid Bonaparte in his views of universal empire:—and this because we were wanting in that *truly British feeling*, which is ready to sacrifice every opinion to that of the Minister of the day. Notwithstanding all this—and all that has since happened—we feel it incumbent upon us once again, and we confidently trust for the last time, to call the attention of our readers to the consideration of this subject;—though certainly with no view of taking credit for the verification of our former predictions, or of expressing any exultation at a triumph attended by so many circumstances of humiliation. We hope, indeed, that it never will again fall to our lot to contemplate such a picture as is presented in the printed evidence which was given to the two Houses of Parliament, and which now lyes before us. Such a scene of unmixed and extended misery, we will venture to say, was never before exhibited to the government of any nation, as the direct result of its own infatuated policy;—and the satisfaction of knowing, that this dreadful exhibition at last wrung from their authors the reluctant repeal of those disastrous enactments, is sadly allayed, not only by the recollection of their effects, but by the consideration, that the government is still in the hands of those who projected and defended them.

From the evidence which is now before us, it appears that there is no manufacture, or form of industry, in this industrious and manufacturing nation, which has not been affected, and that in the most melancholy manner, by these measures. The attempts of Bonaparte to injure our commerce, have indeed been successful in a degree which few could originally have imagined; —but, when compared with the exertions of our own Government in the same cause, they sink into contempt and insignificance. He has merely lopped off a few of the branches of that fair and flourishing plant;—but we have laid the axe to the root; and shaken every limb and member of that commerce, upon which our freedom and renown, as well as our wealth and prosperity, so materially depend.

It appears in evidence, that the baneful effects of the Orders in Council equally affected the woollens of Wiltshire and York, the hardwares of Birmingham and Sheffield, the stockings of Nottingham and Leicester, the carpeting of Kidderminster, the cottons of Manchester and Glasgow, and the silk goods of Spitalfields; and, reaching even to the remote shores of Inverness, swept off in their course the coarser manufactories of Fife, Forfar, and Kincardine. The range of the evil through all the classes of society was not less fatal and comprehensive; and though the chief load and excess of misery fell upon the operative manufacturers, whose emaciated countenances, and naked and unfed children, shocked the eye of the traveller in what used to be the busiest and most cheerful districts of the country—yet the capitalist, the merchant, and the master manufacturers of all degrees, had each their share of suffering. It is pleasing, indeed, and consolatory, in the midst of such a scene as is disclosed by the evidence before us, to see in how many instances the latter description of persons continued to give employment to their workmen, long after they ceased to make any profit by their labours; and even went on for a great length of time to maintain them, at a loss to themselves. There is no national distinction so honourable, as that of breeding a race of men among whom such conduct confers no distinction.

In endeavouring to impress upon the public mind the great and useful lessons that are furnished by the subject before us, we must bring to their recollection the history of these Orders, and of the arguments by which they were supported; and then try to explain, in a very few words, the manner in which they produced the deplorable effects to which we have alluded, and the nature of the advantages that may still be expected from their recall. In contemplating such a discussion, it was impossible for us not to look to the publication, the title of which we have

put at the head of this article, as the groundwork of what we have to submit upon this subject; not merely on account of the intrinsic merit of the Speech, but from its being impossible to come to the consideration of this momentous question, without feeling, that it was to the great and splendid exertions of Mr Brougham, both at the Bar and in the Senate, that the success which has attended the case of the petitioners against these measures was mainly owing; and that it has thus fallen to his lot to confer a greater benefit on the great bulk of the community, than it was ever before in the power of an individual to bestow.

By far the most remarkable circumstance in the singular history we have to detail, is the exact and indisputable accomplishment of all that the opponents of the measures in question originally predicted as to their effects. It rarely happens, indeed, in the history of politics, or of political opinions, that the consequences anticipated from any event have followed in a train so unequivocal; or that the cause and effect have been so clearly traced in their connexion. The facts, however, were here too evident to admit of denial; and no other event intervened, to which it was possible to ascribe the calamities we were suffering. The period between the issue of the Orders and the distress which ensued, was so short as to strike every one with the idea of their connexion; while the variations which took place in our trade—the ebbings and flowings of our distress—tallied so exactly with the greater or less degree of strictness with which they were enforced, as to bring conviction to the minds even of the most bigotted. The lesson, then, which we have now been taught, is not of a dubious or inconclusive nature; and the experiment, however rashly undertaken, and however costly in its progress, has been complete, and its result unequivocal. If any one at all acquainted with the subject could entertain any doubt of the fact, we would merely request him to compare the predictions of Mr Brougham, in his speech at the bar of the House of Commons, in April 1808, as to what was likely to be the effect of the Orders in Council, if persisted in, with his statement of the facts, established by the evidence given at that bar during the last session; when we think he must admit, that there never was any coincidence so perfect and decisive, nor any case in which it was less possible to explain the phenomena by any variety of supposition.

It may not be quite useless to remind some of our readers that these Orders in Council took their origin in a decree promulgated by Bonaparte at Berlin, on the 21st November 1806; by which, in the usual style of that personage, he declared the

United Kingdom to be in a state of blockade; that all commodities of English origin, or belonging to Englishmen, were good prize; and that no ship from England or her colonies, or which should have touched there, should be admitted into any harbour belonging to France, or occupied by her troops. This bravado was followed, on our part, by an Order in Council, dated 9th January 1807, by which we interdicted neutrals from the whole coasting trade from one part of France to another: and in November 1807, a series of new orders was promulgated, by which we declared that we would permit no trade with France and her dependencies, except through England; all neutrals bound to these countries being required, in the first instance, to touch at our ports, and pay a duty to our Government; and that every vessel which had a certificate of origin on board should be declared lawful prize. To which extraordinary edict France finally replied by what has been called the Milan Decree, declaring in substance that any vessel which, in any way, submitted to our Orders of the 11th of November, or which had been searched in the course of her voyage by an English cruizer, should be considered as lawful prize. This is the sum of these unprecedented enactments; and the consequence was, that between the French Decrees and the English Orders, all neutral trade was effectually annihilated.

This issue, it is admitted, was not only extremely oppressive towards the unoffending neutral, but disastrous to both the belligerents; and most disastrous, of course, to that which had most commerce, and depended most upon its prosperity. Accordingly, there never have been but two apologies attempted for those measures of ours by which it was brought about. In the first place, that the trade of the neutral with us being already destroyed by the Berlin Decree, it was *not against our interest* to destroy his trade with the enemy; and, secondly, that we had *a right* so to destroy it, as a measure of retaliation against that enemy, and a means of forcing him into an abandonment of his first unjust aggression. Now, of those apologies, the first is founded in an untrue assumption, and pursued to an absurd conclusion; and the second has been renounced and retracted in the most unequivocal manner, by the subsequent proceedings of our own Government. A word or two will make all this manifest. France was absolutely impotent on the seas; and therefore her declaration of blockade, and her threat of making prize of all neutrals attempting to enter our ports, was a mere empty threat—alike ridiculous and harmless to us and to the neutral. Our direct trade with the neutral, therefore, was no more destroyed by that declaration, than our lives or comforts

could be destroyed by the Pope's excommunication. Our trade with France itself, indeed, by means of the neutral, might be more effectually prevented. But it was pretty obvious, that while the neutral was encouraged to trade directly with us, and the demand for our goods continued so eager all over the Continent, a thousand opportunities would be found for evading those prohibitions. It was our business, therefore, to encourage the neutral, and to assist him in finding those opportunities. Instead of this, however, we issue a series of orders, the obvious and necessary effect of which is to drive the neutral flag entirely from the ocean, and to cut off not only what remained of our indirect trade with the Continent, but our whole direct trade with the neutral, the only foreign commerce that was left to us.

Such was the character of our measures, considered as measures of commercial policy; but the favourite apology for them has always been, that they were measures of *retaliation* against France, and intended to coerce her into justice, by the distress they would inflict on her. Now, on this we have just three little observations to make. 1*st*, Her decrees neither did nor could prevent our direct trade with the neutral; and therefore there was no injury inflicted which could be retaliated by cutting off her direct trade with the same party. Her decrees were mere nominal interruptions to our trade—but our Orders were a real annihilation of hers;—the retaliation, therefore, was like answering a cracker with a bomb. 2*dly*, Considering the population, the government, and the territory of France, the idea of distressing her, or affecting her councils, by cutting off her trade with America, was obviously quite chimerical and absurd. But, 3*dly*, The experiment was abandoned, and the whole plan of *retaliation* substantially retracted in a few months, by our adoption of the system of *Licenses*,—by which we permitted French sailors and French vessels to carry on that trade from which we had excluded the neutral, upon the sole ground of the necessity of cutting off all trade, directly or indirectly, with the French empire. And finally, in April 1809, when the license system was fully matured, we openly rescinded our Orders of November 1807, and substituted in place of them a general blockade of the greater part of Europe, which we enforced rigorously against all neutrals, but dispensed with in favour of the enemy, whose distress was its only pretext, and with whom we carried on an immense direct trade, under the cover of licenses.

The absurdity of this conduct, in a commercial point of view, and its flagrant unfairness towards the neutral, do not require any exposition; but it is really surprizing, that its tendency to forward the enemy's great object of the creation of a navy, should have attracted so little observation. While things were left in the natural

state to which the war had reduced them, and the communication between the belligerents was permitted to remain in the hands of neutrals, he might build indeed as many ships as he thought proper, but he could have no seamen accustomed to navigation wherewith to man them. By our system of licenses, however, he was enabled to get over this difficulty. He for a time took a certain quantity of our colonial produce and manufactures, such indeed as best suited his own purposes, making us at the same time take in return, a certain portion of the raw produce of his own states, as bore most heavily on his home market:—But this intercourse was carried on *entirely* in French vessels, navigated by French sailors; and our new policy astonished the world with this extraordinary spectacle, that when the French flag was swept from off the seas by the superiority of our navy,—when even the neutral flag had been banished, in order to cut off France from all the resources of trade, our ports were filled with French ships and French sailors, whom we were fostering up in order that they might on some future day again contest the empire of the ocean with our present invincible navy! And thus after having driven the Americans from their neutral trade, in order that France might be starved into reason and submisison, we allowed Frenchmen themselves to enter the ports, from which our kinsmen were excluded; and supplied their hospitals with medicines, their soldiers with clothing, and their armies with muskets; while we took back silks which ruined our own manufactures,—laces which drove our own out of the market,—and corn which hurt the enterprize and zeal of our own farmers in the conversion and cultivation of their wastes.

We have hitherto alluded only in a general way to the effects which those proceedings of ours necessarily produced on the councils of America; but it is of importance to mark *the dates* a little more precisely. The intention of the English government to adopt some violent measure against the commerce of France was known at Washington towards the beginning of December 1807. And upon the 22d of that month an embargo was laid upon all American vessels in the ports of the United States.—This measure was succeeded upon the 4th of March 1809, by an act, by which all intercourse was forbid between that country and the two hostile countries of France and England. In April in the same year, in consequence of an arrangement made by Mr Erskine, that act was suspended as to this country by the President's proclamation. In consequence of the disavowal of Mr Erskine's negociation on the part of the British government, the non-intercourse, as to this country, was renewed on the 10th of August 1809.—On the 1st of May 1810, Congress, by an act, repealed this law as to both belligerents,

with a promise, that if the terms which were therein held out, namely, the revocation of their respective orders or decrees, was not complied with by a certain day, some measure of retaliation should be adopted against both or either belligerent, as the case might be. The French government acceded to the terms in a manner to satisfy the American government, which fact was announced by a proclamation of the President, dated November 2d, 1810. And in consequence of our adhering to our measures of severity, an act passed in Congress, on the 2d of February 1811, by which all importation into the United States, of goods, manufactures, and produce of these kingdoms was prohibited; and this continued to be the state of matters down to the 23d June 1812, when, in consequence of the evidence and the speech now before us, the whole of our obnoxious Orders were repealed. In order to judge of the true practical effects of these Orders, therefore, we must see what was the actual state of our trade, and what variations it experienced between the 11th of November 1807, and the 23d of June 1812, a period of four years, seven months, and twelve days;—more eventful to the commercial interests of this country than any other period of its history; and which we hope will be sufficient to warn our rulers, in all time coming, how dangerous it is to tamper with the accustomed channels of trade, and how ruinous to put regulations upon an intercourse which can never be profitable any longer than it is free.

The first question which appears to have been put to all the witnesses which were examined by the House of Commons was, In what state is that particular branch of trade in which you are engaged? The answer was universally, In a very bad state, or entirely at a stop.—The next question was, When did it begin to fall off? Answer, In the year 1808.—It was then asked, Whether their trade continued to decline from that period up to the time the question was put? To which the answer invariably was, No—at the time of Mr Erskine's negotiation it improved; and during the rest of that year it was very good—we got rid of all our stock.—It was further asked, What has been its state since that period? Very bad, indeed—we have not shipped a single article since February 1811.—What are you doing now? Manufacturing for stock.—It was then stated in substance by all the witnesses who were examined, that they had continued most of their men at the same wages, but at a reduced number of days in the week. But they added, that unless the inquiry then depending ended in a repeal of the Orders in Council, they would be obliged, in spite of every feeling to the contrary, to discharge nearly the whole of their hands: But that if the Orders were repealed, they would, without farther

orders, ship directly for the United States; for such was the direction of their correspondents.—By comparing the dates with those of the different acts of the American government, it will be clearly seen how intimately our commercial prosperity depends upon our intercourse with that country, and how much their wants must be dependent on our supply;—a reciprocity of wants between two countries rarely to be met with, and which nothing but the most indiscreet conduct, on the part of their respective governments, can destroy.

Among the facts established by the evidence before the two Houses of Parliament, the following are particularly striking and important; and we must intreat the serious attention of every thinking man in the community to them.

1. The very great accumulation of capital in America, which was proved to have taken place to a large extent.

2. The introduction of many of those branches of manufacture which were formerly supplied from this country; * arising partly from this great increase of capital, but more from the stoppage of all supply of manufactured articles from England.

3. The prompt payment now common by all American merchants for the goods they purchase, as further illustrative of this accumulation of capital.

4. The very important fact, which was spoken to by many of the witnesses, that the rapidly increasing market of America was not only sufficient to give full employment to those who were originally concerned in this trade, but that those who were originally engaged in the trade with the continent of Europe always found a ready market in the United States, when they were by any accident debarred for a time from that of the continent, until at last they transferred the whole of their capital to articles fitted for that market. Such was the market, steady and constant in its increase, regular in its demand, con-

* It appears from the evidence, that even previous to the issuing of the Orders in Council many of the coarser articles with which we formerly supplied the United States, had been altogether omitted in the later orders from that country, as they were now made as good, and as cheap, among themselves. Indeed, it is positively stated by one witness, that the article of saws were made not only cheaper, but better in America than in England. Since the date of the Orders, however, a very different, and a much more serious change had taken place: for in various parts of the Union, many extensive manufactories of our finer commodities had been set up, and carried on with great success;—the capital which was withdrawn from foreign commerce being eagerly invested in these establishments, and the exclusion of British goods ensuring an immense demand.

stant in its payment, which we thought fit, at the risk of a ruinous war, to sacrifice to that capricious and inconstant demand which we were allowed to supply by means of the ships and sailors of Napoleon, and under the protection of the Imperial Eagle!

Of the importance of the American market, there is probably no man now in the country who will be bold enough to express a doubt. We are not sure indeed whether the ministry who deprived us of it can be excused for letting it be known to America and to all the world, how *very* important and indispensable to our existence that market now is. Among the evils of that parliamentary discussion which they were so rash as to abide, this is not the least considerable; and next to the hazard of a rancorous war with our best customers, which has been incurred by the scandalous delay of a necessary measure, we would rank that disclosure of our dependence on America, by which alone they were compelled to relinquish the infatuation of those Orders which excluded us from her markets. While there is still a risk however of that war, by which they would be closed upon us in circumstances still more calamitous, and while this hazard may be averted by impressing the body of the people with a due sense of the misery it must produce, we think it right to borrow from the animated production before us a short view of the actual and relative importance of the trade which has been thus wantonly interrupted. There is no part of the speech, indeed, in which the honourable gentleman appears to have been more impressive and convincing.

After showing, in the clearest manner, the actual and permanent amount of the trade to be no less than *thirteen millions per annum*—after proving that the maintenance of our armies, and the very existence of the war in the Peninsula, depends upon our supplies of corn from that quarter of the world; and pointing out, in the most forcible and lively manner, the utter insignificance of the substitute proposed by Mr Rose in the trade to South America, Mr Brougham proceeds as follows.

'There are some political facts, which we must take as facts, because they are proved to us, without being able to account for them, or to trace them to their origin, and explain their causes. But the extent, and the swift and regular progress of the American market for British goods is not of this number: we can easily and clearly account for it. In the nature of things it can be no otherwise, and the reason lyes on the very surface of the fact. America is an immense agricultural country, where land is plentiful and cheap; men and labour, though quickly increasing, yet still scarce and dear, compared with the boundless regions which they occupy and cultivate. In such a country manufactures do not naturally thrive; every exertion, if matters be left to themselves, goes into other channels. This

people is connected with England by origin, language, manners, and institutions; their tastes go along with their convenience, and they come to us as a matter of course for the articles which they do not make themselves. Only take one fact as an example—The Negroes in the Southern States are clothed in English made goods: and it takes forty shillings a-year thus to supply one of those unfortunate persons. This will be admitted to be the lowest sum for which any person in America can be clothed; but take it as the average, and make a deduction for the expenses above prime cost—you have a sum upon the whole population of eight millions, which approaches the value of our exports to the United States. But it is not merely in clothing; go to any house in the Union, from their large and wealthy cities to the most solitary cabin or loghouse in the forests—you find in every corner the furniture, tools, and ornaments of Staffordshire, of Warwickshire, and of the Northern counties of England. The wonder ceases when we thus reflect for a moment, and we plainly perceive that it can be no otherwise. The whole population of the country is made up of customers, who require and who can afford to pay for our goods. This too is peculiar to that nation, and it is a peculiarity as happy for them as it is profitable to us. I know the real or affected contempt with which some persons in this country treat our kinsmen of the West. I fear some angry and jealous feelings have survived our former more intimate connexion with them—feelings engendered by the event of its termination, but which it would be wiser as well as more manly to forget. Nay, there are certain romantic spirits who even despise the unadorned structure of their massive democratic society. But to me I freely acknowledge the sight of one part of it brings feelings of envy, as an Englishman; I mean the happy distinction, that over the whole extent of that boundless continent, from Canada to the Gulph of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean, there is not one pauper to be found—Such are the customers whom America presents to us. The rapid increase of their culture and population too, doubling in twenty-five or thirty years, must necessarily augment this demand for our goods in the same proportion. Circumstanced as the two countries are, I use no figure of speech, but speak the simple fact when I say, that not an axe falls in the woods of America which does not put in motion some shuttle, or hammer, or wheel in England. Look at Mr Parke's evidence, and you will see, that the changes which happen in the New World, or the political proceedings of the two governments, their orders and manifestoes and negociations, may be perceptibly traced in their instantaneous effects in this country—in the increased or diminished velocity (I speak to the letter) of the wheels which are moving in the different districts where English manufactures used to flourish.

'But let us merely pause upon the broad fact of the present amount of the American market, and let us keep our eye for a moment upon the numerical expression of its demand—thirteen millions sterling by the year!—Why, Sir, only conceive any event which

should give an opening in the North of Europe, or the Mediterranean for but a small part of this vast bulk—some change or accident by which a thirteenth, aye, or a thirtieth part of this enormous value of British goods could be thrown into the enemy's countries!—Into what transports of delight would the Vicepresident be flung! I verily believe he would make but one step from his mansion to his office—all Downing-street, and all Duke's-place would be in an uproar of joy—Bless me, what a scene of activity and business should we see!—What Cabinets—what Boards!—What amazing conferences of Lords of Trade!—What a driving together of Ministers!—What a rustling of small clerks!—What a mighty rushing of brokers!—Circulars to the manufacturing towns—harangues upon 'Change, performed by eminent naval characters—triumphal processions of dollars and volunteers in St James's-square!—Hourly deputations from the merchants—courteous and pleasing answers from the Board—a speedy importation into Whitehall, to a large amount, of worthy Knights representing the city—a quick return cargo of licenses and hints for cargoes—the whole craft and mystery of that license trade revived, with its appropriate perjuries and frauds—new life given to the drooping firms of dealers in forgery, whom I formerly exposed to you—answered by corresponding activity in the Board of Trade and its clerks—slips of the pen worth fifteen thousand pounds—judicious mistakes—well-considered oversights—elaborate inadvertencies—Why, Sir, so happily constituted is the Right Honourable Gentleman's (Mr Rose) understanding, that his very blunders are more precious than the accuracies of other men; and it is no metaphor, but a literal mercantile proposition, to say, that it is better worth our while to err with him, than to think rightly with the rest of mankind!—And all this life, and activity, and machinery, for what?—To snatch at a miserable export—occasional—fleeting—irregular—ephemeral—very limited in amount—unlikely to recur—uncertain in its return—precarious in its countinuance—beneficial to the enemy—exposed to his caprices, and liable by his nod to be swept at once into the fund of his confiscations—enjoyed while he does permit it, by his sufferance for his ends—enriching his subjects—manning his fleets—nursing up for him a navy which it has already taken the utmost efforts of our unconquerable marine to destroy!—Good God! the incurable perverseness of human folly!—always straining after things that are beyond its reach, of doubtful worth and discreditable pursuit, and neglecting objects of immense value—because, in addition to their own importance, they have one recommendation which would make viler possessions desirable—that they can be easily obtained, and honestly as well as safely enjoyed!—It is this miserable, shifting, doubtful, hateful traffic that we prefer, to the sure, regular, increasing, honest gains of American commerce; to a trade which placed beyond the enemy's reach—which, besides encircling ourselves in peace and honour, only benefits those who are our natural friends, over whom he has no control, but who, if they were ever so hostile to us, could not annoy us—which supports at once all that remains

of liberty beyond the seas, and gives life and vigour to its main pillar within the realm, the Manufactures and Commerce of England!' p. 46—51.

Since we have opened the book, we cannot resist making one other extract from its concluding pages.

'Look only at the Spanish war in its relation to the American trade—In that cause we have deeply embarked---we have gone on for years, pouring into it our treasures and our troops, almost without limit, and all the profit is yet to come. We have still to gain the object of so many sacrifices, and to do something which may show they have not been made in vain. Some great effort it seems resolved to make, and though of its result others are far more sanguine than I am able to feel, I can have little hesitation in thinking, that we had better risk some such attempt once for all, and either gain the end in view, or, convinced that it is unattainable, retire from the contest. If then this is our policy, for God's sake let the grand effort be made, single and undivided—undistracted by a new quarrel, foreign to the purpose, and fatally interfering with its fulfilment—Let us not for the hundredth time commit the ancient error which has so often betrayed us, of frittering down our strength—of scattering our forces in numerous and unavailing plans. We have no longer the same excuse for this folly which we once had to urge: All the Colonies in the world are our own—sugar islands and spice islands, there are none, from Martinico to Java, to conquer—we have every species of unsaleable produce in the gross, and all noxious climates without stint. Then let us not add a new leaf to the worst chapter of our book, and make for ourselves new occasions, when we can find none, for persisting in the most childish of all systems. While engaged heartily on our front in opposing France, and trying the last chance of saving Europe, let us not secure to ourselves a new enemy, America, on our flank. Surely language wants a name for the folly which would, at a moment like the present, on the eve of this grand and decisive and last battle, reduce us to the necessity of feeding Canada with troops from Portugal—and Portugal with bread from England.

'I know I shall be asked, whether I would recommend any sacrifice for the mere purpose of conciliating America. I recommend no sacrifice of *honour* for that or for any purpose; but I will tell you, that I think we can well and safely for our honour afford to conciliate America. Never did we stand so high since we were a nation, in point of military character. We have it in abundance, and even to spare. This unhappy and seemingly interminable war, lavish as it has been in treasure, still more profuse of blood, and barren of real advantage, has at least been equally lavish of glory; its feats have not merely sustained the warlike fame of the nation, which would have been much; they have done what seemed scarcely possible; they have greatly exalted it; they have covered our arms with immortal renown. *Then* I say use this glory—use this proud height on which we now stand, for the purpose of peace and conciliation with America. Let this and its incalculable benefits be the advantage

which we reap from the war in Europe; for the fame of that war enables us safely to take it:—And who, I demand, give the most disgraceful counsels---they who tell you we are in military character but of yesterday—we have yet a name to win—we stand on doubtful ground—we dare not do as we list, for fear of being thought afraid—we cannot, without loss of name, stoop to pacify our American kinsmen.—Or I, who say, we are a great, a proud, a warlike people—we have fought every where, and conquered wherever we fought—our character is eternally fixed—it stands too firm to be shaken—and on the faith of it we may do towards America, safely for our honour, that which we know our interests require!—This perpetual jealousy of America! Good God! I cannot with temper ask on what it rests! It drives me to a passion to think of it—Jealousy of America! I should as soon think of being jealous of the tradesmen who supply me with necessaries, or the clients who entrust their suits to my patronage. Jealousy of America! whose armies are yet at the plough, or making, since your policy has willed it so, awkward (though improving) attempts at the loom—whose assembled navies could not lay siege to an English sloop of war:—Jealousy of a power which is necessarily peaceful as well as weak, but which, if it had all the ambition of France and her armies to back it, and all the navy of England to boot,—nay, had it the lust of conquest which marks your enemy, and your own armies, as well as navy, to gratify it—is placed at so vast a distance as to be perfectly harmless! And this is the nation of which, for our honour's sake, we are desired to cherish a perpetual jealousy, for the ruin of our best interests!

'I trust, Sir, that no such phantom of the brain will scare us from the path of our duty. The advice which I tender, is not the same which has at all times been offered to this country. There is one memorable era in our history, when other uses were made of our triumphs from those which I recommend. By the treaty of Utrecht, which the execrations of ages have left inadequately censured, we were content to obtain as the whole price of Ramilies and Blenheim, an additional share of the accursed slave trade. I give you other counsels. I would have you employ the glory which you have won at Talavera and Corunna, in restoring your commerce to its lawful, open, honest course; and rescue it from the mean and hateful channels in which it has lately been confined. And if any thoughtless boaster in America, or elsewhere, should vaunt that you had yielded through fear, I would not bid him wait until some new achievement of our arms put him to silence, but I would counsel you in silence to disregard him.' p. 54—8.

After perusing these passages, we confess we have not courage to go on with our own tame and feeble analysis. Nor indeed is the task any longer necessary. The merits of the question, we believe, are now pretty well understood by the country; and the plain statement, and the few quotations we have given, will serve to show those who wish to comprehend it in all its bearings, where to look for information. We can-

not conclude, however, without requesting our readers to observe, in the great victory which has at last been gained in this cause, another and a most signal example of the *irresistible power of popular opinion*, when steadily, and firmly, and temperately asserted. Had the same zeal and energy which have at last been triumphant over the obstinate prejudices and arrogance of the Government, been exerted at an earlier period, what a different scene might we have now been contemplating! Instead of endeavouring, in 1812, to repair the irreparable damage which was done in 1807, we should have seen the powerful voice of the people beating down these pernicious Orders on their first enactment; and preventing all that misery which it has now taught us how to cure. We cannot but observe, too, not only how safe and temperate, but how eminently salutary and providential this and all the other measures have been, which the sense of the country at large has lately forced upon its rulers. —Such an experimental proof of the uses of popular control and interference, should go far, we think, to abate the great jealousy with which so many persons now affect to regard this part of the constitution; and conciliate the general favour to any prudent and practicable plan for bringing the sense and the inclinations of the nation to act more directly upon its Legislature. It is a very remarkable thing, that a large proportion of the witnesses by whose unimpeached testimony the deplorable state of our trade has thus been unmasked to the public, belonged to places that have no representatives in Parliament;—and a body undoubtedly among the most respectable, as well as the most important in the nation, thus appears to have been left without any adequate or legitimate organ by which its sentiments could be communicated to the Government.

But though we have no doubt that it was the weight and the dread of the public sentiment that ultimately triumphed over the obstinate and conceited ignorance of the ministers, we should be doing great injustice to the distinguished person whose speech is now before us, if we did not recognise him, not merely as the instrument, but in a great degree as the cause of that triumph. Strong as the case of the petitioners—we should rather say of the country—was in itself—irresistibly and deplorably strong, we greatly doubt whether it would have been carried through in the present Parliament, had it not been for the unwearied vigilance—the undaunted firmness—the unerring acuteness, and nervous and commanding eloquence, of that Honourable Gentleman. Without his unprecedented exertions, the Committee would have lingered on till the close of the session; when the news of war with America, and exasperated tumults in the manufacturing districts, would have afforded a pretext for break-

ing off the inquiry, and hurrying the Government into measures of violence from which it would have been impossible to return either with safety or with honour. To Mr Brougham, then, we think that the Commerce and the Peace of England are indebted for their salvation in the day of their greatest peril;—and he is entitled to the proud distinction of having done more for his country—by his own individual exertions—in opposition—and unassisted by any great combination of political power, than any ministry, or than any party, has been able to accomplish in the memory of any living statesman.—The benefit which he has conferred, too, is as substantial and certain, as it is great and extensive—is connected with no spirit that can be branded with the name of factious—and rests upon no assumption that can be represented as speculative or questionable. These are the true civic laurels:—unstained with tears or with blood—and both inspiring and rewarding that pure and lofty ambition which seeks not to triumph over an adversary, but to bestow a blessing on mankind.

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THE

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No. XL.

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PHILOSOPHERS have long considered it as probable, that the private manners of sovereigns are vulgar, their pleasures low, and their dispositions selfish;—that the two extremes of life, in short, approach pretty closely to each other; and that the Masters of mankind, when stripped of the artificial pomp and magnificence which invests them in public, resemble nothing so nearly as the meanest of the multitude. The ground of this opinion is, that the very highest and the very lowest of mankind are equally beyond the influence of that wholesome control, to which all the intermediate classes are subjected by their mutual dependence, and the need they have for the good will and esteem of their fellows. Those who are at the very bottom of the scale, are below the sphere of this influence; and those at the very top are above it. The one have no chance of distinction by any effort they are capable of making; and the other are secure of the highest degree of it without any. Both therefore are indifferent, or very nearly so, to the opinion of mankind: the former, because the naked subsistence which they earn by their labour will not be affected by that opinion; and the latter, because their legal power and preeminence is equally independent of it. Those who have nothing to lose, in short, are not very far from the condition of those who have nothing more to gain; and the maxim of reckoning one's-self last, which is the basis of all politeness, and leads, insensibly, from the mere prac-

tice of dissimulation to habits of kindness and sentiments of generous independence, is equally inapplicable to the case of those who are obviously and in reality the last of their kind, and those who are quite indisputably the first. Both therefore are deprived of the checks and of the training, which restrain the selfishness, and call out the sensibilities of other men; and, remote and contrasted as their actual situation must be allowed to be, are alike liable to exhibit that disregard for the feelings of others, and that undisguised preference for their own gratification, which it is the boast of modern refinement to have subdued, or at least effectually concealed, among the happier orders of society. In a free country, indeed, the monarch, if he share at all in the spirit of liberty, may escape much of this degradation; because he will then feel for how much he is dependent on the good opinion of his countrymen; and, in general, where there is a great ambition for popularity, this pernicious effect of high fortune will be in a great degree avoided. But the ordinary class of sovereigns, who found their whole claim to distinction upon the accident of their birth and station, may be expected to realize all that we have intimated as to the peculiar manners and dispositions of the *Caste*; to sink, like their brethren of the theatre, when their hour of representation is over, into gross sensuality, paltry intrigues, and dishonourable squabbles; and, in short, to be fully more likely to beat their wives and cheat their benefactors, than any other set of persons—out of the condition of tinkers.

But though these opinions have long seemed pretty reasonable to those who presumed to reason at all on such subjects, and even appeared to be tolerably well confirmed by the few indications that could be obtained as to the state of the fact, there was but little prospect of the world at large getting at the exact truth, either by actual observation or by credible report. The tone of adulation and outrageous compliment is so firmly established, and as it were positively prescribed, for any authorized communication from the interior of a palace, that it would be ridiculous even to form a guess, as to its actual condition, from such materials: And, with regard to the casual observers who might furnish less suspected information, a great part are too vain and too grateful for the opportunities they have enjoyed, to do any thing which might prevent their recurrence; while others are kept silent by a virtuous shame, and the remainder are discredited, and perhaps not always without reason, as the instruments of faction or envy. There seemed great reason to fear, therefore, that this curious branch of Natural History would be left to mere theory and conjecture, and never be elucidated by the testimony of any competent observer, when

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They bear to be Memoirs of a Princess of Prussia, written by herself;—and are in fact memoirs of the private life of most of the princes of Germany; written by one of their own number—with great freedom indeed—but with an evident partiality to the fraternity; and unmasking more of the domestic manners and individual habits of persons in that lofty station, than any other work with which we are acquainted. It is ushered into the world without any voucher for its authenticity, or even any satisfactory account of the manner in which the manuscript was obtained: But its genuineness, we understand, is admitted even by those whose inclinations would lead them to deny it, and appears to us indeed to be irresistibly established by internal evidence. It is written in the vulgar gossipping style of a chambermaid; but at the same time with very considerable cleverness and sagacity as to the conception and delineation of character. It is full of events and portraits—and also of egotism, detraction, and inconsistency; but all delivered with an air of good faith that leaves us little room to doubt of the facts that are reported on the writer's own authority, or, in any case, of her own belief in the justness of her opinions. Indeed, half the edification of the book consists in the lights it affords as to the character of the writer, and consequently as to the effects of the circumstances in which she was placed: nor is there any thing, in the very curious picture it presents, more striking than the part she unintentionally contributes, in the peculiarity of her own taste in the colouring and delineation. The heartfelt ennui, and the affected contempt of greatness, so strangely combined with her tenacity of all its privileges, and her perpetual intrigues and quarrels about precedence—her splendid encomiums on her own inflexible integrity, intermixed with the complacent narrative of perpetual trick and duplicity—her bitter complaints of the want of zeal and devotedness in her friends, and the desolating display of her own utter heartlessness in every page of the history—and, finally, her outrageous abuse of almost every one with whom she is connected, alternating with professions of the greatest regard, and occasional apologies for the most atrocious among them, when they happen to conduct themselves in conformity to her own little views at the moment—are all, we think, not only irrefragable proofs of the authenticity of the singular work before us, but, together with the lowness of its style and diction, are features—and pretty prominent ones—in that portraiture of royal man-

ners and dispositions which we conceive it to be its chief office and chief merit to display. In this point of view, we conceive the publication to be equally curious and instructive; and there is a vivacity in the style, and a rapidity in the narrative, which renders it at all events very entertaining, though little adapted for abstract or abridgement.—We must endeavour, however, to give our readers some notion of its contents.

What is now before us is but a fragment, extending from the birth of the author in 1707 to the year 1742, and is chiefly occupied with the Court of Berlin, down till her marriage with the Prince of Bareith in 1731. She sets off with a portrait of her father Frederic William, whose peculiarities are already pretty well known by the dutiful commentaries of his son and Voltaire. His daughter begins with him a little more handsomely; and assures us, that he had 'talents of the first order' —'an excellent heart'—and, in short, 'all the qualities which go to the constitution of great men.' Such is the flattering outline: But candour requires some shading; and we must confess that it is laid on freely, and with good effect. His temper, she admits, was ungovernable, and often hurried him into excesses altogether unworthy of his rank and situation. Then it must be allowed that he was somewhat hard-hearted; and throughout his whole life gave a decided preference to the cardinal virtue of Justice over the weaker attribute of Mercy. Moreover, 'his excessive love of money exposed him' (her Royal Highness seems to think very unjustly) 'to the imputation of avarice.' And, finally, she informs us, without any circumlocution, that he was a crazy bigot in religion—suspicious, jealous and deceitful—and entertained a profound contempt for the whole sex to which his dutiful biographer belongs.

This 'great and amiable' Prince was married, as every body knows, to a Princess of Hanover, a daughter of our George the First; of whom he was outrageously jealous, and whom he treated with a degree of brutality that would almost have justified any form of revenge. The Princess, however, seems to have been irreproachably chaste; but had, notwithstanding, the usual vices of slaves; and tormented her tyrant to very good purpose by an interminable system of the most crooked and provoking intrigues, chiefly about the marriages of her family, but occasionally upon other subjects, carried on by the basest tools and instruments, and for a long time in confederacy with the daughter who has here recorded their history. But though she had thus the satisfaction of frequently enraging her husband, we cannot help thinking that she had herself by far the worst of the game; and indeed it is impossible to read, without a mixed feeling of pity and contempt, the catalogue of miserable

shifts which this poor creature was perpetually forced to employ to avoid detection, and escape the beating with which it was frequently accompanied—feigned sicknesses—midnight consultations—hidings behind screens and under beds—spies at her husband's drunken orgies—burning of letters, pocketing of inkstands, and all the paltry apparatus of boarding-school imposture;—together with the more revolting criminality of lies told in the midst of caresses, and lessons of falsehood anxiously inculcated on the minds of her children.—It is edifying to know, that, with all this low cunning, and practice in deceiving, this poor lady was herself the dupe of a preposterous and unworthy confidence. She told every thing to a favourite chambermaid —who told it over again to one of the ministers—who told it to the King: And though the treachery of her confidante was perfectly notorious, and she herself was reduced privately to borrow money from the King of England in order to bribe her to secrecy, she never could keep from her any one thing that it was of importance to conceal.

The ingenious Princess before us had for many years no other brother than the Great Frederic, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, but whose extreme ill health in his childhood seemed to render her accession a matter of considerable probability. Her alliance consequently became an early object of ambition to most of the Protestant princes of her time; and before she was fully eight years old, her father and mother had had fifty quarrels about her marriage. About the same time, she assures us, that a Swedish officer, who was a great conjurer, informed her, after inspecting her hand, 'that she would 'be sought in marriage by the Kings of Sweden, England, 'Russia and Poland, but would not be united to any of them:' —a prediction, the good Princess declares, that was afterwards verified in a very remarkable manner. The Swedish proposition indeed follows hard upon the prophecy; for the very next year engagements are taken for that match, which are afterwards abandoned on account of the tender age of the parties. —The Princess here regales us with an account of her own vivacity and *angelic* memory at this period, and with a copious interlude of all the court scandal during the first days of her existence. But as we scarcely imagine that the scandalous chronicle of Berlin for the year 1712, would excite much interest in this country in the year 1812, we shall take the liberty to pass over the gallantries of Madame de Blaspil and the treasons of M. Clement; merely noticing, that after the execution of the latter, the King opened all the letters that came to his capital, and never slept without drawn swords and cocked pis-

tols at his side. But while he was thus trembling at imaginary dangers, he was, if we can believe his infant daughter, upon the very brink of others sufficiently serious. His chief favourites were the Prince of Anhalt, who is briefly characterized in these Memoirs as brutal, cruel and deceitful, and the minister Grumkow, who is represented, on the same authority, as a mere concentration of all the vices. These worthy persons had set their hearts upon our author's marriage with the nephew of the former, and her ultimate elevation to the throne by the death of her sickly brother. But when that brother begins to improve in health, and the old King not only makes his will without consulting them, but threatens to live to an unreasonable age, they naturally become impatient for the accomplishment of their wishes, and resolve to cut off both father and son the first time they can catch them together at an exhibition of ropedancing,—with which elegant entertainment it seems the worthy monarch was in the habit of recreating himself almost every evening. The whole of this dreadful plot, we are assured, was revealed to the King, with all its *particularités*, by a lady in the confidence of the conspirators; but they contrive, somehow or other, to play their parts so adroitly, that, after a long investigation, they are reinstated in favour, and their fair accuser sent to pine, on bread and water, in a damp dungeon at Spandau.

In the year 1717, Peter the Great came with his Empress and court to pay a visit at Berlin;—and as the whole scene is described with great vivacity in the work before us, and serves to illustrate its great theme of the private manners of Sovereigns, we shall make rather a fuller abstract of it than we shall be able to afford for most parts of the narrative. The degrees of grossness and pretension are infinite—and the court of Prussia, where the Sovereign got drunk and kicked his counsellors, and beat the ladies of his family, thought itself entitled to treat Peter and his train as a court of Barbarians.—On his first presentation, the Czar took Frederic by the hand, and said, he was glad to see him; he then offered to kiss the Queen—but she declined the honour. He next presented his son and daughter and *four hundred* ladies in waiting—the greater part of whom, the Princess assures us, were washerwomen and scullions promoted to that nominal dignity. *Almost every one of them*, however, she adds, had a baby richly dressed in her arms—and when any one asked whose it was, answered with great coolness and complacency, that 'the Czar had done her the honour to 'make her the mother of it.'—The Czarine was very short, tawny, and ungraceful—dressed like a provincial German player, in

an old-fashioned robe, covered with dirt and silver, and with some dozens of medals and pictures of saints strung down the front, which clattered every time she moved, like the bells of a packhorse. She spoke little German, and no French; and finding that she got on but ill with the Queen and her party, she called *her fool* into a corner to come and entertain her in Russian—which she did with such effect, that she kept her in a continual roar of laughter before all the court. The Czar himself is described as tall and rather handsome, though with something intolerably harsh in his physiognomy. On first seeing our royal author he took her up in his arms, and rubbed the skin off her face in kissing her, with his rough beard; laughing very heartily at the airs with which she resented this familiarity. He was liable at times to convulsive starts and spasms, and being seized with them when at table, with his knife in his hand, put his hosts into no little bodily terror. He told the Queen, however, that he would do her no harm, and took her hand in token of his good humour; but squeezed it so unmercifully that she was forced to cry out—at which he laughed again with great violence, and said, 'her bones were not so well knit as his Catherine's.' There was to be a grand ball in the evening; but as soon as he had done eating, he got up, and trudged home by himself to his lodgings in the suburbs. Next day they went to see the curiosities of the place.—What pleased him most was a piece of antique sculpture, most grossly indecent. Nothing, however, would serve him but that his wife should kiss this figure; and when she hesitated, he told her he would cut off her head if she refused. He then asked this piece and several other things of value from the King, and packed them off for Petersburgh, without ceremony. In a few days after, he took his departure; leaving the palace in which he had been lodged in such a state of filth and dilapidation as to remind one of the desolation of Jerusalem.

We now come to a long chapter of the author's personal sufferings, from a sort of half governess, half chambermaid, of the name of Letti, who employed herself all day in beating and scratching her, for refusing to repeat all that the King and the Queen said in her hearing, and kept her awake all night with snoring like fifty troopers. This accomplished person also invented ingenious nicknames for all the leading persons about the court. The Queen she always called *La grande ánesse*, and her two favourites respectively *La grosse vache*, and *La sotte bête*. Sometimes she only kicked the Princess's shins—at other times she pummelled her on the nose till 'she bled like a calf,' and occasionally excoriated her face by rubbing it with acrid substances.

Such, however, was the magnanimity of her royal pupil, that she never made the least complaint of this dreadful usage; but an old lady found it out, and told the Queen, that 'her daughter was beaten every day like plaster,' and that she would be brought to her one morning with her bones broken, if she did not get another attendant. So La Letti is dismissed, though with infinite difficulty, and after a world of intrigue; because she had been recommended by my lady Arlington, who had a great deal to say with all the court of England, with which it was a main object to keep well! But she is got rid of at last, and decamps with all the Princess's wardrobe, who is left without a rag to cover her nakedness. Soon after this, the King is taken with a colic one very hot June, and is judiciously shut up in a close room with a large comfortable fire; by the side of which he commands his daughter to sit, and watch like a vestal, till her eyes are ready to start from her head; and she falls into a dysentery, of which she gives a long history.

Being now at the ripe age of twelve, her mother takes her into her confidence, and begins with telling her, that there are certain people who are her enemies, to whom she commands her never to show any kindness or civility. She then proceeds to name 'three-fourths of all Berlin.' But her great object is to train her daughter to be a spy on her father, and at the same time to keep every thing secret from him and his counsellors; and to arrange measures for a match between her and her nephew the Duke of Gloucester—afterwards Prince of Wales, on the accession of his father George II. In 1723, George I. comes to visit his daughter at Berlin, and is characterised, we cannot say very favourably, by his grandchild. He was very stupid, she says, with great airs of wisdom—had no generosity but for his favourites, and the mistresses by whom he let himself be governed—spoke little, and took no pleasure in hearing any thing but *niaiseries:*—since his accession to the English throne he had also become insupportably haughty and imperious. When the fair author was presented to him, he took up a candle, held it close to her, and examined her all over without saying a word: at table he preserved the same magnificent silence; judging wisely, the Princess observes, that it was better to say nothing than to expose himself by talking. Before the end of the repast he was taken ill; and tumbled down on the floor, his hat falling off on one side, and his wig on the other. It was a full hour before he came to himself; and it was whispered that it was a sort of apoplexy: However, he was well enough next day, and arranged every thing for the marriage of the author with his grandson, and of her brother with the Princess Amelia. Obstacles arose, how-

ever, to the consummation of this double alliance; and although the two Sovereigns had another meeting on the subject the year after, still the necessity of obtaining the consent of Parliament occasioned an obstruction; and in the mean time Frederic having thought fit to seize several tall Hanoverians, and enrol them by force in his regiment of giants, the English monarch resented this outrage, and died of another attack of apoplexy before matters could be restored to a right footing.

Soon after this catastrophe, Frederick takes to drinking with the Imperial ambassador; and, when his stomach gets into disorder, becomes outrageously pious; orders his valet to sing psalms before him, and preaches himself to his family every afternoon. The princess and her brother are ready to suffocate with laughter at these discourses; but the hypochondria gains ground; and at last the King talks seriously of resigning his crown, and retiring with his family to a small house in the country; where his daughter should take care of the linen, his son of the provisions, and his wife of the kitchen. To divert these melancholy thoughts, he is persuaded to pay a visit to the Elector of Saxony, Augustus King of Poland; and there, large potations of Hungarian wine speedily dissipate all his dreams of devotion. Nothing in modern history, we suppose, comes near the profligacy of the Court of Dresden at that period. Augustus, who never closed a day in sobriety, openly kept a large seraglio in his palace, and had about 350 children by its inhabitants. One of those who had all along been recognized as his daughter, was at this time his favourite mistress; while she, disdaining to be faithful to this incestuous connexion, lavished all her favour on her brother, who was her avowed lover, and the rival of their common parent!—Frederick, however, was so much pleased with these doings, that he entered into a treaty for marrying his daughter to this virtuous elector, who was then fifty years of age; and the year after, Augustus came to Berlin, to follow out his suit, where he was received in great state, and the daughter-mistress caressed by the chaste queen and her daughter. There is a good description of a grand court dinner given on this occasion, in which, after a long account of the marshalling of princes and princesses, the business of the day is summed up in the following emphatic words—*On but force santés—on parla peu—et on s'ennuya beaucoup.* The two kings, however, had various *tête-à-tête* parties that were more jolly; and in which they continued at table from one o'clock, which was their hour of dinner, till near midnight. In spite of all this cordiality, however, the treaty of marriage was broken off: the heir-apparent of Augustus having obstinately refused to ratify those articles in it which required his concurrence.

The King now resolved to match his daughter with a poor German prince, called the Duke of Weissenfield; at which his wife, who had been all this time intriguing busily to bring about the union originally projected with the Prince of Wales, is in despair, and persuades him to let her make one effort more to bring her brother of England to a determination. And here we have a very curious piece of secret history, which, though it touches the policy of the Court of England, has hitherto been unknown, we believe, in this country. A confidential agent arrives from Hanover, who informs the Queen, that the Prince of Wales has made up his mind to come immediately to Berlin, and to marry her daughter, without waiting for the formal consent of his father, or the English Parliament, who, however, he has no doubt, will neither of them hesitate to ratify the act, when it is once over. The Queen is transported with this news, and is so much intoxicated with joy on the occasion, that she bethinks herself of confiding the whole story in the evening to the English ambassador—who instantly writes home to his Court; and, his letter being addressed to the Secretary of State, produces an immediate mandate to the Prince, to set off for England without the delay of a moment. This mandate arrives just as his Royal Highness is taking post with bridal impatience for Berlin: and, as it is addressed to him through the public offices, requires his implicit obedience. The truth of the matter is, the Princess assures us, that George II. was himself desirous that the match should be concluded without waiting for the uncertain sanction of his Parliament, and had suggested this device of a seeming *etourderie* on the part of his son; but the indiscretion of her mother, in blabbing the matter to the ambassador, and his communication to the ministry, left the monarch no choice, but to dissemble his mortification, and lend his authority to prevent the execution of a project which had originated with himself.

But, whatever may be the true theory of this disaster, it seems to be certain, that the disappointment put the king of Prussia into exceeding bad humour, and, concurring with an untimely fit of the gout, made the lives of his family still more uncomfortable than he took care at all times to render them. The account indeed which is here given of the domestic habits of this worthy sovereign, though humiliating in some degree to human nature, has yet something in it so extravagant, as to be actually ludicrous and farcical. He ordered his children to come to his apartment at nine o'clock every morning, and kept them close prisoners there the whole day, not letting them once out of his sight, '*pour quelque raison que ce fut.*' His employment was to curse and abuse

them with every coarse term of reproach,—his daughter getting no other name than *la Canaille Anglaise*, and his son, *le Coquin de Fritz*. He had always been in the practice of famishing them, partly out of avarice, and partly from the love of tormenting; but now even the soup made of bare bones and salt was retrenched. He often refused to let them have any thing whatsoever; and spit into the dishes out of which he had helped himself, in order to prevent their touching them. At other times he would insist upon their eating all sorts of unwholesome and disgusting compositions—'ce qui nous obligeait quelquefois de 'rendre, en sa presence, tout ce que nous avions dans le corps.' Even this, however, was not the worst of it. He very frequently threw the plates at their heads, and scarcely ever let his daughter go out of the room, without aiming a sly blow at her with the end of his crutch. The unhappy Frederic he employed himself almost every morning in caning and kicking for a long time together; and, was actually busy upon one occasion, in strangling him with the cord of a window curtain, when he was interrupted by one of his domestics. To make amends, however, he once hung up himself; when the Queen, by a rare act of folly, was induced to cut him down. When free from gout, he was still more dangerous; for then he could pursue his daughters with considerable agility when they ran away from his blows; and once caught the author, after a chase of this kind, when he clutched her by the hair, and pushed her into the fireplace, till her clothes began to burn. During the heats of summer, he carried his family to a country house, called Vousterhausen, which was an old ruinous mansion, surrounded with a putrid ditch; and there they dined every day, in a tent pitched on the terrace, with scarcely any thing to eat, and their feet up to the ancles in mud, if the weather happened to be rainy. After dinner, which was served exactly at noon, the good king set himself down to sleep for two hours, in a great chair placed in the full glare of the sun, and compelled all his family to lye on the ground around him, exposed to the same intolerable scorching.

After some little time, England sends another ambassador, who renews in due form the proposal of the double marriage, and offers such baits to the avarice of the King that matters appear once more to be finally adjusted, and the princess is saluted by her household with the title of Princess of Wales. This, however, was not her destiny. Grumkow intrigues with the Imperial ambassador to break off the match—and between them they contrive to persuade the King that he is made a tool of by the Queen and her brother of England: and inflame him to such a rage by producing specimens of their secret correspond-

ence, that when the English ambassador appears next day with decisive proofs of Grumkow's treachery and insolence, the King throws the papers in his face, and actually lifts his foot, as if to give him the family salute of a kick. The blood of the Englishman rouses at this insult; and he puts himself in a posture to return the compliment with interest, when the King makes a rapid retreat,—and the ambassador, in spite of the entreaties of the Queen and her children, and various overtures of apology from the King himself, shakes the dust of Berlin from his feet, and sets off in high dudgeon for London. The King then swears that his daughter shall have no husband at all, but that he will make her abbess in the monastery of Herford;—and her brother Frederic, to her great mortification, tells her it is the best thing she can do, and that he sees no other way to restore peace in the family.

We now proceed to the adventures of this brother, which, as their outline is already generally known, need not be fully narrated in this place. Tired of being beaten and kicked and reviled all day long, he resolves to withdraw from his country, and makes some movements to that effect in confederacy with an officer of the name of Katt, who was to have been the companion of his flight. Both, however, are arrested by the King's order, who makes several attempts upon the life of his son, when he is brought as a prisoner before him—and comes home foaming and black with passion, crying out to the Queen that her accursed son was dead at last; and felling his daughter to the earth with his fist, as he tells her to go and bear her brother company. He then gets hold of a box of his son's papers, which had been surprised at Katt's lodgings, and goes out with it in great spirits, exclaiming, that he was sure he should find in it enough to justify him in cutting off the heads both of *le Coquin de Fritz*, and *la Canaille de Wilhelmine*. Wilhelmine, however, and her politic mother had been before hand with him—for they had got hold of this same box the day preceding, and by false keys and seals, had taken all the papers out of it, and replaced them by harmless and insignificant letters, which they had fabricated in the course of one day, to the amount of near seven hundred. The King, therefore, found nothing to justify immediate execution, but kept the Prince a close prisoner at Custrin, and shut the Princess up in her own chamber. His son and Katt were afterwards tried for *desertion*, before a court-martial composed of twelve officers—two were for sparing the life of the Prince, but all the rest were base enough to gratify the sanguinary insanity of their master by condemning them both to death. All Germany, however, exclaimed loudly against this sentence; and made such

representations to the King, that he was at last prevailed on to spare his son. But the unhappy Katt was sacrificed. His scaffold was erected immediately before the window of his unhappy master, who was dressed by force in the same funeral garment with his friend, and was held up at the window by two soldiers, while the executioner struck off the head of his companion.—There is no record of such brutal barbarity in the history of Nero or Domitian.

After this, the family feuds about his daughter's marriage revive with double fury. The Queen, whose whole heart is set on the English alliance, continues her petty intrigues to effect that object; while the King, rendered furious by the haughty language adopted by the English ministry on the subject of the insult offered to their ambassador, determines to have her married without a moment's delay; and after threatening the Queen with his cane, sends to offer her the hand of the Prince of Bareith; which she dutifully accepts, in spite of the bitter lamentations and outrageous fury of the Queen. That intriguing Princess, however, does not cease to intrigue though deserted by her daughter —but sends again in greater urgency than ever to England;— and that Court, if we are to believe the statement before us, at last seriously afraid of losing a match every way desirable, sends off despatches, containing an entire and unqualified acquiescence in all Frederic's stipulations as to the marriage—which arrive at Berlin the very morning of the day on which the Princess was to be solemnly betrothed to M. de Bareith, but are wickedly kept back by Grumkow and the Imperial Envoy, till after the ceremony had been publicly and irrevocably completed. Their disclosure then throws all parties into rage and despair; and the intriguers are made the ridiculous victims of their own baseness and duplicity. The indefatigable Queen, however, does not despair even yet; but sends off another courier to England, and sets all her emissaries to prepare the King to break off the match in the event of the answer being favourable;—nay, the very night before the marriage, she takes her daughter apart, and begs her to live with her husband as a sister with a brother for a few days, till the result of the embassage is known. But her usual destiny pursues her. The fatal evening arrives; and the Princess, with a train forty five feet in length, and the spousal crown placed on twenty four twisted locks of false hair, each thicker than her arm, enters the grand saloon, and takes the irrevocable vow;—and her mother has just put her to bed when she hears that her courier has arrived, and leaves her in rage and anguish.

The humours of the rest of the family appear to no great advantage during the bridal festivities. In the first place, the

princess's sister, Charlotte, falls in love with the bridegroom, and does her *possible* to seduce him. Then old Frederic cheats the bride in her settlements, which amount to a gross sum of near 500*l.* a-year;—and, finally, her brother-in-law, the Margrave of Anspach, rallies her husband so rudely upon his mother's gallantries, that the latter gives him a brave defiance in face of the whole court; at which the poor Margrave is so dreadfully frightened, that he bursts out into screams and tears, and runs for refuge into the queen's apartment, where he hides himself behind the arras, from which he is taken in a filthy condition and carried to his apartments, 'où il exhala sa colere par 'des vomissemens et un diarrhée qui pensa l'envoyer à l'autre 'monde.'—Yet the good princess assures us, that this reptile had 'a good heart and a good understanding,'—with no fault but being a little passionate; and then, in the very next page she records a malignant and detected falsehood which he had vented against her husband, and which rendered him odious in the eyes of the whole court. Being dissatisfied with her settlements, she puts the king in good humour by giving a grand dinner to him and his officers, at which they are all 'ivres morts;' but having mentioned her distresses through the queen, he is so much moved with them, that he calls for the settlements, and strikes off about one fourth of her allowance.

All this happened in autumn 1731; and in January 1732 the princess being far advanced in pregnancy, and the roads almost impassable, it was thought adviseable for her to set out for her husband's court at Bareith. She is overturned of course several times, and obliged to walk half the way:—But we pass over the disasters of the journey, to commemorate her arrival in this antient principality. The first village she reached was Hoff, which is on the frontier—and has also the convenience of being within three miles of the centre of the territory: And here the grand Marshall, and all the nobility of the province, are mustered to receive her at the bottom of the staircase, or, in other words, of the woodden ladder which led to her apartments. However, various guns were fired off very successfully, and the chief nobility were invited to dinner. The princess's description of these personages is really very edifying. They had all faces, she says, which a child could not look on without screaming;—huge masses of hair on their heads, filled with a race of vermin as antient as their pedigrees;—clothed in old laced suits that had descended through many generations, the most part in rags, and no way fitting their present wearers;—the greater part of them covered with itch;—and their conversation, of oxen. Immediately after dinner they began with the princess's

health in a huge bumper, and proceeded regularly in the same gallant manner through the whole of her genealogy ;—so that in less than half an hour she found herself in the middle of thirty-four monsters, so drunk that none of them could articulate, ' et ' rendant les boyaux à tous ces desastreux visages.' Next day being Sunday, there was a sermon in honour of the occasion, in which the preacher gave an exact account of all the marriages that had happened in the world, from the days of Adam down to the last of the patriarchs—illustrated with so many circumstantial details as to the antecedents and consequents in each, that the male part of his audience laughed outright, and the female pretended to blush throughout the whole discourse. The dinner scene was the same as on the day preceding ; with the addition of the female nobility who came in the evening, with their heads enveloped in greasy wigs like swallows nests, and antient embroidered dresses, stuck all over with knots of faded ribands.

The day following, the Margrave, her father-in-law, came himself to meet her. This worthy prince was nearly as amiable, and not quite so wise, as the king she had left. He had read but two books in the world, Telemaque, and Amelot's Roman history, and discoursed out of them so very tediously, that the poor princess fainted from mere *ennui*, at the very first interview ;—then he drank night and day—and occasionally took his cane to the prince his son, and his other favourites. Though living in poverty and absolute discomfort, he gave himself airs of the utmost magnificence—went to dinner with three flourishes of cracked trumpets—received his Court, leaning with one hand on a table, in imitation of the Emperor—and conferred his little dignities in harangues so pompous, and so awkwardly delivered, that his daughter-in-law at once laughed and was ashamed of him. He was awkward, too, and embarrassed in the society of strangers of good breeding,—but made amends by chattering without end about himself and his two books to those who were bound to bear with him. Under the escort of this great potentate the princess made her triumphal entry into the city of Bareith the next morning. The whole procession consisted of one coach containing the constituted authorities who had come out to meet her, her own carriage drawn by six carrion post-horses, that containing her attendants, and six or seven waggons loaded with furniture. The Margrave then conducted her from the palace gate in great state to her apartments, through a long passage, hung with cobwebs, and so abominably filthy, as to turn her stomach in hurrying through it. This opened into an antichamber, adorn-

ed with old tapestry so torn and faded, that the figures on it looked like so many ghosts; and through that into a cabinet furnished with green damask all in tatters. Her bedchamber was also furnished with the same stuff—but in such a condition, that the curtains fell in pieces whenever they were touched. Half of the windows were broken; and there was no fire, though it was midwinter. The dinners were not eatable; and lasted three hours, with thirty flourishes of the old trumpets for the bumper toasts with which they were enlivened: Add to all this, that the poor princess was very much indisposed—that the Margrave came and talked to her out of Telemaque and Amelot five or six hours every day—and that she could not muster cash enough to buy herself a gown: and it will not appear wonderful, that in the very midst of the wedding revelries, she spent half her time in bed, weeping over the vanity of human grandeur.

By and by, however, she found occupation in quarrelling with her sisters-in-law, and in making and appeasing disputes between her husband and his father. She agrees so ill, indeed, with all the family, that her proposal of returning to lye-in at Berlin is received with great joy:—but while they are deliberating about raising money for this journey of 200 miles, she becomes too ill to move. Her sister of Anspach, and her husband, come, and quarrel with her upon points of etiquette; the Margrave falls in love with one of her attendants; and in the midst of all manner of perplexities she is delivered of a daughter. The Margrave, who was in the country, not hearing the cannon which proclaimed this great event, conceives that he is treated with great disrespect, and gives orders for having his son imprisoned in one of his fortresses. He relents, however, at the christening, and is put in good humour by a visit from another son and a brother,—the first of whom is described as a kind of dwarf and natural fool, who could never take seriously to any employment but catching flies; and the other as a furious madman, in whose company no one was sure of his life. This amiable family party is broken up, by an order on the princess's husband to join his regiment at Berlin, and another order from her father for her to pay a visit to her sister at Anspach. On her way she visits an antient beauty, with a nose like a beet-root, and two maids of honour so excessively fat that they could not sit down; and, in stooping to kiss the princess's hand, fell over, and rolled like balls of flesh on the carpet. At Anspach, she finds the Margrave deep in an intrigue with the housemaid, and consoles her sister under this affliction. She then makes a great effort, and raises money enough to carry her to Berlin; where she is received with coldness and ridicule by the queen, and

neglect and insult by all her sisters. Her brother's marriage with the princess of Brunswick was just about to take place, and we choose to give in her own words her account of the manner in which she was *talked over* in this royal circle.

'La reine, à table, fit tomber la conversation sur la princesse royale future. "Votre frere, me dit-elle en le regardant, est au désespoir de l'épouser, et n'a pas tort: *c'est une vrai bête;* elle répond à tout ce qu'on lui dit par un oui et un non, accompagné d'un rire niais qui fait mal au cœur. Oh! dit ma sœur Charlotte, votre Majesté ne connôit pas encore tout son mérite. J'ai été un matin à sa toilette; j'ai cru y suffoquer; elle exhaloit une odeur insupportable; je crois qu'elle a pour le moins dix ou douze fistules, car cela n'est pas naturel. J'ai remarqué aussi qu'elle est contrefaite; son corps de jupe est rembourré d'un côté, et elle a une hanche plus haute que l'autre." Je fus fort étonnée de ces propos, qui se tenoient en présence des domestiques et surtout de mon frère. Je m'aperçus qu'ils lui faisoient de la peine et qu'il changeoit de couleur. Il se retira aussitôt après souper. J'en fis autant. Il vint me voir un moment après. Je lui demandai s'il étoit satisfait du roi? Il me répondit que sa situation changeoit à tout moment; que tantôt il étoit en faveur et tantôt en disgrâce; que son plus grand bonheur consistoit dans l'absence; qu'il menoit une vie douce et tranquille à son régiment; que l'étude et la musique y faisoient ses principales occupations; qu'il avoit fait bâtir une maison et fait faire un jardin charmant où il pouvoit lire et se promener. Je le priai de me dire si le portrait que la reine et ma sœur m'avoient fait de la princesse de Brunswick étoit véritable? "Nous sommes seuls, repartit-il, et je n'ai rien de caché pour vous, je vous parlerai avec sincérité. La reine, par ses misérables intrigues, est la seule source de nos malheurs. A peine avez-vous été partie qu'elle a renoué avec l'Angleterre; elle a voulu vous substituer ma sœur Charlotte et lui faire épouser le prince de Galles. Vous jugez bien qu'elle a employé tous ses efforts pour faire réussir son plan et pour me marier avec la princesse Amélie. Le roi a été informé de ce dessein aussitôt qu'il a été tramé, la Ramen (qui est plus en grace que jamais auprès d'elle) l'en ayant averti. Ce prince a été piqué au vif de ces nouvelles menées qui ont causé maintes brouilleries entre la reine et lui. Sekendorff s'en est enfin mêlé, et a conseillé au roi de mettre fin à ces tripotages en concluant mon mariage avec la princesse de Brunswick. La reine ne peut se consoler de ce revers; le désespoir où elle est lui fait exhaler son venin contre cette pauvre princesse. Elle a exigé de moi que je refusasse absolument ce parti, et m'a dit qu'elle ne se soucioit point que la mésintelligence, recommencât entre le roi et moi.' p. 87, 88.

The poor prince, however, confesses that he cannot say much for the intellect of his intended bride;—and really does not use a much nobler language than the rest of the family, even when

speaking in her presence; for on her first presentation to his sister, finding that she made no answer to the compliments that were addressed to her, the enamoured youth encourages her bridal timidity by this polite exclamation: 'Peste soit de la bête!—remercie donc ma sœur.' The account of the festivities which accompanied this marriage really excites our compassion, and is well calculated to disabuse any inexperienced person of the mistake of supposing, that there can be either comfort or enjoyment in the cumbrous splendours of a court. Scanty and crowded dinners at mid-day—and formal balls and minuets immediately after, in June, followed up with dull gaming in the evening;—the necessity of being up in full dress by three o'clock in the morning to see a review—and the pleasure of being stifled in a crowded tent without seeing any thing, or getting any refreshment for seven or eight hours, and to return famishing to a dinner of eighty covers;—at other times to travel ten miles at a foot-pace in an open carriage during a heavy rain, and then to stand shivering on the wet grass to see fireworks—to pay twenty visits of ceremony every morning, and to present and be presented in stately silence to persons whom you hate and despise. Such were the general delights of the whole court;—and the princess had the additional gratification of being forced from a sick-bed to enjoy them, and of undergoing the sneers of her mother, and the slights of her whole generation. Their domestic life, when these galas were over, was nearly as fatiguing, and still more lugubrious. The good old custom of famishing was kept up at table; and immediately after dinner the king had his great chair placed right before the fire, and snored in it for three hours, during all which they were obliged to keep silence, for fear of disturbing him. When he awoke, he set to smoking tobacco;—and then sate four hours at supper listening to long stories of his ancestors, in the taste of those sermons which are prescribed to persons afflicted with insomnolency. Then the troops began their exercise under the windows before four o'clock every morning,—and not only kept the whole household awake from that hour by their firing, but sometimes sent a ramrod through the glass to assist at the princess's toilette. One afternoon the king was seized with a sort of apoplexy in his sleep, which, as he always snored extremely loud, might have carried him off without much observation, had not his daughter observed him grow black in the face, and restored him by timely application. She is equally unfortunate about the same time in her father-in-law the Margrave, who is mischievous enough to recover, after breaking a bloodvessel by falling down stairs in a fit of drunkenness. At

last she gets away with great difficulty, and takes her second leave of the parental roof, with even less regard for its inhabitants than she had felt on first quitting its shelter.

On her return to Bareith, she finds the Margrave quite broken in health, but extravagantly and *honourably* in love with a lame, dwarfish, middle-aged lady, the sister of her antient governess, whom he proposes to marry, to the great discomfiture of the princess and his son. They remonstrate with the lady, however, on the absurdity of such an union; and she promises to be cruel, and live single. In the mean time, one of the Margrave's daughters is taken with a kind of madness of a very indecorous character; which indicates itself by frequent improprieties of speech, and an habit of giving invitations, of no equivocal sort, to every man that comes near her. The worthy Margrave, at first, undertakes to cure this very troublesome complaint by a brisk course of beating; but this not being found to answer, it is thought expedient to try the effect of marriage; and, that there may be no harm done to any body, they look out a certain Duke of Weimar, who is as mad as the lady—though somewhat in a different way. This prince's malady consisted chiefly in great unsteadiness of purpose, and a trick of outrageous and inventive boasting. Both the princess and her husband, however, take great pains to bring about this well-assorted match; and, by dint of flattery and intimidation, it is actually carried through—though the bridegroom sends a piteous message on the morning of his wedding day, begging to be off, and keeps them from twelve till four o'clock in the morning before he can be persuaded to go to bed. In the mean time, the princess gives great offence to the populace and the preachers of Bareith, by giving a sort of masked ball, and riding occasionally on horseback. Her husband goes to the wars, and returns very much out of humour with her brother Frederic, who talks contemptuously of little courts and little princes. The old Margrave falls into a confirmed hectic, and writes *billets-doux* to his little lady, so tender as to turn one's stomach; but at last dies in an edifying manner, to the great satisfaction of all his friends and acquaintances. Old Frederic promises fair, at the same time, to follow his example; for he is seized with a confirmed dropsy. His legs swell, and burst; and give out so much water, that he is obliged for several days to sit with them in buckets. By a kind of miracle, however, he recovers, and goes a campaigning for several years after.

The Memoirs are rather dull for four or five years after the author's accession to the throne of Bareith. She makes various journies, and suffers from various distempers—has innumerable

quarrels with all the neighbouring potentates about her own precedence and that of her attendants; fits up several villas, gives balls; and sometimes quarrels with her husband, and sometimes nurses him in his illness. In 1740 the King her father dies in good earnest; and makes, it must be acknowledged, a truly heroic, though somewhat whimsical ending. Finding himself fast going, he had himself placed early in the morning in his wheel-chair, and went to tell the queen to rise and see him die. He then took farewell of his children; and gave some sensible advice to his son, and the ministers and generals whom he had assembled. Afterwards he had his best horse brought, and presented it with a good grace to the oldest of his generals. He ordered all the servants to put on their new liveries; and, when this was done, he looked on them with an air of derision, and said, 'Vanity of vanities!' He commanded his physician to tell him exactly how long he had to live; and when he answered, 'about half an hour,' he asked for a looking-glass, and said, with a smile, that he did look ill enough, and saw '*qu'il* '*ferait une vilaine grimace en mourant.*' When the clergymen proposed to come and pray with him, he said, 'he knew al-'ready all they had to say, and that they might go about their 'business.' In a short time after he expired in great tranquillity.

Though the new King came to visit his sister soon after his accession, and she went to return the compliment at Berlin, she says there was no longer any cordiality between them; and that she heard nothing but complaints of his avarice, his ill temper, his ingratitude, and his arrogance. She gives him great credit for talents, but entreats her readers to suspend their judgment as to the real character of this celebrated Monarch, till they have perused the whole of her Memoirs. What seems to have given her the worst opinion of him, was his impolite habit of making jokes about the small domains and scanty revenues of her husband. For the two following years she travels all over Germany, abusing all the *principautés* she meets with. In 1742, she goes to see the coronation of the new Emperor at Francfort, and has a long negociation about the ceremony of her introduction to the Empress. After various *projets* had been offered and rejected, she made these three conditions:—1st, That the whole *cortege* of the Empress should receive her at the bottom of the staircase. 2dly, That the Empress herself should come to meet her at the outside of the door of her bed-chamber. And, 3dly, That she should be allowed an arm-chair during the interview. Whole days were spent in the discussion of this proposition; and at last the two first articles were agreed to; but all that she could make

of the last was, that she should have a very large chair without arms, and the Empress a very small one with them!—Her account of the interview we add in her own words.

'Je vis cette princesse le jour suivant. J'avoue qu'à sa place j'aurois imaginé toutes les étiquettes et les cérémonies du monde pour m'empêcher de paroître. L'Impératrice est d'une taille au-dessous de la petite, et si puissante qu'elle semble une boule; elle est laide au possible, sans air et sans grace. Son esprit répond à sa figure; elle est bigotte à l'excès, et passe les nuits et les jours dans son oratoire: les vieilles et les laides sont ordinairement le partage du bon Dieu. Elle me reçut en tremblant et d'un air si décontenancé qu'elle ne put me dire un mot. Nous nous assîmes. Après avoir gardé quelque temps le silence je commençai la conversation en français. Elle me repondit, dans son jargon autrichien, qu'elle n'entendoit pas bien cette langue et qu'elle me prioit de lui parler en allemand. Cet entretien ne fut pas long. Le dialecte autrichien et le bas-saxon sont si différens, qu'à moins d'y être accoutumé on ne se comprend point. C'est aussi ce qui nous arriva. Nous aurions préparé à rire à un tiers par les coq-à-l'âne que nous faisions, n'entendant que par-ci par-là un mot qui nous faisoit deviner le reste. Cette princesse étoit si fort esclave de son étiquette qu'elle auroit cru faire un crime de lèse-grandeur en m'entretenant dans une langue étrangère, car elle savoit le français. L'Empereur devoit se trouver à cette visite; mais il étoit tombé si malade qu'on craignoit même pour ses jours.' p. 345 & 346.

After this she comes home in very bad humour; and the Memoirs break off abruptly with her detection of an intrigue between her husband and her favourite attendant, and her dissatisfaction with the dull formality of the Court of Stutgard. We hope the sequel will soon find its way to the public.

Some readers may think we have dwelt too long on such a tissue of impertinencies; and others may think an apology requisite for the tone of levity in which we have spoken of so many atrocities. The truth is, that we think this book of no trifling importance, and that we could not be serious upon the subject of it without being both sad and angry. Before concluding, however, we shall add one word in seriousness,—to avoid the misconstructions to which we might otherwise be liable.

We are decidedly of opinion, that Monarchy, and Hereditary Monarchy, is by far the best form of government that human wisdom has yet devised for the administration of considerable nations, and that it will always continue to be the most perfect which human virtue will admit of. We are not readily to be suspected, therefore, of any wish to produce a distaste or contempt

for this form of government; and beg leave to say, that though the facts we have now collected are certainly such as to give no favourable impression of the private manners or personal dispositions of sovereigns, we conceive that good, rather than evil, is likely to result from their dissemination. This we hold, in the first place, on the strength of the general maxim, that all truth must be ultimately salutary, and all deception pernicious. But we think we can see a little how this maxim applies to the particular case before us.

In the first place, then, we think it of service to the cause of royalty, in an age of violent passions and rash experiments, to show that most of the vices and defects which such times are apt to bring to light in particular sovereigns, are owing, not so much to any particular unworthiness or unfitness in the individual, as to the natural operation of the circumstances in which he is placed; and are such as those circumstances have always generated in a certain degree in those who have been exposed to them. Such considerations, it appears to us, when taken along with the strong and irresistible arguments for monarchical government in general, are well calculated to allay that great impatience and dangerous resentment with which nations in turbulent times are apt to consider the faults of their sovereigns; and to unite with our steady attachment and entire respect for the office, a very great degree of indulgence for the personal defects of the individual who may happen to fill it. Monarchs, upon this view of things, are to be considered as persons who are placed, for the public good, in situations where not only their comfort but their moral qualities are liable to be greatly impaired; and who are poorly paid in empty splendour, and anxious power, for the sacrifice of their affections, and of the many engaging qualities which might have blossomed in a lower region. If we look with indulgence upon the roughness of sailors, the pedantry of schoolmasters, and the frivolousness of beauties, we should learn to regard, with something of the same feelings, the selfishness and the cunning of kings.

In the second place, we presume to think that the general adoption of these opinions as to the personal defects that are likely to result from the possession of sovereign power, may be of use to the Sovereigns themselves, from whom the knowledge of their prevalence cannot be very long concealed. Such knowledge, it is evident, will naturally stimulate the better sort of them to counteract the causes which tend to their personal degradation, and enable them more generally to surmount their pernicious operation, by such efforts and reflections, as have every

now and then rescued some powerful spirits from their dominion, under all the disadvantages of the delusions with which they were surrounded.

Finally, if the general prevalence of these sentiments as to the private manners and dispositions of Sovereigns *should* have the effect of rendering the bulk of their subjects less prone to blind admiration, and what may be called personal attachment to them, we do not imagine that any great harm will be done. The less the public knows or cares about the private wishes of their Monarch, and the more his individual will is actually consubstantiated with the deliberate sanctions of his responsible counsellors, the more perfectly will the practice of government correspond with its admitted theory, the more wisely will affairs be administered for the public, and the more harmoniously and securely both for the Sovereign and the people. An adventurous warrior may indeed derive signal advantages from the personal devotedness and enthusiastic attachment of his followers; but in the civil offices of monarchy, as it exists in modern times, the only safe attachment is to the office, and to the measures which it sanctions. The personal popularity of princes, in so far as we know, has never done any thing but harm: and indeed it seems abundantly evident, that whatever is done merely for the personal gratification of the reigning Monarch, that would not have been done at any rate on grounds of public expediency, must be an injury to the community, and a sacrifice of duty to an unreturned affection; and whatever is forborne out of regard to his pleasure, which the interest of the country would otherwise have required, is in like manner an act of base and unworthy adulation. We do not speak, it will be understood, of trifles or things of little moment; but of public acts of the government that involve the honour or the interest of the nation.

ART. II. *Tales:* By the Reverend George Crabbe. 8vo. pp. 398. London. 1812.

WE are very thankful to Mr Crabbe for these Tales; as we must always be for any thing that comes from his hands. But they are not exactly the tales which we wanted. We did not, however, wish him to write an Epic—as he seems from his preface to have imagined. We are perfectly satisfied with the length of the pieces he has given us; and delighted with their number and variety. In these respects the volume is exactly as we could have wished it. But we should have liked a

little more of the deep and tragical passions—of those passions which exalt and overwhelm the soul—to whose stormy seat the modern muses can so rarely raise their flight—and which he has wielded with such terrific force in his Sir Eustace Grey, and the Gipsey Woman. What we wanted, in short, were tales something in the style of those two singular compositions—with less jocularity than prevails in the rest of his writings—rather more incidents—and rather fewer details.

The pieces before us are not of this description;—they are mere supplementary chapters to 'the Borough,' or 'the Parish Register.' The same tone—the same subjects—the same style, measure, and versification;—the same finished and minute delineation of things quite ordinary and common,—generally very engaging when employed upon external objects, but often fatiguing when directed merely to insignificant characters and habits;—the same strange mixture too of feelings that tear the heart and darken the imagination, with starts of low humour and patches of ludicrous imagery;—the same kindly sympathy with the humble and innocent pleasures of the poor and inelegant, and the same indulgence for their venial offences, contrasted with a strong sense of their frequent depravity, and too constant a recollection of the sufferings it produces;—and, finally, the same honours paid to the delicate affections and ennobling passions of humble life, with the same generous testimony to their frequent existence, mixed up as before with a reprobation sufficiently rigid, and a ridicule sufficiently severe, of their excesses and affectations.

Holding this opinion then as to the substantial identity of *the fabric* of this volume, both as to materials and workmanship, with that of those which the author has lately given to the world, we cannot think of taking up the time of our readers, either by renewing the attempt which we formerly * made to characterize the peculiar style of poetry which they all exemplify, or by resuming the observations which we then ventured to offer as to its merits or defects. If we were required to make a comparative estimate of the merits of the present publication, or to point out the shades of difference by which it is distinguished from those that have gone before it, we should say that it has fewer passages that excite that mixed feeling of pain and disgust which this author was formerly so much given to raise, and rather more perhaps of those in which his rare gifts of observation and description are lavished upon objects which no fidelity in the rendering, and no skill in the finishing can ever make interesting: But especially we

* Vol. XII. p. 132. and Vol. XVI. p. 31.

should say that there are a greater number of instances on which he has combined the natural language and manners of humble life with the energy of true passion, and the beauty of generous affection,—in which he has traced out the course of those rich and lovely veins even in the rude and unpolished masses that lye at the bottom of society,—and unfolded, in the middling orders of the people, the workings of those finer feelings, and the stirrings of those loftier emotions which the partiality of other poets had hitherto attributed almost exclusively to actors on a higher scene.

We hope, too, that this more amiable and consoling view of human nature will have the effect of rendering Mr Crabbe still more popular than we know that he already is, among that great body of the people from among whom almost all his subjects are taken, and for whose use his lessons are chiefly intended: and we say this the rather, because it appears to us that the volume now before us is more uniformly and directly moral and beneficial in its tendency than any of those which he has hitherto given to the public—consists less of mere curious specimens of description and gratuitous dissections of character, but inculcates for the most part some weighty and practical precept, and points right on to the cheerful path by which duty leads us forward to enjoyment. In this point of view, indeed, we think that many of the stories in the present volume may be ranked by the side of the inimitable tales of Miss Edgeworth; and are calculated to do nearly as much good among that part of the population with which they are principally occupied.

But it is not only on account of the moral benefit which we think they may derive from them, that we would peculiarly recommend the writings of Mr Crabbe to that great proportion of our readers which must necessarily belong to the middling or humbler classes of the community. We are persuaded that they will derive more pleasure from them than readers of any other description. Those who do not belong to that rank of society with which this powerful writer is chiefly conversant in his poetry, or who have not at least gone much among them, and attended diligently to their characters and occupations, can neither be half aware of the exquisite fidelity of his delineations, nor feel in their full force the better part of the emotions which he has suggested. Vehement passion indeed is of all ranks and conditions; and its language and external indications nearly the same in all. Like highly rectified spirit, it blazes and enflames with equal force and brightness from whatever materials it is extracted. But all the softer and kindlier affections, all the social anxieties that mix with our daily

hopes, and endear our home, and colour our existence, wear a different livery, and are written in a different character in almost every great *caste* or division of society; and the heart is warmed, and the spirit is touched by their delineation, exactly in the same proportion in which we are familiar with the types by which they are represented.—When Burns, in his better days, walked out in a fine summer morning with Dugald Stewart, and the latter observed to him what a beauty the scattered cottages, with their white walls and curling smoke shining in the silent sun, imparted to the landscape, the peasant poet answered, that *he* felt that beauty ten times more strongly than his companion; and that it was necessary to be a cottager to know what pure and tranquil pleasures nestled below those lowly roofs, or to read, in their external appearance, the signs of so many heartfelt and long-remembered enjoyments. In the same way, the humble and patient hopes—the depressing embarrassments—the little mortifications—the slender triumphs, and strange temptations which arise in middling life, and are the theme of Mr Crabbe's finest and most touching representations,—can only be guessed at by those who glitter in the higher walks of existence; while they must raise many a tumultuous throb and many a fond recollection in the breasts of those to whom they reflect so truly the image of their own estate, and reveal so clearly the secrets of their habitual sensations.

We cannot help thinking, therefore, that though such writings as are now before us must give great pleasure to all persons of taste and sensibility, they will give by far the greatest pleasure to those whose condition is least remote from that of the beings with whom they are occupied. But we think also, that it was wise and meritorious in Mr Crabbe to occupy himself with such beings. In this country, there probably are not less than two hundred thousand persons who read for amusement or instruction among the middling classes * of society. In the higher classes, there are not as many as twenty thousand. It is easy to see therefore which a poet should chuse to please for his own glory and emolument, and which he should wish to delight and amend out of mere philanthropy. The fact too we believe is, that a great part of the larger body are to the full as well educated and as high-minded as the smaller; and, though their taste may not be so correct and fastidious, we are persuaded that their sensibility is greater. The misfortune is, to be sure, that they are

* By the middling classes, we mean almost all those who are below the sphere of what is called fashionable or public life, and who do not aim at distinction or notoriety beyond the circle of their equals in fortune and situation.

extremely apt to affect the taste, and to counterfeit even that absurd disdain of their superiors, of which they are themselves the objects; and that poets have generally thought it safest to invest their interesting characters with all the trappings of splendid fortune and high station, chiefly because those who know least about such matters think it unworthy to sympathize in the adventures of those who are without them. For our own parts, however, we are quite positive, not only that persons in middling life would naturally be most touched with the emotions that belong to their own condition, but that those emotions are in themselves the most powerful, and consequently the best fitted for poetical or pathetic representation. Even with regard to the heroic and ambitious passions, as the vista is longer which leads from humble privacy to the natural objects of those passions; so, the career is likely to be longer and more impetuous, and its outset more marked by striking and contrasted emotions:—and as to all the more tender and less turbulent affections, upon which the beauty of the pathetic is altogether dependent, we apprehend it to be quite manifest, that their proper soil and *nidus* is the privacy and simplicity of humble life;—that their very elements are dissipated by the variety of objects that move for ever in the world of fashion; and their essence tainted by the cares and vanities that are diffused in the atmosphere of that lofty region. But we are wandering into a long dissertation, instead of making our readers acquainted with the book before us. The most satisfactory thing we can do, we believe, is to give them a plain account of its contents, with such quotations and remarks as may occur to us as we proceed.

The volume contains twenty-one tales;—the first of which is called 'The Dumb Orators.' This is not one of the most engaging; and is not judiciously placed at the portal to tempt hesitating readers to go forward. The fault, however, is entirely in the subject, which commands no strong or general interest; for it is perfectly well conceived and executed. The object of it is to show, that a man's fluency and force and intrepidity of speech, depends very much upon his confidence of the approbation of his auditors; and accordingly it exhibits the orthodox, loyal, authoritative Justice Bolt struck quite dumb in an assembly of Jacobins into which he happens to stray; and the Jacobin orator, in like manner, reduced to stammering and imbecility, when detected at a dinner of parsons. The description of Justice Bolt is admirable, and may stand for a portrait of more than one provincial dictator.

> 'Meetings, or public calls, he never miss'd,—
> To dictate often, always to assist;

Oft he the Clergy join'd, and not a cause
Pertain'd to them but he could quote the laws;
He, upon tithes and residence display'd
A fund of knowledge for the hearer's aid;
And could on glebe and farming, wool and grain,
A long discourse, without a pause, maintain.
To his experience and his native sense,
He join'd a bold imperious eloquence;
The grave, stern look of men inform'd and wise,
A full command of feature, heart, and eyes,
An awe-compelling frown, and fear inspiring size.
And now, into the vale of years declin'd,
He hides too little of the monarch-mind;
And grows so fond of teaching, that he taught
Those who instruction needed not, nor sought:
He kindles anger by untimely jokes,
And opposition by contempt provokes;
Mirth he suppresses by his awful frown,
And humble spirits, by disdain keeps down;
Blam'd by the mild, approv'd by the severe,
The prudent fly him, and the valiant fear. p. 6, 7.

The second tale, entitled 'The Parting Hour,' is of a more tender character, and contains some passages of great beauty and pathos. The story is simply that of a youth and a maiden in humble life, who had loved each other from their childhood, but were too poor to marry. The youth goes to the West Indies to push his fortune; but is captured by the Spaniards and carried to Mexico, where, in the course of time, though still sighing for his first love, he marries a Spanish girl, and lives twenty years with her and his children—he is then impressed, and carried round the world for twenty years longer, and is at last moved by an irresistible impulse, when old and shattered and lonely, to seek his native town, and the scene of his youthful vows. He comes and finds his Judith like himself in a state of widowhood, but still brooding like himself over the memory of their early love. She had waited twelve anxious years without tidings of him, and then married: and now when all passion and fuel for passion is extinguished within them, the memory of their young attachment endears them to each other, and they still cling together in sad and subdued affection, to the exclusion of all the rest of the world. The history of the growth and maturity of their innocent love is beautifully given—But we pass on to the scene of their parting.

'All things prepar'd, on the expected day
Was seen the vessel anchor'd in the bay.
From her would seamen in the evening come,
To take th' advent'rous *Allen* from his home;

With his own friends the final day he pass'd,
And every painful hour, except the last.
The grieving Father urg'd the cheerful glass,
To make the moments with less sorrow pass;
Intent the Mother look'd upon her son,
And wish'd th' assent withdrawn, the deed undone;
The younger Sister, as he took his way,
Hung on his coat, and begg'd for more delay:
But his own *Judith* call'd him to the shore,
Whom he must meet, for they might meet no more;—
And there he found her—faithful, mournful, true,
Weeping and waiting for a last adieu!
The ebbing tide had left the sand, and there
Mov'd with slow steps the melancholy pair:
Sweet were the painful moments,—but how sweet,
And without pain when they again should meet!' p. 29.

The sad and long-delayed return of this ardent adventurer is described in a tone of genuine pathos, and in some places with such truth and force of colouring, as to outdo the efforts of the first dramatic representation.

'But when return'd the Youth?—the *Youth* no more
Return'd exulting to his native shore;
But forty years were past, and then there came
A worn-out man with wither'd limbs and lame,
His mind oppress'd with woes, and bent with age his frame:
Yes! old and griev'd, and trembling with decay,
Was *Allen* landing in his native bay:
In an autumnal eve he left the beach,
In such an eve he chanc'd the port to reach:
He was alone; he press'd the very place
Of the sad parting, of the last embrace:
There stood his parents, there retir'd the Maid,
So fond, so tender, and so much afraid;
And on that spot, through many a year, his mind
Turn'd mournful back, half sinking, half resign'd.
No one was present; of its crew bereft,
A single boat was in the billows left;
Sent from some anchor'd vessel in the bay,
At the returning tide to sail away:
O'er the black stern the moonlight softly play'd,
The loosen'd foresail flapping in the shade:
All silent else on shore; but from the town
A drowsy peal of distant bells came down:
From the tall houses, here and there, a light
Serv'd some confus'd remembrance to excite:
"There," he observ'd, and new emotions felt,
"Was my first home—and yonder *Judith* dwelt."

Sudden there broke upon his grief a noise
Of merry tumult and of vulgar joys:
Seamen returning to their ship, were come;
With idle numbers straying from their home;
Allen among them mix'd, and in the old
Strove some familiar features to behold;
While fancy aided memory:—"Man! what cheer?"
A sailor cried; "Art thou at anchor here?"
Faintly he answer'd, and then tried to trace
Some youthful features in some aged face:
A swarthy matron he beheld, and thought
She might unfold the very truths he sought;
Confus'd and trembling, he the dame address'd:
"The *Booths!* yet live they?" pausing and oppress'd:
Then spake again:—"Is there no ancient man,
"*David* his name?—assist me, if you can.—
"*Flemings* there were—and *Judith*, doth she live?"
The woman gaz'd, nor could an answer give;
Yet wond'ring stood, and all were silent by,
Feeling a strange and solemn sympathy.' p. 31, 32.

The meeting of the lovers is briefly told.

'But now a Widow, in a village near,
Chanc'd of the melancholy man to hear:
Old as she was, to *Judith*'s bosom came
Some strong emotions at the well-known name;
He was her much-lov'd *Allen*, she had stay'd
Ten troubled years, a sad afflicted maid,' &c.
'The once-fond Lovers met; not grief nor age,
Sickness or pain, their hearts could disengage:
Each had immediate confidence; a friend
Both now beheld, on whom they might depend:
"Now is there one to whom I can express
"My nature's weakness, and my soul's distress."

There is something sweet and touching, and in a higher vein of poetry, in the story which he tells to Judith of all his adventures, and of those other ties, of which it still wrings her bosom to hear him speak.—We can afford but one little extract.

'There, hopeless ever to escape the land,
He to a Spanish maiden gave his hand:
In cottage shelter'd from the blaze of day,
He saw his happy infants round him play;
Where summer shadows, made by lofty trees,
Wav'd o'er his seat, and sooth'd his reveries;
E'en then he thought of *England*, nor could sigh,
But his fond *Isabel* demanded "Why?"
Griev'd by the story, she the sigh repaid,
And wept in pity for the English Maid:' p. 35, 36.

The close is extremely beautiful, and leaves upon the mind just that impression of sadness which is both salutary and delightful, because it is akin to pity, and mingled with admiration and esteem.

' Here his relation closes, but his mind
Flies back again some resting-place to find;
Thus silent, musing through the day, he sees
His children sporting by those lofty trees,
Their mother singing in the shady scene,
Where the fresh springs burst o'er the lively green;—
So strong his eager fancy, he affrights
The faithful widow by its pow'rful flights;
For what disturbs him he aloud will tell,
And cry—" 'Tis she, my wife! my *Isabel!* "
" Where are my children? "—*Judith* grieves to hear
How the soul works in sorrows so severe;—
Assiduous all his wishes to attend,
Depriv'd of much he yet may boast a friend;
Watch'd by her care, in sleep, his spirit takes
Its flight, and watchful finds her when he wakes.
'Tis now her office; her attention see!
While her friend sleeps beneath that shading tree,
Careful, she guards him from the glowing heat,
And pensive muses at her *Allen*'s feet.
And where is he? Ah! doubtless in those scenes
Of his best days, amid the vivid greens,
Fresh with unnumber'd rills, where ev'ry gale
Breathes the rich fragrance of the neighb'ring vale;
Smiles not his wife, and listens as there comes
The night-bird's music from the thick'ning glooms?
And as he sits with all these treasures nigh,
Blaze not with fairy-light the phosphor fly,
When like a sparkling gem it wheels illumin'd by?
This is the joy that now so plainly speaks
In the warm transient flushing of his cheeks;
For he is list'ning to the fancied noise
Of his own children, eager in their joys:—
All this he feels; a dream's delusive bliss
Gives the expression, and the glow like this.
And now his *Judith* lays her knitting by,
These strong emotions in her friend to spy;
For she can fully of their nature deem——
But see! he breaks the long-protracted theme,
And wakes and cries—" My God! 'twas but a dream! " 39. 40.

The third tale is ' The Gentleman Farmer,' and is of a coarser texture than that we have just been considering,—though full of acute observation, and graphic delineation of ordinary charac-

ters. The hero is not a farmer turned gentleman, but a gentleman turned farmer—a conceited, active, talking, domineering sort of person—who plants and eats and drinks with great vigour—keeps a mistress, and speaks with audacious scorn of the tyranny of wives, and the impositions of priests, lawyers, and physicians. Being but a shallow fellow however at bottom, his confidence in his opinions declines gradually as his health decays; and, being seized with some maladies in his stomach, he ends with marrying his mistress, and submitting to be triply governed by three of her confederates, in the respective characters of a quack doctor, a methodist preacher, and a projecting land steward. We cannot afford any extracts from this performance.

The next, which is called 'Procrastination,' has something of the character of the 'Parting Hour;' but more painful and less refined. It is founded like it on the story of a betrothed youth and maiden, whose marriage is prevented by their poverty; and the youth goes to pursue his fortune at sea, while the damsel awaits his return, with an old female relation at home. He is crossed with many disasters, and is not heard of for many years. In the mean time, the virgin gradually imbibes her aunt's paltry love for wealth and finery; and when she comes, after long sordid expectation, to inherit her hoards, feels that those new tastes have supplanted every warmer emotion in her bosom; and, secretly hoping never more to see her youthful lover, gives herself up to comfortable gossipping and formal ostentatious devotion. At last, when she is set in her fine parlour, with her china and toys, and prayer-books around her, the impatient man bursts into her presence, and reclaims her vows. She answers coldly, that she has now done with the world, and only studies how to prepare to die; and exhorts him to betake himself to the same needful meditations. We shall give the conclusion of the scene in the author's own words. The faithful and indignant lover replies.

'Heav'n's spouse thou art not; nor can I believe
That God accepts her, who will Man deceive:
True I am shatter'd, I have service seen,
And service done, and have in trouble been;
My cheek (it shames me not) has lost its red,
And the brown buff is o'er my features spread;
Perchance my speech is rude; for I among
Th' untam'd have been, in temper and in tongue;
Have been trepann'd, have liv'd in toil and care,
And wrought for wealth I was not doom'd to share:
It touch'd me deeply, for I felt a pride
In gaining riches for my destin'd bride:

Speak then my fate; for these my sorrows past,
Time lost, youth fled, hope wearied, and at last
This doubt of thee—a childish thing to tell,
But certain truth—my very throat they swell;
They stop the breath, and but for shame could I
Give way to weakness, and with passion cry;
These are unmanly struggles, but I feel
This hour must end them, and perhaps will heal."—
Here *Dinah* sigh'd as if afraid to speak—
And then repeated—"They were frail and weak;
His soul she lov'd, and hop'd he had the grace
To fix his thoughts upon a better place." p. 72. 73.

Nothing can be more forcible or true to nature, than the description of the effect of this cold blooded cant on the warm and unsuspecting nature of her disappointed suitor.

'She ceased:—With steady glance as if to see
The very root of this hypocrisy,—
He her small fingers moulded in his hard
And bronz'd broad hand; then told her his regard,
His best respect were gone, but Love had still
Hold in his heart, and govern'd yet the will—
Or he would curse her:—Saying this, he threw
The hand in scorn away, and bade adieu
To every ling'ring hope, with every care in view.
Proud and indignant, suffering, sick, and poor,
He griev'd unseen; and spoke of Love no more—
Till all he felt in Indignation died,
As hers had sunk in Avarice and Pride.
In health declining as in mind distress'd,
To some in power his troubles he confess'd,
And shares a parish-gift. At prayers he sees
The pious *Dinah* dropp'd upon her knees;
Thence as she walks the street with stately air,
As chance directs, oft meet the parted pair:
When he, with thickset coat of Badge-man's blue,
Moves near her shaded silk of changeful hue;
When his thin locks of grey approach her braid,
A costly purchase made in beauty's aid;
When his frank air, and his unstudied pace,
Are seen with her soft manner, air, and grace,
And his plain artless look with her sharp meaning face;
It might some wonder in a stranger move,
How these together could have talk'd of love.' p. 73, 74.

'The Patron,' which is next in order, is also very good; and contains specimens of very various excellence. The story is that of a young man of humble birth, who shows an early

genius for poetry; and having been, with some inconvenience to his parents, provided with a frugal, but regular education, is at last taken notice of by a nobleman in the neighbourhood, who promises to promote him in the church, and invites him to pass an autumn with him at his seat in the country. Here the youth, in spite of the admirable admonitions of his father, is gradually overcome by a taste for elegant enjoyments, and allows himself to fall in love with the enchanting sister of his protector. When the family leave him with indifference to return to town, he feels the first pang of humiliation and disappointment; and afterwards, when he finds that all his noble friend's fine promises end in obtaining for him a poor drudging place in the Customs, he pines and pines till he falls into insanity; and recovers, only to die prematurely in the arms of his disappointed parents. We cannot make room for the history of the Poet's progress—the father's warnings—or the blandishments of the careless syren by whom he was enchanted—though all are excellent. We give however the scene of the breaking up of that enchantment;—a description which cannot fail to strike, if it had no other merit, from its mere truth and accuracy.

'Cold grew the foggy morn, the day was brief,
Loose on the cherry hung the crimson leaf;
The dew dwelt ever on the herb; the woods
Roar'd with strong blasts, with mighty showers the floods;
All green was vanish'd, save of pine and yew,
That still display'd their melancholy hue;
Save the green holly with its berries red,
And the green moss that o'er the gravel spread.
To public views my Lord must soon attend;
And soon the Ladies—would they leave their friend?
The time was fix'd—approach'd—was near—was come;
The trying time that fill'd his soul with gloom;
Thoughtful our Poet in the morning rose,
And cried, "One hour my fortune will disclose."
The morning meal was past; and all around
The mansion rang with each discordant sound;
Haste was in every foot, and every look
The trav'llers' joy for London-journey spoke:
Not so our Youth; whose feelings at the noise
Of preparation, had no touch of joys;
He pensive stood, and saw each carriage drawn,
With lackies mounted, ready on the lawn:
The Ladies came; and *John* in terror threw
One painful glance, and then his eyes withdrew;
Not with such speed, but he in other eyes
With anguish read—'I pity, but despise—
'Unhappy boy! presumptuous scribbler!—you,
'To dream such dreams—be sober, and adieu!' p. 93, 94.

His humiliation and irritability on his first return home, are also represented with a thorough knowledge of human nature.

' Ill brook'd he then the pert familiar phrase,
The untaught freedom, and th' inquiring gaze;
Much was his temper touch'd, his spleen provok'd,
When ask'd how Ladies talk'd, or walk'd, or look'd:
" What said my Lord of politics? how spent
" He there his time? and was he glad he went? " p. 96.

We pass over the consummation of his disappointment; and shall finish our extracts with his last sad return to the humble roof of his parents.

' Silent he enter'd the forgotten room,
As ghostly forms may be conceiv'd to come;
With sorrow-shrunken face and hair upright,
He look'd dismay, neglect, despair, affright;
But, dead to comfort, and on misery thrown,
His Parents' loss he felt not, nor his own.
But he was cur'd; for quiet, love, and care,
Strove with the gloom, and broke on the despair;
Yet slow their progress, and as vapours move
Dense and reluctant from the wint'ry grove;
All is confusion till the morning light
Gives the dim scene obscurely to the sight;
More and yet more defin'd the trunks appear,
Till the wild prospect stands distinct and clear;—
So the dark mind of our young Poet grew
Clear and sedate; the dreadful mist withdrew;
And he resembled that bleak wint'ry scene,
Sad, though unclouded; dismal, though serene.' p. 101, 102.

' The Frank Courtship,' which is the next in order, is rather in the merry vein; and contains even less than Mr Crabbe's usual moderate allowance of incident. The whole of the story is, that the daughter of a rigid Quaker, having been educated from home, conceives a slight prejudice against the ungallant manners of the sect, and is prepared to be very contemptuous and uncomplying when her father proposes a sober youth of the persuasion for a husband;—but is so much struck with the beauty of his person, and the cheerful reasonableness of his deportment at their first interview, that she instantly yields her consent. There is an excellent description of the father and the unbending elders of his tribe; and some fine traits of natural coquetry. We can only afford room, however, for the first introduction and characteristic description of the lover.

' The couple gaz'd—were silent, and the Maid
Look'd in his face, to make the Man afraid;
The Man, unmov'd, upon the Maiden cast
A steady view—so salutation pass'd:

But in this instant *Sybil*'s eye had seen
The tall fair person, and the still staid mien;
The glow that temp'rance o'er the cheek had spread,
Where the soft down half veil'd the purest red;
And the serene deportment that proclaim'd
A heart unspotted, and a life unblam'd:
But then with these she saw attire too plain,
The pale brown coat, though worn, without a stain;
The formal air, and something of the pride
That indicates the wealth it seems to hide;
And looks that were not, she conceiv'd, exempt
From a proud pity, or a sly contempt.' p. 118, 119.

'The Widow's Tale' is also rather of the facetious order. It contains the history of a farmer's daughter, who comes home from her boarding-school a great deal too fine to tolerate the gross habits, or submit to the filthy drudgery of her father's house; but is induced, by the warning history and sensible exhortations of a neighbouring widow, in whom she expected to find a sentimental companion, to reconcile herself to all those abominations, and marry a jolly young farmer in the neighbourhood. The account of her horrors, on first coming down, is in Mr Crabbe's best style of Dutch painting—a little coarse, and needlessly minute—but perfectly true, and marvellously coloured.

'Us'd to spare meals, dispos'd in manner pure,
Her father's kitchen she could ill endure;
Where by the steaming beef he hungry sat,
And laid at once a pound upon his plate;
Hot from the field, her eager brother seiz'd
An equal part, and hunger's rage appeas'd;
The air surcharged with moisture, flagg'd around,
And the offended Damsel sigh'd and frown'd;
The swelling fat in lumps conglomerate laid,
And fancy's sickness seiz'd the loathing Maid:
But when the men beside their station took,
The maidens with them, and with these the cook;
When one huge wooden bowl before them stood,
Fill'd with huge balls of farinaceous food;
With bacon, mass saline, where never lean
Beneath the brown and bristly rind was seen;
When from a single horn the party drew
Their copious draughts of heavy ale and new;
When the coarse cloth she saw, with many a stain,
Soil'd by rude hinds who cut and came again,—
She could not breathe; but, with a heavy sigh,
Rein'd the fair neck, and shut the offended eye;
She minc'd the sanguine flesh in frustums fine,
And wonder'd much to see the creatures dine.' p. 128–9.

'The Mother' is not one of the most felicitous of Mr Crabbe's imaginations. The story is that of a vain and absurd widow, who abandons the plainest of two daughters to the care of a pious aunt, and educates the other for a beauty and heiress at home. The favourite however dies; and her mother is pleased to adopt her neglected sister into her high destination. She of course insists upon her breaking off an engagement she had formed with a worthy parson at her aunt's; and the poor girl languishes in the midst of hated splendour, and dies at last of a broken heart,—but full of sublime resignation and holy hope.

'Arabella,' again, is somewhat jocular.—This heroine is the wit and beauty and pattern of a country town—much courted by all the aspiring youth in the neighbourhood, but prodigiously difficult in her choice, but especially on the score of morals. After discarding two or three very amiable suitors, on account of certain little gallantries that had been imputed to them, she is left unmolested with any very ardent suit for twelve or fifteen years; and then submits to marry an elderly West India merchant, with three yellow bastards! The mollification of her nature is thus facetiously described.

'Let us proceed:—Twelve brilliant years were past,
Yet each with less of glory than the last;
Whether these years to this fair Virgin gave
A softer mind—effect they often have;
Whether the Virgin-state was not so bless'd
As that good Maiden in her zeal profess'd;
Or whether lovers falling from her train,
Gave greater price to those she could retain,
Is all unknown;—but *Arabella* now
Was kindly listening to a Merchant's vow;
Who offer'd terms so fair, against his love
To strive was folly, so she never strove.
Man in his earlier days we often find
With a too easy and unguarded mind;
But by increasing years and prudence taught,
He grows reserv'd, and locks up every thought;
Not thus the Maiden, for in blooming youth
She hides her thought, and guards the tender truth;
This, when no longer young, no more she hides,
But frankly in the favour'd swain confides:
Man, stubborn Man, is like the growing tree,
That longer standing, still will harder be;
And like its fruit, the Virgin, first austere,
Then kindly softening with the ripening year.' p. 168, 169.

'The Lover's Journey' is a pretty fancy; and very well exe-

cuted,—at least as to the descriptions it contains.—A lover takes a long ride to see his mistress; and passing in full hope and joy through a barren and fenny country, finds beauty in every thing. Being put out of humour, however, by missing the lady at the end of this stage, he proceeds through a lovely landscape, and finds every thing ugly and disagreeable. At last he meets his fair one—is reconciled—and returns along with her; when the landscape presents neither beauty nor deformity, and excites no emotion whatever in a mind engrossed with more lively sensations. There is nothing in this volume, or perhaps in any part of Mr Crabbe's writings, more exquisite than some of the descriptions in this story. The following, though by no means the best, is too characteristic of the author to be omitted.

'First o'er a barren heath beside the coast
Orlando rode, and joy began to boast.
"This neat low gorse," said he, "with golden bloom,
"Delights each sense, is beauty, is perfume;
"And this gay ling, with all its purple flowers,
"A man at leisure might admire for hours;
"This green-fring'd cup-moss has a scarlet tip,
"That yields to nothing but my *Laura's* lip;
"And then how fine this herbage! men may say
"A heath is barren; nothing is so gay."
Onward he went, and fiercer grew the heat,
Dust rose in clouds before the horse's feet;
For now he pass'd through lanes of burning sand,
Bounds to thin crops or yet uncultur'd land;
Where the dark poppy flourish'd on the dry
And sterile soil, and mock'd the thin-set rye.
The Lover rode as hasty lovers ride,
And reach'd a common pasture wild and wide;
Small black-legg'd sheep devour with hunger keen
The meager herbage, fleshless, lank and lean:
Such o'er thy level turf, *Newmarket!* stray,
And there, with other *Black-legs*, find their prey:
He saw some scatter'd hovels; turf was pil'd
In square brown stacks; a prospect bleak and wild!
A mill, indeed, was in the centre found,
With short sear herbage withering all around;
A smith's black shed oppos'd a wright's long shop,
And join'd an inn where humble travellers stop. p. 176, 177.

The following picture of a *fen* is what few other artists would have thought of attempting, and no other could possibly have executed.

'But next appear'd a *dam*,—so call the place,—
Where lies a road confin'd in narrow space;

A work of labour, for on either side
Is level fen, a prospect wild and wide,
With dykes on either hand by Ocean's self supplied:
Far on the right, the distant sea is seen,
And salt the springs that feed the marsh between;
Beneath an ancient bridge, the straiten'd flood
Rolls through its sloping banks of slimy mud;
Near it a sunken boat resists the tide,
That frets and hurries to th' opposing side;
The rushes sharp that on the borders grow,
Bend their brown flowrets to the stream below,
Impure in all its course, in all its progress slow:
Here a grave *Flora* scarcely deigns to bloom,
Nor wears a rosy blush, nor sheds perfume;
The few dull flowers that o'er the place are spread,
Partake the nature of their fenny bed;
Here on its wiry stem, in rigid bloom,
Grows the salt lavender that lacks perfume;
Here the dwarf sallows creep, the septfoil harsh,
And the soft slimy mallow of the marsh;
Low on the ear the distant billows sound,
And just in view appears their stony bound;
No hedge nor tree conceals the glowing sun,
Birds, save a wat'ry tribe, the district shun,
Nor chirp among the reeds where bitter waters run. p. 178–80.

The features of the fine country are less perfectly drawn: But what, indeed, could be made of the vulgar fine country of *England?* If Mr Crabbe had had the good fortune to live among *our* Highland hills, and lakes, and upland woods—our living floods sweeping the forests of pine—our lonely vales and rough copse-covered cliffs; what a delicious picture would his unrivalled powers have enabled him to give to the world!—But we have no right to complain, while we have such pictures as this of a group of Gypsies. It is evidently finished *con amore*, and does appear to us to be absolutely perfect, both in its moral and its physical expression.

'Again the country was enclos'd; a wide
And sandy road has banks on either side;
Where, lo! a hollow on the left appear'd,
And there a Gypsy-tribe their tent had rear'd;
'Twas open spread, to catch the morning sun,
And they had now their early meal begun,
When two brown Boys just left their grassy seat,
The early Trav'ler with their pray'rs to greet:
While yet *Orlando* held his pence in hand,
He saw their sister on her duty stand;
Some twelve years old, demure, affected, sly,
Prepar'd the force of early powers to try;

Sudden a look of languor he descries,
And well-feigned apprehension in her eyes;
Train'd but yet savage, in her speaking face,
He mark'd the features of her vagrant race;
When a light laugh and roguish leer express'd
The vice implanted in her youthful breast:
Forth from the tent her elder Brother came,
Who seem'd offended yet forbore to blame
The young designer, but could only trace
The looks of pity in the Trav'ler's face:
Within, the Father, who from fences nigh
Had brought the fuel for the fire's supply,
Watch'd now the feeble blaze, and stood dejected by:
On ragged rug, just borrow'd from the bed,
And by the hand of coarse indulgence fed,
In dirty patchwork negligently dress'd,
Reclin'd the Wife, an infant at her breast;
In her wild face some touch of grace remain'd,
Of vigour palsied and of beauty stain'd;
Her blood-shot eyes on her unheeding mate
Were wrathful turn'd, and seem'd her wants to state,
Cursing his tardy aid—her Mother there
With Gipsy-state engross'd the only chair;
Solemn and dull her look; with such she stands,
And reads the Milk-maid's fortune in her hands,
Tracing the lines of life; assum'd through years,
Each feature now the steady falsehood wears;
With hard and savage eye she views the food,
And grudging pinches their intruding brood:
Last in the group, the worn-out Grandsire sits
Neglected, lost, and living but by fits;
Useless, despis'd, his worthless labours done,
And half protected by the vicious Son,
Who half supports him; he with heavy glance,
Views the young ruffians who around him dance;
And, by the sadness in his face, appears
To trace the progress of their future years;
Through what strange course of misery, vice, deceit,
Must wildly wander each unpractis'd cheat;
What shame and grief, what punishment and pain,
Sport of fierce passions, must each child sustain—
Ere they like him approach their latter end,
Without a hope, a comfort, or a friend!' p. 180–82.

The next story, which is entitled 'Edward Shore,' also contains many passages of exquisite beauty. The hero is a young man of aspiring genius and enthusiastic temper, with an ardent love of virtue, but no settled principles either of conduct or opinion. He first conceives an attachment for an

amiable girl, who is captivated with his conversation;—but being too poor to marry, soon comes to spend more of his time in the family of an elderly sceptic of his acquaintance, who had recently married a young wife, and placed unbounded confidence in her virtue, and the honour of his friend. In a moment of temptation, they abuse this confidence. The husband renounces him with dignified composure; and he falls at once from the romantic pride of his virtue. He then seeks the company of the dissipated and gay; and ruins his health and fortune, without regaining his tranquillity. When in gaol, and miserable, he is relieved by an unknown hand; and traces the benefaction to the friend whose former kindness he had so ill repaid. This humiliation falls upon his proud spirit and shattered nerves with an overwhelming force; and his reason fails beneath it. He is for some time a raving maniac; and then falls into a state of gay and compassionable imbecility, which is described with inimitable beauty in the close of this story. We can afford but a few extracts. The nature of the seductions which led to his first fatal lapse, are well intimated in the following short passage.

'Then as the Friend repos'd, the younger Pair
Sat down to cards, and play'd beside his chair;
Till he awaking, to his books applied,
Or heard the music of th' obedient Bride:
If mild th' evening, in the fields they stray'd,
And their own flock with partial eye survey'd;
But oft the Husband, to indulgence prone,
Resum'd his book, and bade them walk alone.
This was obey'd; and oft when this was done
They calmly gaz'd on the declining sun;
In silence saw the glowing landscape fade,
Or, sitting, sang beneath the arbor's shade:
Till rose the moon, and on each youthful face,
Shed a soft beauty, and a dangerous grace.' p. 198, 199.

The ultimate downfal of this lofty mind, with its agonizing gleams of transitory recollection, form a picture, than which we do not know if the whole range of our poetry, rich as it is in representations of disordered intellect, furnishes any thing more touching, or delineated with more truth and delicacy.

'Harmless at length th' unhappy man was found,
The spirit settled, but the reason drown'd;
And all the dreadful tempest died away,
To the dull stillness of the misty day.
And now his freedom he attain'd,—if free
The lost to reason, truth and hope, can be;
His friends, or wearied with the charge, or sure
The harmless wretch was now beyond a cure,

Gave him to wander where he pleas'd, and find
His own resources for the eager mind:
The playful children of the place he meets,
Playful with them he rambles through the streets;
In all they need, his stronger arm he lends,
And his lost mind to these approving friends.
That gentle Maid, whom once the Youth had lov'd,
Is now with mild religious pity mov'd;
Kindly she chides his boyish flights, while he
Will for a moment fix'd and pensive be;
And as she trembling speaks, his lively eyes
Explore her looks, he listens to her sighs;
Charm'd by her voice, th' harmonious sounds invade
His clouded mind, and for a time persuade:
Like a pleas'd Infant, who has newly caught
From the maternal glance, a gleam of thought;
He stands enrapt, the half-known voice to hear,
And starts, half-conscious, at the falling tear.
Rarely from town, nor then unwatch'd, he goes,
In darker mood, as if to hide his woes;
But soon returning, with impatience seeks
His youthful friends, and shouts, and sings, and speaks;
Speaks a wild speech, with action all as wild—
The children's leader, and himself a child;
He spins their top, or, at their bidding, bends
His back, while o'er it leap his laughing friends;
Simple and weak, he acts the boy once more,
And heedless children call him *Silly Shore*.' p. 206, 207.

'Squire Thomas' is not nearly so interesting. This is the history of a mean domineering spirit, who, having secured the succession of a rich relation by assiduous flattery, looks about for some obsequious and yielding fair one, from whom he may exact homage in his turn. He thinks he has found such a one in a lowly damsel in his neighbourhood, and marries her without much premeditation;—when he discovers, to his consternation, not only that she has the spirit of a virago, but that she and her family have decoyed him into the match, to revenge or indemnify themselves for his having run away with the whole inheritance of their common relative. She hopes to bully him into a separate maintenance—but his avarice refuses to buy his peace at such a price; and they continue to live together on a very successful system of mutual tormenting.

'Jesse and Colin' pleases us better. Jesse is the orphan of a poor clergyman, who goes, upon her father's death, to live with a rich old lady who had been his friend; and Colin is a young farmer, whose father had speculated away an handsome

property; and who, though living in a good degree by his own labour, yet wished the damsel (who half wished it also) to remain and share his humble lot. The rich lady proves to be suspicious, overbearing and selfish; and sets Jesse upon the ignoble duty of acting the spy and informer over the other dependants of her household; on the delineation of whose characters Mr Crabbe has lavished a prodigious power of observation and correct description:—But this not suiting her pure and ingenuous mind, she suddenly leaves the splendid mansion, and returns to her native village, where Colin and his mother soon persuade her to form one of their happy family. There is a great deal of goodheartedness in this tale, and a kind of moral beauty, which has lent more than usual elegance to the simple pictures it presents. We are tempted to extract a good part of the *denouement.*

' The pensive *Colin* in his garden stray'd,
But felt not then the beauties it display'd;
There many a pleasant object met his view,
A rising wood of oaks behind it grew;
A stream ran by it, and the village-green
And public road were from the garden seen;
Save where the pine and larch the bound'ry made,
And on the rose beds threw a softening shade.
' The Mother sat beside the garden-door,
Dress'd as in times ere she and hers were poor;
The broad-laced cap was known in ancient days,
When Madam's dress compell'd the village praise:
And still she look'd as in the times of old,
Ere his last farm the erring husband sold;
While yet the Mansion stood in decent state,
And paupers waited at the well-known gate.
" Alas! my Son!" the Mother cried, " and why
" That silent grief and oft-repeated sigh?
" True we are poor, but thou hast never felt
" Pangs to thy father for his error dealt;
" Pangs from strong hopes of visionary gain,
" For ever rais'd, and ever found in vain.
" He rose unhappy! from his fruitless schemes,
" As guilty wretches from their blissful dreams;
" But thou wert then, my Son, a playful child,
" Wondering at grief, gay, innocent, and wild;
" Listening at times to thy poor mother's sighs,
" With curious looks and innocent surprise;
" Thy father dying, thou, my virtuous boy,
" My comfort always, wak'd my soul to joy;
" With the poor remnant of our fortune left,
" Thou hast our station of its gloom bereft, &c.

" Yet art thou sad; alas! my Son, I know
" Thy heart is wounded, and the cure is slow;
" Fain would I think that *Jesse* still may come
" To share the comforts of our rustic home:
" She surely lov'd thee; I have seen the maid,
" When thou hast kindly brought the Vicar aid,—
" When thou hast eas'd his bosom of its pain,
" Oh! I have seen her—she will come again."
The Matron ceas'd; and *Colin* stood the while
Silent, but striving for a grateful smile;
He then replied—" Ah! sure had *Jesse* stay'd,
" And shar'd the comforts of our sylvan shade," &c.
Sighing he spake—but hark! he hears th' approach
Of rattling wheels! and lo! the evening-coach
Once more the movement of the horses' feet
Makes the fond heart with strong emotion beat:
Faint were his hopes, but ever had the sight
Drawn him to gaze beside his gate at night;
And when with rapid wheels it hurried by,
He griev'd his parent with a hopeless sigh;
And could the blessing have been bought—what sum
Had he not offer'd, to have *Jesse* come?
She came—he saw her bending from the door,
Her face, her smile, and he beheld no more;
Lost in his joy—the mother lent her aid
T' assist and to detain the willing Maid;
Who thought her late, her present home to make,
Sure of a welcome for the Vicar's sake;
But the good Parent was so pleas'd, so kind,
So pressing *Colin*, she so much inclin'd,
That night advanc'd; and then so long detain'd,
No wishes to depart she felt, or feign'd;
Yet long in doubt she stood, and then perforce remain'd.
In the mild evening, in the scene around,
The Maid, now free, peculiar beauties found;
Blended with village-tones, the evening gale
Gave the sweet night-bird's warblings to the vale;
The youth embolden'd, yet abash'd, now told
His fondest wish, nor found the Maiden cold,' &c. p. 240. 41.

'The Struggles of Conscience,' though visibly laboured, and, we should suspect, a favourite with the author, pleases us less than any tale in the volume. It is a long account of a low base fellow, who rises by mean and dishonourable arts to a sort of opulence; and, without ever committing any flagrant crime, sullies his mind with all sorts of selfish, heartless, and unworthy acts, till he becomes a prey to a kind of languid and loathsome remorse.

'The Squire and the Priest' we do not like much better.

A free living and free thinking squire had been galled by the public rebukes of his unrelenting pastor, and breeds up a dependent relation of his own to succeed to his charge. The youth drinks and jokes with his patron to his heart's content, during the progress of his education;—but just as the old censor dies, falls into the society of Saints, becomes a rigid and intolerant Methodist, and converts half the parish, to the infinite rage of his patron, and his own ultimate affliction.

'The Confidant' is more interesting; though not altogether pleasing. A fair one makes a slip at the early age of fifteen, which is concealed from every one but her mother, and a sentimental friend, from whom she could conceal nothing. Her after life is pure and exemplary; and at twenty-five she is married to a worthy man, with whom she lives in perfect innocence and concord for many happy years. At last, the confidant of her childhood, whose lot has been less prosperous, starts up and importunes her for money—not forgetting to hint at the fatal secret of which she is the depository. After agonizing and plundering her for years, she at last comes and settles herself in her house, and embitters her whole existence by her selfish threats and ungenerous extortions. The husband, who had been greatly disturbed at the change in his wife's temper and spirits, at last accidentally overhears enough to put him in possession of the fact; and resolving to forgive a fault so long past, and so well repaired, takes occasion to intimate his knowledge of it, and his disdain of the false confidant, in an ingenious apologue,—which, however, is plain enough to drive the pestilent visitor from his house, and to restore peace and confidence to the bosom of his grateful wife.

'Resentment' is one of the pieces in which Mr Crabbe has exercised his extraordinary powers of giving pain—though not gratuitously in this instance,—nor without inculcating a strong lesson of forgiveness and compassion. A middle aged merchant marries a lady of good fortune, and persuades her to make it all over to him when he is on the eve of bankruptcy. He is reduced to utter beggary; and his wife bitterly and deeply resenting the wrong he had done her, renounces all connexion with him, and endures her own reverses with magnanimity. At last a distant relation leaves her his fortune; and she returns to the enjoyment of moderate wealth, and the exercise of charity to all but her miserable husband. Broken by age and disease, he now begs the waste sand from the stone-cutters, and sells it on an ass through the streets:

——————— 'And from each trifling gift
Made shift to live—and wretched was the shift.'

The unrelenting wife descries him creeping through the wet at this miserable employment; but still withholds all relief, in spite of the touching entreaties of her compassionate handmaid, whose nature is as kind and yielding as that of her mistress is hard and inflexible. Of all the pictures of mendicant poverty that have ever been brought forward in prose or verse—in charity sermons or seditious harangues—we know of none half so moving or complete—so powerful and so true—as is contained in the following passages.

' A dreadful winter came; each day severe,
Misty when mild, and icy-cold when clear;
And still the humble dealer took his load,
Returning slow, and shivering on the road:
The Lady, still relentless, saw him come,
And said,—" I wonder, has the Wretch a home! "
' A hut! a hovel!'—" Then his fate appears
" To suit his crime. "—' Yes, Lady, not his years;—
' No! nor his sufferings—nor that form decay'd:'—
' The snow,' quoth *Susan*, ' falls upon his bed,—
' It blows beside the thatch—it melts upon his head.'—
" 'Tis weakness, child, for grieving guilt to feel: "
' Yes, but he never sees a wholesome meal;
' Through his bare dress appears his shrivel'd skin,
' And ill he fares without, and worse within:
' With that weak body, lame, diseas'd, and slow,
' What cold, pain, peril, must the sufferer know!—
' Oh! how those flakes of snow their entrance win
' Through the poor rags, and keep the frost within;
' His very heart seems frozen as he goes,
' Leading that starv'd companion of his woes:
' He tried to pray—his lips, I saw them move,
' And he so turn'd his piteous looks above;
' But the fierce wind the willing heart oppos'd,
' And, ere he spoke, the lips in misery clos'd;
' When reach'd his home, to what a cheerless fire
' And chilling bed will those cold limbs retire!
' Yet ragged, wretched as it is, that bed
' Takes half the space of his contracted shed;
' I saw the thorns beside the narrow grate,
' With straw collected in a putrid state:
' There will he, kneeling, strive the fire to raise,
' And that will warm him, rather than the blaze;
' The sullen, smoaky blaze, that cannot last
' One moment after his attempt is past:
' And I so warmly and so purely laid,
' To sink to rest—indeed, I am afraid—' p. 320—322.

The lady at last is moved, by this pleading pity, to send

him a little relief; but has no sooner dismissed her delighted messenger, than she repents of her weakness, and begins to harden her heart again by the recollection of his misconduct.

' Thus fix'd, she heard not her Attendant glide
With soft slow step—till, standing by her side,
The trembling Servant gasp'd for breath, and shed
Relieving tears, then uttered—" He is dead!"
" Dead!" said the startled Lady: " Yes, he fell
" Close at the door where he was wont to dwell.
" There his sole friend, the Ass, was standing by,
" Half dead himself, to see his Master die." p. 324–5.

' The Wager ' is not of this tragical complexion. It is a story, not of the most dignified kind, of two married friends; one of whom boasted of having his wife entirely at his command, while the other confessed that he was in some respects under the dominion of his. The henpecked man, however, roused by the taunts of his neighbour, offers, one night, to lay a wager that he will make a trip to Newmarket with less resistance from his spirited wife, than his friend will find in his submissive one; —and he wins the wager;—the pretender to obedience wheedling her imaginary master into absolute compliance with her will—and the independent partner freely giving up her's for her husband's honour and her own.

' The Convert ' is rather dull—though it teaches a lesson that may be useful in these fanatic times. John Dighton was bred a blackguard; and we have here a most lively and complete description of the items that go to the composition of that miscellaneous character; but being sore reduced by a long fever, falls into the hands of the Methodists, and becomes an exemplary convert. He is then set up by the congregation in a small stationer's shop; and, as he begins to thrive in business, adds worldly literature to the evangelical tracts which composed his original stock in trade. This scandalizes the brethren; and John, having no principles or knowledge, falls out with the sect, and can never settle in the creed of any other; and so lives perplexed and discontented—and dies in agitation and terror.

' The Brothers ' restores us again to human sympathies. The characters, though humble, are admirably drawn, and the baser of them, we fear, the most strikingly natural. An open-hearted generous sailor had a poor, sneaking, cunning, selfish brother, to whom he remitted all his prize-money, and gave all the arrears of his pay—receiving, in return, vehement professions of gratitude, and false protestations of regard. At last, the sailor is disabled in action, and discharged, just as his heartless brother has secured a small office by sycophancy, and made

a prudent marriage with a congenial temper. He seeks the shelter of his brother's house as freely as he would have given it; and does not at first perceive the coldness of his reception. —But mortifications grow upon him day by day. His grog is expensive, and his pipe makes the wife sick; then his voice is so loud, and his manners so rough, that her friends cannot visit her if he appears at table; so he is banished by degrees to a garret, where he falls sick, and has no consolation but in the kindness of one of his nephews, a little boy, who administers to his comforts, and listens to his stories with a delighted attention. This too, however, is interdicted by his hard-hearted parents; and the boy is obliged to steal privately to his disconsolate uncle. One day his father catches him at his door; and, after beating him back, proceeds to deliver a severe rebuke to his brother for encouraging the child in disobedience, when he finds the unconscious culprit released by death from his despicable insults and reproaches. The great art of the story consists in the plausible excuses with which the ungrateful brother always contrives to cover his wickedness. This cannot be exemplified in an extract; but we shall give a few lines as a specimen.

'Cold as he grew, still *Isaac* strove to show,
By well-feign'd care, that cold he could not grow;
And when he saw his Brother look distress'd,
He strove some petty comforts to suggest;
On his Wife solely their neglect to lay,
And then t'excuse it as a woman's way;
He too was chidden when her rules he broke,
And then she sicken'd at the scent of smoke.

'*George*, though in doubt, was still consol'd to find
His Brother wishing to be reckon'd kind:
That *Isaac* seem'd concern'd by his distress,
Gave to his injur'd feelings some redress;
But none he found dispos'd to lend an ear
To stories, all were once intent to hear:
Except his Nephew, seated on his knee,
He found no creature car'd about the sea;
But *George* indeed,—for *George* they call'd the boy,
When his good Uncle was their boast and joy,—
Would listen long, and would contend with sleep,
To hear the woes and wonders of the deep;
Till the fond Mother cried—"That man will teach
"The foolish boy his loud and boisterous speech."
So judg'd the Father—and the boy was taught
To shun the Uncle, whom his love had sought.' p. 368, 369.

'At length he sicken'd, and this duteous Child
Watch'd o'er his sickness, and his pains beguil'd;

The Mother bade him from the loft refrain,
But, though with caution, yet he went again;
And now his tales the Sailor feebly told,
His heart was heavy, and his limbs were cold:
The tender Boy came often to intreat
His good kind friend would of his presents eat;
Purloin'd or purchas'd, for he saw, with shame,
The food untouch'd that to his Uncle came;
Who, sick in body and in mind, receiv'd
The Boy's indulgence, gratified and griev'd.
Once in a week the Father came to say,
"*George*, are you ill?" and hurried him away;
Yet to his wife would on their duties dwell,
And often cry, "Do use my brother well;"
And something kind, no question, *Isaac* meant,
Who took vast credit for the vague intent.
But, truly kind, the gentle Boy essay'd
To cheer his Uncle, firm, although afraid;
But now the Father caught him at the door,
And, swearing——yes, the Man in Office swore,
And cried, "Away!—How! Brother, I'm surpris'd,
"That one so old can be so ill advis'd," &c. p. 370–1.

After the catastrophe, he endures deserved remorse and anguish.

'He takes his Son, and bids the boy unfold
All the good Uncle of his feelings told,
All he lamented—and the ready tear
Falls as he listens, sooth'd, and griev'd to hear.
"Did he not curse me, Child?"—"He never curs'd,
"But could not breathe, and said his heart would burst:"—
"And so will mine:"—"Then, Father, you must pray;
"My Uncle said it took his pains away." p. 374.

The last tale in the volume, entitled 'The Learned Boy,' is not the most interesting in the collection; though it is not in the least like what its title would lead us to expect. It is the history of a poor, weakly, paltry lad, who is sent up from the country to be a clerk in town; and learns by slow degrees to affect freethinking, and to practise dissipation. Upon the tidings of which happy conversion his father, a worthy old farmer, orders him down again to the country, where he harrows up the soul of his pious grandmother by his infidel prating—and his father reforms him at once by burning his idle book, and treating him with a vigorous course of horsewhipping. There is some humour in this tale;—and a great deal of nature and art, especially in the delineation of this slender clerk's gradual corruption—and in the constant and constitutional predominance

of weakness and folly in all his vice and virtue—his piety and profaneness.

We have thus gone through this volume with a degree of minuteness for which we are not sure that even our poetical readers will all be disposed to thank us. But considering Mr Crabbe as, upon the whole, the most original writer who has ever come before us; and being at the same time of opinion, that his writings are destined to a still more extensive popularity than they have yet obtained, we could not resist the temptation of contributing our little aid to the fulfilment of that destiny. It is chiefly for the same reason that we have directed our remarks rather to the moral than the literary qualities of his works;—to his genius at least, rather than his taste—and to his thoughts rather than his figures of speech. By far the most remarkable thing in his writings, is the prodigious mass of original observations and reflections they everywhere exhibit; and that extraordinary power of conceiving and representing an imaginary object, whether physical or intellectual, with such a rich and complete accompaniment of circumstances and details, as few ordinary observers either perceive or remember in realities;—a power which, though often greatly misapplied, must for ever entitle him to the very first rank among descriptive poets; and, when directed to worthy objects, to a rank inferior to none in the highest departments of poetry.

In such an author, the attributes of style and versification may fairly be considered as secondary;—and yet, if we were to go minutely into them, they would afford room for a still longer chapter than that which we are now concluding. He cannot be said to be uniformly, or even generally, an elegant writer. His style is not dignified—and neither very pure nor very easy. Its characters are force, precision, and familiarity;—now and then obscure—sometimes vulgar, and sometimes quaint. With a great deal of tenderness, and occasional fits of the sublime of despair and agony, there is a want of habitual fire, and of a tone of enthusiasm in the general tenor of his writings. He seems to recollect rather than invent; and frequently brings forward his statements more in the temper of a cautious and conscientious witness, than of a fervent orator or impassioned spectator. His similes are almost all elaborate and ingenious, and rather seem to be furnished from the efforts of a fanciful mind, than to be exhaled by the spontaneous ferment of a heated imagination. His versification again is frequently harsh and heavy, and his diction flat and prosaic;—both seeming to be altogether neglected in his zeal for the accuracy and complete rendering of

his conceptions. These defects too are infinitely greater in his recent than in his early compositions. 'The Village' is written, upon the whole, in a flowing and sonorous strain of versification; and 'Sir Eustace Grey,' though a late publication, is in general remarkably rich and melodious. It is chiefly in his narratives and curious descriptions that these faults of diction and measure are conspicuous. Where he is warmed by his subject, and becomes fairly indignant or pathetic, his language is often very sweet and beautiful. He has no fixed system or manner of versification; but mixes several very opposite styles, as it were by accident, and not in general very judiciously;—what is peculiar to himself is not good, and strikes us as being both abrupt and affected.

He may profit, if he pleases, by these hints—and, if he pleases, he may laugh at them. It is no great matter. If he will only write a few more Tales of the kind we have suggested at the beginning of this article, we shall engage for it that he shall have our praises—and those of more fastidious critics,—whatever be the qualities of his style or versification.

ART. III. *Travels into the Interior of Brazil.* By John Mawe, Author of the Mineralogy of Derbyshire. 4to. Longman & Co. London.

MR JOHN MAWE keeps, we believe, a mineralogical shop in the Strand, where he sells—or (as he phrases it) *has been induced to form* portable collections of minerals. He 'has been induced' also to travel in the Brazils—and these are the fruits of his researches.

The first part of the route is to Cadiz,—and from thence to the Rio de la Plata, and Monte Video. In the year 1804, it seems that Mr Mawe undertook a voyage of commercial experiment to Rio de la Plata. On his arrival at Monte Video the ship and cargo were seized—Mr Mawe was thrown into prison—and afterwards, at the period of Sir Samuel Auchmuty's expedition, sent up the interior: and here the observations of Mr Mawe begin to assume some degree of interest and importance. The place of his banishment was called Barriga Negra, distant about 160 miles north-east from Monte Video—120 from Maldonado—and 90 from the town of Minas;—the country mountainous, well watered, and not destitute of wood. This district is chiefly occupied by great breeding estates, many of which are stored with from 60,000 to 200,000 head of cattle, guarded principally by men from Para-

guay, called Peons, who live in hovels built at convenient distances for that purpose. Ten thousand head are allotted to four or five Peons, whose business it is to collect them every morning and evening, and once or twice a month to drive them into penns, where they are kept for a night. The cattle Mr Mawe states to be very tame, and that he never saw a vicious beast among them. It is indeed some proof of the justice of his observation, that a solitary English mineralogist, living in the midst of so many horned animals, and working in every direction with hammer, pickaxe, and blow-pipe, should not have been once tossed or gored.

Barriga Negra must be the Hell of the Hindoos; for the constant diet of the Peons, morning, noon and night, is beef, eaten without either bread or salt. These sempiternal steaks are prepared in wretched hovels composed of upright posts interwoven with small branches of trees, plastered with mud, and thatched with reeds. Horses' hides are the beds—and the bones of horses' heads the seats of those miserable abodes. The sole cooking utensil is a spit of iron, stuck in the ground in an oblique direction,—and when all the juices of the meat are dropped out, and the beef reduced to a toasted *caput mortuum*, it is then considered as fit to eat; for the primary use of fat, in the estimation of a Peon, is to make the fire blaze. Of what might the gentle reader imagine the fire to be composed upon which this primitive scene of cooking is carried on?—not of fragrant cedar or of bituminous coal,—*but of mares!* A Peon, when he thinks of cold, does not cut down a tree, or gather up bushes, but he kills a *flock of mares*, and after saving their hides and tails, uses the rest of the carcases for fuel. (p. 22.)

The Peons are chiefly emigrants from Paraguay—and have few or no women among them. A person (Mr Mawe says) may travel into these parts for days together, without hearing of or seeing a single female in his journey. When an estate belongs to a woman, she is extremely afraid, during her visit to her property, of walking out alone among these unmarried Beef Eaters. The dexterity of the Peons in catching cattle by throwing nooses over their heads, is well known, and has been frequently described.—The price of an horse in this animal country, is 25 shillings; but a mare (equal we suppose to 3 or 4 bushels of coals) may be had for 1s. 6d.—The agriculture of the country is as imperfect as agriculture always must be where land is cheap, and population thin. The Peons are represented by Mr Mawe to have a prodigious taste for all sorts of gaming.

'Such is their excessive propensity to gambling, that they frequently carry cards in their pocket, and, when an opportunity oc-

curs, form parties, and retire to a convenient place, where one of them spreads his pancho or mantle on the ground, in lieu of a table. When the loser has parted with his money, he will stake his clothes, so that the game generally continues until one of them goes away almost naked. This bad practice often leads to serious consequences. I once observed a party playing in the neighbourhood of a chapel after mass had been said, when the clergyman came and kicked away the cards in order to put an end to the game. On this one of the Peons rose up, and retiring a few paces, thus accosted the intruder: "Father, I will obey you as a priest; but" (drawing his knife) "you must beware how you molest our diversion." The clergyman knew the desperate character of these men too well to remonstrate, and retired very hastily not a little chagrined.

'On another occasion a party of Peons were gambling with a Spanish corporal in the prison-yard, when a dispute arising, the latter drew his sword on his unarmed antagonist, and wounded him so severely in the arm, that he was obliged to undergo amputation the day following.

'It is usual for a Peon who has been fortunate at play, to go to Monte Video and clothe himself anew in the shop of a slop-seller. While the man is looking out the articles he calls for, he deliberately places his dollars on the counter, in separate piles, assigning each to its destined purpose. He then retires to a corner, and attires himself; an unfortunate comrade invariably attends him, who examines his cast clothes, and, if better than his own, puts them on. After passing a few days in idleness, he sets out on his return home, where he appears in his new dress.' p. 26.

In the natural history of the country, we were somewhat amused with the account of the Zurilla. Nature has armed this little animal, about the size of a rabbit, not with teeth or claws, but with a potentiality of stinking, which it never fails to exercise when provoked, or alarmed; it loves eggs and poultry, and sometimes enters the houses of the inhabitants in quest of its prey. What the little rabbit can do in the way of smelling is well known; no writ for ejectment, served by the most cautious attorney, so completely clears the premises as the infragrant resentment of the Zurilla.—The master of the house retires in the utmost consternation, and every thing is abandoned to the fetid intruder, upon a sort of tacit convention that he may steal as he pleases, provided he does not smell.

From these singular regions Mr Mawe returned to Monte Video —from whence his next excursion is to St Paul's—its vicinity, and the gold mines of Jaragua. The city of St Paul's was founded by the Jesuits; tempted by the neighbourhood of the gold mines, and the healthiness of the air. The population amounts to 20,000 souls; and the clergy, according to Mr Mawe, (who is not always as correct as we could wish), are not bigotted; and amount to 500

in number. Nobody eats mutton; and the pigs are fed with beef throughout the whole of the Brazils. The first and greatest occupation of the inhabitants is mining. To this all other considerations and occupations are considered as decidedly inferior;—and to enter into a circuitous process of getting gold by labour and manufacture, when gold itself can be collected from the earth by an easy process of searching, seems to be, in the estimate of the Brazilians, ridiculous and inconsistent. Luckily for the neighbourhood of St Paul's, the gold which it supplied has been long since exhausted, and the inhabitants have been reluctantly, and fortunately compelled to seek for riches by agricultural improvements. The labourers are negroes—the crops, mandioca, sugar, maize, beans, &c.;—the gardens are cultivated with some skill, and abound in beautiful flowers. From St Paul's Mr Mawe makes an excursion to the ancient mines of Jaragua, famed for the immense treasures which they sent to Europe two centuries ago, from the ports of Santos and St Vincent. The account which Mr Mawe gives of the manner in which these mines are worked is not uninteresting.

'Suppose a loose gravel-like stratum of rounded quartzose pebbles and adventitious matter, incumbent on granite, and covered by earthy matter of variable thickness. Where water of sufficiently high level can be commanded, the ground is cut in steps, each twenty or thirty feet wide, two or three broad, and about one deep. Near the bottom a trench is cut to the depth of two or three feet. On each step, stand six or eight negroes, who, as the water flows gently from above, keep the earth continually in motion with shovels, until the whole is reduced to liquid mud and washed below. The particles of gold contained in this earth descend to the trench, where, by reason of their specific gravity, they quickly precipitate. Workmen are continually employed at the trench to remove the stones, and clear away the surface, which operation is much assisted by the current of water which falls into it. After five days' washing, the precipitation in the trench is carried to some convenient stream, to undergo a second clearance. For this purpose wooden bowls are provided, of a funnel shape, about two feet wide at the mouth, and five or six inches deep, called *gamellas*. Each workman standing in the stream, takes into his bowl five or six pounds weight of the sediment, which generally consists of heavy matter, such as oxide of iron, pyrites, ferruginous quartz, &c. of a dark carbonaceous hue. They admit certain quantities of water into the bowls, which they move about so dexterously, that the precious metal, separating from the inferior and lighter substances, settles to the bottom and sides of the vessel. They then rinse their bowls in a larger vessel of clean water, leaving the gold in it; and begin again. The washing of

each bowlful occupies from five to eight or nine minutes; the gold produced is extremely variable in quantity, and in the size of its particles, some of which are so minute, that they float, while others are found as large as peas, and not unfrequently much larger. This operation is superintended by overseers, as the result is of considerable importance. When the whole is finished, the gold is borne home to be dried, and at a convenient time is taken to the permutation office, where it is weighed, and a fifth is reserved for the Prince. The remainder is smelted by fusion with muriate of mercury, cast into ingots, assayed and stamped according to its intrinsic value, a certificate of which is given with it: After a copy of that instrument has been duly entered at the mint-office, the ingots circulate as specie. p. 78, 79.

Mr Mawe concludes his account of St Paul's with some observations on the manners of its inhabitants. Dress, religious shows, and the indulgence of gross indolence, are the natural consequences of an hot climate, a despotic government, and the Catholic religion;—but we were a little surprised to learn that the females of this country are by no means remarkable for their gallantry. From Santos Mr Mawe travels to Rio Janeiro—describes over again that thousand times described town, and then proceeds to state the various occupations in which he was engaged at Rio Janeiro. The Count de Linhares, the brother we believe of the Portugueze ambassador at our Court, first fixed upon him to preside over the royal farm at Santa Cruz. Any person imbued with the slightest knowledge of the various methods in which government is defrauded in all its transactions in this country, may easily judge of the condition of a royal farm in the Brazils!—the number of surveyors of the woods, clerks to the plough, yeomen of the dung-cart, commissioners of manure, and every species of the most petty jobbing! These regular and established plunderers proved too strong for Mr Mawe; and he resigned in disgust an office which in common prudence he ought never to have accepted.

When his farming was over, he was sent to investigate a silver mine, in a district called Canta Gallo, distant about forty leagues from the capital. Canta Gallo, though so near the seat of government, was not known till about twenty years ago. It is situated in the midst of a well wooded country; abounding in springs, and intersected by narrow vallies. The bottoms of some of these ravines formerly contained gold, which was accidentally discovered by some gold smugglers from Minas Geraes, in the course of their searches about the great river Paraiba. The richness of the beds of gold soon attracted a number of adventurers, who placed themselves under the direction of an able chieftain, lived free of control, and bade defiance to the

laws. It was not till three years after their first establishment that they were discovered and dispersed by the emissaries of government. The government built guard-houses, established works, and found that all the gold was fled; and so little gold is at present found, that the Regent's fifth scarcely pays the officers of the establishment. Upon his return from a fruitless search after the reported silver mine of Canta de Gallo, Mr Mawe is consulted by the prime minister upon a subject of the first Brazilian importance, which we shall give in Mr Mawe's own words.

'A free negro of Villa do Principe, about nine hundred miles distant, had the assurance to write a letter to the Prince Regent, announcing that he possessed an amazingly large diamond which he had received from a deceased friend some years ago, and which he begged he might have the honour to present to his Royal Highness in person. As the magnitude which this poor fellow ascribed to his diamond was such as to raise imagination to its highest pitch, an order was immediately despatched to the commander of Villa do Principe, to send him forthwith to Rio de Janeiro, he was accommodated with a conveyance, and escorted by two soldiers. As he passed along the road, all who had heard the report hailed him as already honoured with a cross of the order of St Bento, and as sure of being rewarded with the pay of a general of brigade. The soldiers also anticipated great promotion; and all persons envied the fortunate negro. At length, after a journey which occupied about twenty-eight days, he arrived at the capital, and was straightway conveyed to the palace. His happiness was now about to be consummated; in a few moments the hopes which he had for so many years indulged would be realized; and he should be exalted from a low and obscure condition to a state of affluence and distinction: Such no doubt were the thoughts which agitated him during the moments of suspense. At length he was admitted into the presence; he threw himself at the Prince's feet, and delivered his wonderful gem; his Highness was astonished at its magnitude; a pause ensued; the attendants waited to hear the prince's opinion, and what he said they seconded. A round diamond, nearly a pound in weight, filled them all with wonder; some ready calculators reckoned the millions it was worth; others found it difficult to numerate the sum at which it would be valued, but the general opinion of his Highness's servants was, that the treasury was many millions of crowns the richer. The noise which this occurrence created among the higher circles may be easily conceived: the general topic of remark and wonder was the negro's offering. It was shown to the ministers, among whom an apprehension, and even a doubt, was expressed, that a substance so large and round might not prove a real diamond; they, however, sent it to the treasury under a guard, and it was lodged in the deposite of the jewel-room.

'On the next day, the Condé de Linhares sent for me, and related all the circumstances which had come to his knowledge respecting this famous jewel, adding, in a low tone of voice, that he had his doubts about its proving a genuine diamond. His excellency directed me to attend at his office in a few hours, when letters from himself and the other ministers of the Treasury should be given me, for permission to see this invaluable gem, in order to determine what it really was. Readily accepting a charge of so interesting a nature, I prepared myself, and attended at the hour appointed, when I received the letters, which I presented at the Treasury to an officer in waiting. I was led through several apartments, in which much business seemed to be transacting, to the grand chamber, where presided the treasurer, attended by his secretaries. Having my letters in his hand, he entered into some conversation with me relative to the subject; I was then shown through other grand apartments hung with scarlet and gold, and ornamented with figures as large as life, representing justice holding the balance. In the inner room, to which we were conducted, there were several strong chests with three locks each, the keys of which were kept by three different officers, who were all required to be present at the opening. One of these chests being unlocked, an elegant little cabinet was taken out, from which the treasurer took the gem, and in great form presented it to me. Its value sunk at the first sight, for before I touched it I was convinced that it was a rounded piece of crystal. It was about an inch and a half in diameter. On examining it, I told the governor it was not a diamond; and to convince him, I took a diamond of five or six carats, and with it cut a very deep nick in the stone. This was proof positive; a certificate was accordingly made out, stating, that it was an inferior substance, of little or no value; which I signed.' p. 138—140.

This great affair of state concluded, Mr Mawe obtains leave to visit the diamond mines at Villa Rica; and to these, after the usual miseries of being bitten, and jolted, and ill fed, he at last penetrates. In the neighbourhood of diamonds, and in the midst of an extremely fertile district, it was difficult to obtain the common necessaries of life. Pulse and vegetables were very scarce; grass was extremely difficult to be procured; poultry were 4s. 6d. per couple; milk as dear as in London; and mutton utterly unknown.

'When we spoke to the inhabitants' (says Mr Mawe) 'of the richness of their country, and the quantity of gold with which it was reputed to abound, they seemed glad of the opportunity of telling us, that they believed the gold was all sent to England; adding, that their town ought now to be termed Villa Pobre, instead of Villa Rica. Indeed we were surprised to observe the comparative poverty which prevailed among them. Of above two thousand habitations which the town contained, a considerable proportion were un-

tenanted; and the rents of the rest were continually lowering. Houses were to be purchased at one half their real value; for instance, a house built a few years ago at 1000*l.* cost, would not now sell for more than 500*l.*' p. 169.

The most interesting part of Mr Mawe's book is that in which he gives an account of the diamond works on the river Jigitonhonha. This rich river is as wide as the Thames at Windsor, and in general from three to nine feet deep. The part now in working is a curve, from which the river is directed into a canal cut across the tongue of land round which it winds, the river being stopped just below the head of the canal, by an embankment of several thousand bags of sand. The deeper parts of the channel of the river are laid dry by means of large caissons, or chain-pumps worked by a water-wheel. The mud is then carried off; and the *cascalhão*, or earth which contains the diamonds, is dug up, and removed to a convenient place for washing. This labour was, until lately, performed by the negroes, who carried the cascalhao in baskets on their heads, but at present is performed by machinery. The stratum of cascalhão consists of the same materials with that in the gold district. On many parts by the edge of the river, are large conglomerate masses of rounded pebbles, cemented by oxide of iron, which sometimes envelop gold and diamonds. They calculate on getting as much cascalhão in the dry season, as will occupy all their hands during the months which are subject to rain. When carried away from the bed of the river where it is dry, it is laid in heaps, containing apparently from five to fifteen tons each. Water is conveyed from a distance, and distributed to various parts of the works by means of aqueducts constructed with great ingenuity and skill. The method of washing for diamonds at this place we shall give in Mr Mawe's own words.

'A shed is erected in the form of a parallelogram, twenty-five or thirty yards long and about fifteen wide, consisting of upright posts, which support a roof thatched with long grass. Down the middle of the area of this shed a current of water is conveyed through a canal covered with strong planks, on which the cascalhão is laid two or three feet thick. On the other side of the area is a flooring of planks, from four to five yards long, imbedded in clay, extending the whole length of the shed, and having a slope from the canal, of three or four inches to a yard. This flooring is divided into about twenty compartments or troughs, each about three feet wide, by means of planks placed on their edge. The upper ends of all these troughs (here called canoes) communicate with the canal, and are so formed that water is admitted into them between two planks that are about an inch separate. Through this opening the current falls about six inches into the trough, and may be directed to any part of

it, or stopped at pleasure by means of a small quantity of clay. For instance, sometimes water is required only from one corner of the aperture, then the remaining part is stopped; sometimes it is wanted from the centre, then the extremes are stopped; and sometimes only a gentle rill is wanted, then the clay is applied accordingly. Along the lower ends of the troughs a small channel is dug to carry off the water.

'On the heap of cascalhão, at equal distances, are placed three high chairs for the officers or overseers. After they are seated, the negroes enter the troughs, each provided with a rake of a peculiar form and short handle, with which he rakes into the trough about fifty or eighty pounds weight of cascalhão. The water being then let in upon it, the cascalhão is spread abroad and continually raked up to the head of the trough, so as to be kept in constant motion. This operation is performed for the space of a quarter of an hour; the water then begins to run clearer; having washed the earthy particles away, the gravel-like matter is raked up to the end of the trough. After the current flows away quite clear, the largest stones are thrown out, and afterwards those of inferior size; then the whole is examined with great care for diamonds. When a negro finds one, he immediately stands upright and claps his hands; then extends them, holding the gem between his fore-finger and thumb. An overseer receives it from him, and deposits it in a gamella or bowl, suspended from the centre of the structure, half full of water. In this vessel all the diamonds found in the course of the day are placed; and at the close of work are taken out and delivered to the principal officer, who, after they have been weighed, registers the particulars in a book kept for that purpose.

'When a negro is so fortunate as to find a diamond of the weight of an octavo (17½ carats), much ceremony takes place. He is crowned with a wreath of flowers, and carried in procession to the administrator, who gives him his freedom, by paying his owner for it. He also receives a present of new clothes, and is permitted to work on his own account. When a stone of eight or ten carats is found, the negro receives two new shirts, a complete new suit, with a hat and a handsome knife. For smaller stones of trivial amount, proportionate premiums are given. During my stay at Tejuco, a stone of 16½ carats was found. It was pleasing to see the anxious desire manifested by the officers that it might prove heavy enough to entitle the poor negro to his freedom; and when, on being delivered and weighed, it proved only a carat short of the requisite weight, all seemed to sympathize in his disappointment.' 222–24.

Many precautions are taken to prevent the negroes from stealing the diamonds. They work in a bent position, and cannnot see the overseer, who sees them. For fear any diamonds should be concealed in the corners of the troughs, the negroes are changed frequently at the word of command of the

overseers. If a negro is suspected of swallowing a diamond, he is confined in a solitary room, and the whole powers of the materia medica let loose upon him.

The flat pieces of ground on each side the river are equally rich throughout their extent; and the intendants are able to ascertain, by admeasurement, how many thousand carats an unworked piece of ground will yield. The substances accompanying diamonds, and considered as indications of their proximity, are—bright, bean-like iron ore—a slaty, flint-like substance, approaching Lydian stone of fine texture—black oxide of iron in great quantities—round bits of blue quartz—yellow crystal—and other materials entirely different from any thing known to be produced in the neighbouring mountains. Diamonds are by no means peculiar to the beds of rivers or deep ravines; they have been found in water-courses, and cavities on the summits of the most lofty mountains. The officers of the establishment informed Mr Mawe, that they often found diamonds cemented in puddingstone, accompanied with grains of gold. Of the diamonds, some are so small that four or five only weigh a grain. There are seldom found more than two or three stones, of from 17 to 20 carats, in the course of a year; and not once in two years is there found, throughout the whole washings, a stone of 30 carats. During the five days Mr Mawe was there, the whole quantity found amounted only to forty diamonds, the largest of which was only four carats, and of a light green colour.

'After residing here five days, we visited a diamond work called Montero, about two miles up the river, and went a league further to a gold-work called Carapata. The cascalhão at this work was taken from a part of the river eight feet deep, which formed an eddy under a projecting point; I was shown a heap of it, that was estimated to be worth 10,000*l*. In removing this heap from its bed, four hundred negroes had been employed three months; and to wash it, would occupy one hundred men for three months more, the expense of both operations amounting to perhaps 1,500*l*. We arrived at this place at eight o'clock in the morning; six negroes were employed four hours in washing two troughs, containing together about a ton of cascalhão, when, to my great surprise, after the water ran clear, and the large stones were thrown out, the black oxide of iron, of which there was great abundance, was fringed with grains of gold; a novel and very agreeable sight to a stranger. The gold was taken out at three or four different times, and, when the washing was completed, was dried over a fire and weighed: it amounted to nearly twenty ounces Troy.

There is a curious anecdote detailed by Mr Mawe, of three criminals, fugitives from justice, who by accident found a dia-

mond, an ounce in weight. No man could be guilty to whom Providence had shown such favour. They were all three pardoned by the Court of Lisbon, and the clergyman whom they chose as their diamond bearer and intercessor, was amply provided for in the church: By Mr Mawe's calculation it appears that the diamonds, when brought to market, actually cost government thirty-three shillings and ninepence per carat. As all the diamonds found in these works belong to the Crown, the Royal family have been accustomed to select such as they considered worth their notice: They were formerly sent to Holland to be cut; but since the emigration of the Court, that business has fallen into the hands of the English lapidaries. The collection of diamonds now in the possession of the Prince Regent of Portugal, exceeds three million sterling; and renders him, we have no doubt, a much greater object of envy to the potentates of the earth, than Henry the IV. of France would have been in the full exercise of his patriotic benevolence, and in the full possession of his people's love. Upon the whole, this volume of Mr Mawe's, though a great deal too big, and a great deal too dear, contains some curious and interesting information: It is also tolerably well written, whether by himself or hireling; void of all nonsense; and every now and then there is a good observation.

ART. IV. *Essay on the Practice of the British Government, distinguished from the abstract Theory on which it is supposed to be founded.* By Gould Francis Leckie. 8vo. pp. . London, 1812.

THIS is the most direct attack which we have ever seen in English, upon the free constitution of England;—or rather upon political liberty in general, and upon our government only in so far as it is free:—and it consists partly in an eager exposition of the inconveniences resulting from parliaments or representative legislatures, and partly in a warm defence and undisguised panegyric of absolute, or, as the author more elegantly phrases it, of *simple* monarchy.

The pamphlet which contains these consolatory doctrines, has the further merit of being, without any exception, the worst written, and the worst reasoned, that has ever fallen into our hands; and there is nothing indeed but the extreme importance of the subject, and the singular complexion of the times in which it appears, that could induce us to take any notice of it. The rubbish that is scattered in our common walks, we

merely push aside and disregard; but, when it defiles the approaches to the temple, or is heaped on the sanctuary itself, it must be cast out with other rites of expiation, and visited with severer penalties. When the season is healthy, we may tread securely among the elements of corruption, and warrantably decline the inglorious labour of sweeping them away:—but, when the air is tainted, and the blood impure, we should look with jealousy upon every speck, and consider that the slightest remission of our police may spread a pestilence through all the borders of the land.

There are two periods, as it appears to us, when the promulgation of such doctrines as are maintained by this author may be considered as dangerous, or at least as of evil omen, in a country like this. The one, when the friends of arbitrary power are strong and daring, and advantageously posted, and when, meditating some serious attack on the liberties of the people, they send out their emissaries and manifestoes to feel and to prepare their way;—the other, when they are substantially weak and desperate, and unfit to maintain a conflict with their opponents, but where the great body of the timid and the cautious are alarmed at the prospect of such a conflict, and half disposed to avert the crisis, by supporting whatever is in actual possession of power. Whether either of these descriptions may suit the aspect of the present times, we willingly leave it to our readers to determine: But before going farther, we think it proper to say, that we impute no corrupt motives to the author before us; and that there is, on the contrary, every appearance of his being conscientiously persuaded of the advantages of arbitrary power, and sincerely eager to reconcile the minds of his countrymen to the introduction of so great a blessing. The truth indeed seems to be, that having lived so long abroad as evidently to have lost, in a great degree, the use of his native language, it is not to be thought surprizing that he should have lost along with it a great number of those feelings, without which it really is not possible to reason, in this country, on the English constitution; and has gradually come, not only to speak, but to feel like a foreigner as to many of those things which still constitute both the pride and the happiness of his countrymen. We have no doubt that he would be a very useful and enlightened patriot in Sicily; but we think it was rather rash in him to venture before the public with his speculations on the English government with his present stock of information and habits of thinking. Though we do not, however, impute to him any thing worse than these disqualifications, there are persons enough in the country to whom it will be a sufficient recommen-

dation of any work, that it inculcates principles of servility, and who will be abundantly ready to give it every chance of making an impression which it may derive from their approbation; and indeed we have already heard of such testimonies in favour of this slender performance, as seem to impose it upon us as a duty to give some little account of its contents, and some short opinion of its principles.

The first part of the task may be performed in a very moderate compass; for though the learned author has not always the gift of writing intelligibly, it is impossible for a diligent reader not to see what he would be at; and his doctrine, when once fairly understood, may really be reduced to a few very simple propositions. His first great grievance is, that the kings of England, since the accession at least of the present family, have never exercised their kingly powers as they ought to have done, but submitted, in a dastardly manner, to every thing approved of by a majority in the Houses of Parliament; and that in this way they have not only 'weakened the energy of the 'state,' but degraded the dignity of their office, by lending its sanction successively to the most contradictory measures of policy. The remedy for this, it seems, is simply that they 'should exert that influence which *alone* resides in the royal 'authority;' and that they should quash faction, and encourage science, and the general prosperity of their subjects: And when it is objected, that to do this in a way which seemed inexpedient to the majority of the Parliament would require at least a prince of extraordinary abilities, which cannot be reckoned upon in an hereditary monarchy, the learned author answers, in a most appropriate and satisfactory manner, that 'a 'king will always reign—*if he be the best statesman in the country!*' and, moreover, that he will never be at a loss to find ministers, provided 'he has the address and wisdom to rival even the 'demagogues in the public opinion.' He then lays it down as an axiom, that the Whigs still wish to abolish royalty, and to set up a republic: And, after adopting the original and ingenious idea, that all persons in opposition, and particularly all who support a reform in Parliament, are actuated merely by a regard to their own private interests, and therefore oppose every measure that is proposed by their antagonists, even though they are aware that the salvation of the country may depend upon their adoption—'it is by such dirty paths,' he exclaims, 'in this 'country, that the ambition of men to shine at the head of 'public affairs can only be gratified!' Immediately after this patriotic sentiment, and this liberal view of the practice of our government, he subjoins the following oracular paragraph—as to

the meaning of which, though we can see that it is very elegantly written, we have not been able to form any probable conjecture.

'A long time elapsed before any thing occurred, which led to questions even relative to the constitution of the government. In the interim the nation could remain tranquil spectators of the struggle between the party in the cabinet, and that in opposition, as long as it regarded such events only as were interesting simply on the point of their superiority over the enemy. The principal question which then offered was nothing more than what regarded the propriety by which it might be won and preserved. Hence discussions on the capability of those who were to point out those means, and direct their application; in short all questions of peace and war. It was by this means that the reputation of those, who pronounced either in favour of the one or the other, depended on the probable result.' p. 14, 15.

He then states, that the use which James II. made of his authority was such as to alarm the majority of the nation, and to give weight to the arguments of those who were for resistance to *arbitrary power*—'*that is*,' adds Mr Leckie, and the definition is worth attending to, 'what is generally understood to 'mean, the extent with which the royal prerogative was endow-'ed by the Constitution.' A prerogative endowed by a constitution with an extent, is not perhaps quite so clear a fashion of speaking as might have been desired—though we can guess tolerably well what the ingenious author intended.—But after this censure of the doctrine of resistance, and this allusion to the grand Reform that was consequently wrought in the Constitution at the period of the Revolution, we confess we cannot so well understand how he should afterwards proceed to speak of the American war as having given birth, for the first time, to discussions upon the rights of nations, and the expediency of Reform. One would have thought that the revolutionists of 1688, or at all events, the republicans of 1647, might at least have been allowed the merit of originating those great questions; and that the Harringtons, and Miltons, and Needhams, and Pyms, and Whitelocks of that bold age, might have been supposed as likely to impress their own spirit on their country, as the pamphleteers in Lord North's administration. The latter theory, however, gives the author a better opportunity of recording Mr Pitt's early delusion on the question of Reform, and the means of his sudden conversion—all which are stated with great *naïveté* in the following short sentence.—'Mr Pitt, from having been the stout 'champion of the people, became all at once the equally strenu-'ous supporter of the royal authority, *by being admitted to a share* '*in the exercise of it, as Chancellor of the Exchequer.*' Mr Fox, in like manner, is accused, throughout, of a design to exalt the

House of Commons into the absolute sovereignty of the country, and to rule over this new sovereign at his own discretion: All parties, in short, and all measures, are treated in the same style of sweeping and supercilious reprobation—the only act, we think, which has the good fortune to find favour in the eyes of Mr Leckie, being the attack on Copenhagen,—with which he is so extravagantly delighted, that he makes no scruple to attribute, not only the disorders of Sweden and the submission of Russia, but the invasion of Spain and the ruin of Austria to the foolish abandonment of a place so gallantly won.

From these, and other equally bold and original observations on the course of recent history, our author infers, in a second chapter, that as every faction that can obtain a majority in Parliament is, by the present practice of the Constitution, enabled to impose its own measures on the government, so there is no chance of any thing like a steady and consistent system of policy being ever pursued; and that though the Romans appointed a *Dictator* in order to get rid of factions when decision was required, 'no such provision is made in this country.' From all which, it follows, that proper persons are not chosen for public service; and especially that persons having 'a competent knowledge of the affairs of the Continent' are not employed, as they ought to be; and moreover, that, owing to this radical vice in our government, and to no other cause, 'Leckie's 'work on Foreign Affairs must appear the most useless book 'ever published!' (p. 108.)

The third chapter, which is very short and pithy, contains little more than a repetition of the assertion, that 'the Whigs 'were originally pure republicans, who considered kingly power 'as an insult on mankind;' and that 'this is nearly the general tenor of Whig opinions.' It likewise contains an ingenious explanation of the aversion of the present Whig leaders to the Spanish war,—which they hate, it seems, partly because it was first adopted by the faction in opposition to them; but principally because, 'being aware that the public opinion had 'of late become favourable to parliamentary reform, and fearing 'this should gain ground, and the multitude be induced to 'promote it, and which they will be the more inclined to do 'when they have some time felt the weight of oligarchical despotism, with all its jobbing concomitants, to have within the 'realm, the bulk of *the army*, which would, as they suppose, 'enable them to overawe the discontented, and, under pretence of defending the Constitution, to support in their persons the violators of it,' (p. 115, 116.)—in which brilliant hypothesis, the attentive reader will not fail to observe with what

ingenuity the opponents of parliamentary reform are at once converted into the violators of the Constitution, the very moment that they are supposed to be Whigs.

But though this is not perfectly consistent with the preceding tenor of the work, in which the said reformers are treated as little better than a set of rebels and designing impostors, it serves very well to introduce *Mr Leckie's own plan of parliamentary reform*,—which, to the surprise we should think of his simpler readers, he discloses to them in the fourth chapter. This consists of three separate parts or provisions;—one borrowed from Servius Tullius—one from Oliver Cromwell—and one, though the last obligation is not acknowledged, from Cobbett. The object of the first is to give greater weight to property, by allowing the poorer sort of people but one vote among a number, greater or smaller, according to the degree of their poverty; to give a man of 1000*l.* a-year, for instance, a whole vote to himself,—but to allow only one to ten men of 100*l.* a-year; and to give the forty shilling proprietors but one among five hundred of them. The second improvement, which is here ascribed to Oliver Cromwell, is to take away the right of election from various small boroughs, and to increase the number of county members. The last, and most important, which we have taken the liberty to ascribe to Mr Cobbett, is to allow none of his Majesty's ministers or cabinet counsellors, to sit in the houses of parliament, in order that the said ministers may have more time to attend to their official business,—and that the members may not be tempted to usurp the functions of the sovereign, by directing or controlling the operations of the executive. It is but justice to Mr Leckie to add, that he desires his readers to consider this scheme 'merely 'as a speculation,' as 'too many powerful interests exist not to 'make the realization chimerical.' Moreover, he candidly admits, that it does not strike at the root of the evil; which consists entirely, it seems, in our 'too great jealousy of the Crown:' and accordingly he proceeds in the last chapter to draw a most seducing picture of simple monarchy; and indirectly indeed, but quite unequivocally, to intimate, that the only effectual cure for the evils under which we now suffer is to be found in the total abolition of parliaments, and the conversion of our constitution into an absolute monarchy.

All this is made out in a formal and satisfactory manner, as follows. First, we have, here in England, very absurd notions as to the evils of monarchy;—the learned author knowing of no despotisms except that of the Emperor of Morocco—the Committee of Public safety at Paris—and perhaps the government of Persia. The sultan of Turkey is by no means to be

considered as a despot, because he has his Janissaries and Mollahs to control him—and the kings of old France had their provincial parliaments, who 'had always influence enough to '*represent* any grievances;' and if they made no such representations, Mr Leckie very sensibly observes, 'it could not be 'expected that the king was to assume that an evil existed 'which it was his business to remedy!' Then it is a great mistake in us to suppose, that any of the real advantages we enjoy in this country are to be ascribed to our having a parliament,—'a trial in the Court of King's Bench, with a jury, be-'ing, without disparagement to the House, perhaps as sure a 'way of obtaining justice as any other.' But, after all, it is little better than a prejudice to suppose, that we enjoy any such advantages; for 'in some cases the personal freedom of indivi-'duals is even better secured' under the simple monarchies on the Continent than in this country; and at all events, 'if 'the superiority exist,' it is to be ascribed, not to the spirit of our Parliaments, but altogether to the integrity of our '*Tribunalists;*'—for, though there be a tyranny in Sicily, it is not to be ascribed to the King, but to 'the nobility 'and the lawyers.' This it must be allowed, is very eloquent and convincing; but the author, not satisfied with these insinuations, proceeds, in direct terms, to 'advert,' as he expresses himself, 'to the advantages which a Monarchy, such 'as has been described, has over our boasted British Constitu-'tion;'—and these advantages, after a good deal of puzzling, he settles to be—First, that the sovereign will be 'more likely 'to feel a pride, as well as a zeal, to act a great and good part;' —secondly, that the ministers will have more time to attend to their duties when they have no parliamentary contentions to manage;—thirdly, that the public counsels will be guided by fixed and steady principles;—fourthly, that if the Monarch should act in an oppressive manner, it will be easier for the people to get the better of him than of a whole parliament, who might act in the same manner;—fifthly, that the heir apparent might then be allowed to travel in foreign countries for the improvement of his understanding;—sixthly, and lastly, that there would be no longer any pretext for a cry against 'what is styled *back-stair influence.*' After writing and publishing all those potent arguments, it really looks almost like an affectation of modesty in the learned writer to say, that this captivating picture of the advantages of simple monarchy 'is not 'intended with a view to its adoption in this country;' more especially as he concludes the work with telling his countrymen, that if they can *still* think their constitution perfect, they must no longer murmur at the factions which he has shown to be inse-

parable from it; and that, if they wish to remedy that evil, they may *now* see, that the only way is to increase their confidence in their legitimate Sovereign.

Such is the sum of Mr Leckie's publication; of which, as a singular instance of the infinite diversity of human opinions and endowments, and of the license of political speculation that is still occasionally indulged in this country, we have thought it right that some memorial should be preserved—a little more durable than the pamphlet itself seemed likely to afford. But though what we have already said is probably more than enough to settle the opinion of all reasonable persons with regard to the merits of the work, we think we can trace, even in some of the most absurd and presumptuous of its positions, the operation of certain errors, which we have found clouding the views, and infecting the opinions of persons of far sounder understanding; and shall presume, therefore, to offer a few very plain and simple remarks upon some of the points which we think we have most frequently found either misrepresented or misunderstood.

The most important and radical of those, is that which relates to the nature and uses of Monarchy, and the rights and powers of a sovereign; upon which, therefore, we beg leave to begin with a very few observations. And here we shall take leave to consider royalty as being, on the whole, but a Human Institution,—originating in a view to the general good, and not to the gratification of the individual upon whom it is conferred; or at least only capable of being justified, or deserving to be retained, on account of its being actually beneficial to the whole society. The benefits which it is calculated to confer in this point of view are obvious. From the first moment that men began to associate together, and to act in concert, it would be found that all of them could not take a share in consulting and regulating their operations, and that the greater part must submit to the direction of certain managers and leaders. Among these, again, some one would naturally assume a preeminence; and, in time of war especially, would be allowed to exercise an authority. Struggles would as necessarily ensue for retaining this post of distinction, and for supplanting its actual possessor; and whether there was a general acquiesence in the principle of having one acknowledged chief, or a desire to be guided and advised by a plurality of those who seemed best qualified for the task, there would be equal hazard, or rather certainty, of perpetual strife, tumult and dissension, from the attempts of ambitious individuals, either to usurp an ascendancy over all their competitors, or to dispute with him who had already obtained it, his right to continue its possession. Every one possessed of any considerable means of influence would thus be tempted to aspire to

a precarious sovereignty; and while the inferior persons of the community would be opposed to each other as the adherents of the respective pretenders, not only would all care of the general good be omitted, but the society would become a prey to perpetual feuds, cabals, and hostilities, subversive of the first principles of its institution. Among the remedies which would naturally present themselves for this great evil, the most efficacious, though not perhaps at first sight the most obvious, would be to provide some regular and authentic form for the election of one acknowledged chief, by a fair but pacific competition;—the term of whose authority would gradually be prolonged to that of his natural life,—and afterwards extended to the lives of his remotest descendants. The advantages which seem to us to be peculiar to this arrangement are, first, to disarm the ambition of dangerous and turbulent individuals, by removing the great prize of supreme authority, at all times, and entirely, from competition; and, secondly, to render this authority more manageable and less hazardous, by delivering it over peaceably, and upon understood conditions, to an hereditary prince, instead of letting it be seized upon by a fortunate conqueror, who would think himself entitled to use it—as conquerors commonly use their booty—for his own exclusive gratification.

The steps then, by which we are conducted to the justification of hereditary monarchy, are shortly as follows. Admitting all men to be equal in rights, they can never be equal in natural endowments,—nor long equal in wealth and other acquisitions:—Absolute liberty therefore is altogether out of the question; and a kind of aristocracy, or disorderly supremacy of the richest and most accomplished, may be considered as the primeval state of society. Now this, even if it could be supposed to be peaceable and permanent, is by no means a desireable state for the persons subjected to this multifarious and irregular authority. But it is plain that it could not be peaceable—that even among the rich, and the accomplished, and the daring, some would be more rich, more daring, and more accomplished than the rest; and that those who were most nearly on an equality, would be armed against each other by mutual jealousy and ambition, while those who were a little lower would combine, out of envy and resentment, to defeat the pretensions of the few who had thus outstripped their original associates. Thus there would not only be no liberty or security for the body of the people, but the whole would be exposed to the horror and distraction of perpetual intestine contentions. The creation of one sovereign, therefore, whom the whole society would acknowledge as supreme, was a great point gained for tranquillity as well as individual independence; and in order to avoid the certain

evils of perpetual struggles for dominion, and the imminent hazard of falling at last under the absolute will of an exasperated conqueror, nothing could be so wisely devised as to agree upon the nomination of a King; and thus to get rid of a multitude of petty tyrants, and the risk of military despotism by the establishment of a legitimate monarchy. The first king would probably be the most popular and powerful individual in the community; and the first idea would in all likelihood be to appoint his successor on account of the same qualifications: But it would speedily be discovered, that this would give rise at the death of every sovereign—and indeed, prospectively, long before it—to the same fatal competitions and dissension, which had formerly been perpetual; and not only hazard a civil war on every accession, but bring the successful competitor to the throne with feelings of extreme hostility towards one half of his subjects, and of extreme partiality to the other. The chance of not finding eminent talents for command in the person of the sovereign, therefore, would soon be seen to be a far less evil than the sanguinary competitions that would ensue, if merit were made a ground of pretension; and a very little reflection, or experience, would also serve to show, that the sort of merit which was most likely to succeed in such a competition, did not promise a more amiable sovereign than might be reckoned on in the common course of hereditary succession. The only safe course, therefore, was, to take this great prize altogether out of the lottery of human life—to make the supreme dignity in the state, professedly and altogether independent of merit or popularity; and to fix it immutably in a place quite out of the career of ambition.

This great point then was gained by the mere institution of Monarchy, and by rendering it hereditary: the chief cause of internal discord was removed, and the most dangerous incentive to ambition placed in a great measure beyond the sphere of its operation;—and this we have always considered to be the peculiar and characteristic advantage of that form of government. A pretty important chapter, however, remains, as to the extent of the powers that ought to be vested in the Monarch, and the nature of the checks by which the limitation of those powers should be rendered effectual. And here it will be readily understood, that considering, as we do, the chief advantage of monarchy to consist in its taking away the occasions of contention for the first place in the State, and in a manner neutralizing that place by separating it entirely from any notion of merit or popularity in the possessor—we cannot consistently be for allotting more actual power to it than is absolutely necessary for answering this purpose. Our notions of this measure, however,

are by no means of a very jealous or contracted nature. We must give enough of real power and distinction and prerogative, to make it truly and substantially the first place in the State, and to make it impossible for the occupiers of inferior places to endanger the general peace by their contentions;—for, otherwise, the whole evils which its institution was meant to obviate would recur with accumulated force, and the same fatal competitions be renewed among persons of disorderly ambition, for those situations, by whatever name they might be called, in which, though nominally subordinate to the throne, the actual powers of sovereignty were embodied. But on the other hand, we would give no powers to the Sovereign or to any other officer in the community beyond what were evidently required for the public good;—and no powers at all, on the exercise of which there was not an efficient control, and for the use of which there was not a substantial responsibility. It is in the reconciling of these two conditions that the whole difficulty of the theory of a perfect monarchy consists. If you do not control your sovereign, he will be in danger of becoming a despot; and if you do control him, there is danger, unless you choose the depository of this control with singular caution, that you create a power that is uncontrolled and uncontrollable—to be the prey of audacious leaders and outrageous factions, in spite of the hereditary settlement of the nominal sovereignty. Though there is some difficulty, however, in this problem, and though we learn from history, that various errors have been committed in an attempt at its practical solution, yet we do not conceive it as by any means insoluble; and think indeed that, with the lights which we may derive from the experience of our own constitution, its demonstration may be effected by a very moderate exertion of sagacity. It will be best understood, however, by a short view of the nature of the powers to be controlled, and of the system of checks which have been actually resorted to.

In the first place, then, we must beg leave to remind our readers, however superfluous it may appear, that as kings are now generally allowed to be mere mortals, they cannot of themselves have any greater powers, either of body or mind, than other individuals, and must in fact be inferior in both respects to very many of their subjects. Whatever powers they have, therefore, must be powers conferred upon them by *the consent* of the stronger part of their subjects, and are in fact really and truly the powers of those persons. The most absolute despot accordingly, of whom history furnishes any record, must have governed merely by the free will of those who *chose* to obey him in compelling the rest of his subjects to obedience. The Sultan, as Mr Hume remarks, may indeed drive the bulk

of his unarmed subjects like brutes by mere force, but he must lead his Janissaries like men, by their reason and free will. And so it is in all other governments: The power of the sovereign is nothing else than the power—the actual force of muscle or of mind—which a certain part of his subjects *chuse* to lend, for carrying his orders into effect; and the check or limit to this power, is in all cases, ultimately and in effect, nothing else than their refusal to act any longer as the instruments of his pleasure. The check, therefore, is substantially the same in kind, in all cases whatever; and must necessarily exist in full vigour in every country in the world; though the likelihood of its beneficial application depends greatly on the structure of society in each particular nation; and the possibility of applying it with safety must result wholly from the contrivances that have been adopted to make it bear at once gradually and steadily on the power it is destined to regulate. It is here accordingly, and here only, that there is any material difference between a good and a bad constitution of Monarchical government.

The ultimate and only real limit to what is called the power of the sovereign, is the refusal of the consent or cooperation of those who possess the substantial power of the community, and who, during their voluntary concert with the sovereign, allow this power of theirs to pass under his name. In considering whether this refusal is likely to be wisely and beneficially interposed, it is material therefore to inquire in whom the power of interposing it is vested; or, in other words, in what individuals the actual power of coercing and compelling the submission of the bulk of the community is vested. If every individual were equally gifted, and equally situated, the answer would be, In the numerical majority: But as this never can be the case, this power will frequently be found to reside in a very small proportion of the whole society.

In rude times, when there is little intelligence or means of concert and communication, a very moderate number of armed and disciplined forces will be able, so long as they stick together, to overawe, and actually overpower the whole unarmed inhabitants, even of an extensive region; and accordingly, in such times, the necessity of procuring the good will and consent of the Soldiery, is the only check upon the power of the Sovereign; or, in other words, the soldiers may do what they chuse, and their nominal commander can do nothing which they do not chuse. Such is the state of the worst despotisms. The check upon the royal authority is the same in substance as in the best administered monarchies, viz. the refusal of the consent or cooperation of those who have the natural

power of the community; but from the unfortunate structure of society, which vests this substantial power in a few bands of disciplined ruffians, the check will scarcely ever be interposed for the benefit of the nation, and will merely operate to prevent the king from doing any thing to the prejudice or oppression of the soldiery.

When civilization has made a little farther progress, a number of the leaders of the army, or their descendants, acquire landed property, and associate together, not merely in their military capacity, but as guardians of their new acquisitions and hereditary dignity. Their soldiers become their vassals in time of peace; and the real power of the State is gradually transferred from the hands of detached and mercenary battalions, to those of a feudal Nobility. The check on the royal authority comes then to lye in the refusal of *this* body to cooperate in such of his measures as do not meet with their approbation; and the king can now do nothing to the prejudice of the order of nobility. The body of the people fare a little better under the operation of this check;—because their interest is much more identified with that of their feudal lords, than with that of a standing army of regular forces.

As society advances in refinement, and the arts of peace are developed, men of the lower orders assemble, and fortify themselves in towns and cities, and thus come to acquire a power independent of their patrons. *Their* consent also accordingly becomes necessary to the development of the public authority; and hence another check to what is called the power of the sovereign. And, finally, to pass over some intermediate stages, when society has attained its full measure of civility and intelligence, and is filled from top to bottom with wealth and industry, and reflection; when every thing that is done or felt by any one class, is communicated in the instant to all the rest,—and a vast proportion of the whole population takes an interest in the fortunes of the country, and possesses a certain intelligence as to the public conduct of its rulers,—then the substantial power of the nation may be said to be vested in the nation at large; or at least in those individuals who can habitually command the good-will and support of the greater part of them;—and the ultimate check to the power of the sovereign comes to consist in the general unwillingness of The People to comply with those orders which, if at all united in their resolution, they may securely disobey and resist. *This* check, when applied at all, is likely, of course, to be applied for the general good; and, though the same in substance with those which have been already considered, namely, the refusal of those in whom the real power is vested, to lend it to the monarch for purposes which

they do not approve, is yet infinitely more beneficial in its operation, in consequence of the more fortunate character of those to whom that power belongs.

Thus we see that kings have no power of their own; and that, even in the purest despotisms, they are the mere organs or directors of that power which they who truly possess the physical and intellectual force of the nation may chuse to put in their disposal, and are at all times, and under every form of monarchy, entirely under the control of that only virtual and effective power. There is at bottom, therefore, no such thing as an unlimited monarchy, or indeed as a monarchy that is potentially either more or less limited than every other. All kings *must* act by the consent of that order or portion of the nation which can really command all the rest, and may do whatever these substantial masters are pleased to approve of: But as it is their power which is truly exerted in the name of the sovereign, so, it is not so much a necessary consequence as an identical proposition to say, that if they do not chuse to exert that power, the king has no means whatever of exercising the slightest authority. This is the universal law indeed of all governments; and though the different constitution of society, in the various stages of its progress, may give a different character to the controlling power, the principles which regulate its operation are substantially the same in all. There is no room, therefore, for the question, whether there should be any control on the power of a king, or what that control should be; because, as the power really is not the king's, but belongs to the stronger part of the nation itself, whether it derive that strength from talents, numbers or situation, it is impossible that it should be exercised at his instigation, without the concurrence of those in whom it is substantially vested.

Such, then, is the abstract and fundamental doctrine as to the true nature of monarchical, and indeed of every other species of political power; and, abstract as it is, we cannot help thinking that it goes far to settle all controversies as to *the rights* of sovereigns, and ought to be kept clearly in mind in proceeding to the more practical views of the subject. For, though what we have now said as to all actual power belonging to the predominant mass of physical and intellectual force in every community, and the certainty of its ultimately impelling the public authority in the direction of its interests and inclinations, be unquestionably true in itself; it is still of infinite importance to consider what provisions are made by the form of the government for the ready operation of those interests and inclinations upon the immediate agents of the public authority. That they

will operate with full effect in the long-run, whether those provisions be good or bad, or whether there be any such provision recognised in the government or not, we take to be altogether indisputable: But, in the one case, they will operate only after long intervals of suffering,—and by means of much suffering; while, on the other, they will be constantly and almost insensibly in action, and will correct the first declination of the visible index of public authority from the inclinations of the radical power of which it should be the exponent, or rather will prevent any sensible variation in their movements. The whole difference, indeed, between a good and a bad government, appears to us to consist in this particular, viz. in the greater or the less facility which it affords for the early, the gradual and steady operation of the substantial power of the community upon its constituted authorities; while the freedom, again, and ultimate happiness of the nation depend on the degree in which this substantial power is possessed by a greater or a smaller proportion of the whole society—a matter almost independent of the government, and determined in a great degree by the progress which the society has made in civilization and refinement.

Thus, to take the most abominable of all governments—a ferocious despotism such as that of Morocco—where an Emperor, in concert with a banditti of armed ruffians, butchers, plunders and oppresses the whole unarmed population,—the check to the monarchical power is complete, in the disobedience or dissatisfaction of the banditti; although, from the character of that body, it affords but little protection to the community, and, from the want of any contrivance for its early or systematic operation, can scarcely ever be applied but with irreparable injury to both the parties concerned. As there is no arrangement by which the general sense of this lawless soldiery can be collected upon the proposed measures of their leader, or the moment ascertained when the degree of his oppression exceeds that of their patience, they never begin to act till his outrages have gone far beyond what was necessary to decide their resistance; and accordingly, he on the one hand goes on decapitating and torturing for months, after all the individuals, by whose consent alone he was enabled to take this amusement, are of opinion that it ought to be discontinued; and, on the other, receives the intimation at last, not in the form of a remonstrance, upon which he might amend, but in the shape of a bowstring, a dose of poison, or a stroke of the dagger. Thus, from the mere want of any provision for ascertaining the sentiments of the individuals possessing the actual power of the state, or for communicating them to the individual appointed to administer

it, infinite evils result to both parties. The first suffer intolerable oppressions before they feel such confidence in their unanimity as to interfere at all; and then they do it at last in the form of brutal violence and vindictive punishment. Every admonition given to their elected leader is preceded by their suffering, and followed by his death; and every application of the check which nature itself has provided for the abuse of delegated power, is accompanied by a total dissolution of the government, and the hazard of a long series of revolutionary tumults.

This is the history of all military despotisms in barbarous and uninstructed communities. When they get on to feudal aristocracies, matters are a little mended; both by the transference of the actual power to a larger and worthier body, and by the introduction of some sort of machinery or contrivance, however rude, for the operation of this power upon the ostensible agents of the government. The person of the Sovereign is now surrounded by some kind of council or parliament; and threats and remonstrances are addressed to him with considerable energy by such of its members as take offence at the measures he proposes. Such, however, is the imperfection of the means devised for these communications, and such the difficulty of collecting the sentiments of those who are to make them, that this necessary operation is still performed in a very clumsy and hazardous manner. These are the times when Barons enter their protests, by openly waging war on their Sovereign, or each other; and even when they are tolerably agreed among themselves, can think of no better way of controlling the monarch, than by marching down in arms to Runnymede, and compelling him, by main force, and in sight of all his people, to sign a charter of their liberties. The evils, in short, are the same in substance as in the sanguinary revolutions of Morocco. The mischief goes to a dangerous length before any remedy is applied; and the remedy itself is a great mischief;—although, from the improved state of intelligence and civilization, the outrages are not on either side so horrible.

The next stage brings us to commercial and enlightened times, in which the real strength and power of the nation is scattered pretty widely through the whole of its population, and in which, accordingly, the check upon the misapplication of that power must arise from the dissatisfaction of that great body. The check must always exist,—and is sure, sooner or later, to operate with sufficient efficacy; but the safety and the promptitude of its operation depend, in this case as in all the others, upon the nature of the contrivances which the Constitution has provided, first, for collecting and ascertaining the sentiments of that

great and miscellaneous aggregate in whom the actual power is vested; and, secondly, for communicating this in an authentic manner to the executive officers of the government. The most effectual and complete way of effecting this, is undoubtedly by a parliament, so elected as to represent pretty fairly the views of all the considerable classes of the people, and so constituted as to have at all times the means, both of suggesting these views to the executive, and of effectually controlling its malversations. Where no such institution exists, the tranquillity of the state will alalways be exposed to considerable hazard; and the danger of great convulsions will unfortunately become greater, in proportion as the body of the people become more wealthy and intelligent.

Under the form of society, however, of which we are now speaking, there must always be some channel, however narrow and circuitous, by which the sense of the people may be let in to act upon the administrators of their government. The channel of the press, for example, and of general literature—provincial magistracies and assemblies, such as the states and parliaments of old France—even the ordinary courts of law—the stage—the pulpit—and all the innumerable occasions of considerable assemblage for deliberation on local interests, election to local offices, or for mere solemnity and usage of festivity—which must exist in all large, antient, and civilized communities, may afford indications of the general sentiment, which must ultimately have full operation; and may serve to admonish kings and courtiers how far the true possessors of the national power are likely to sanction any of its proposed applications. Where those indications, however, are neglected or misconstrued, or where, from other circumstances, institutions that may seem better contrived, fail either to represent the true sense of the ruling part of the community, or to convince the executive magistrate that they do represent it, there, even in the most civilized and intelligent countries, the most hazardous and tremendous distractions may ensue;—such distractions as broke the peace, and endangered the liberties of this country in the time of Charles the First—or such as have recently torn in pieces the frame of society in France; and in their consequences still threaten the destiny of the world. Both those convulsions, it appears to us, arose from nothing else than the want of some proper contrivance for ascertaining the sentiments of the actual strength of the nation,—and for conveying those sentiments, with the full evidence of their authenticity, to the actual administrators of their affairs. And the two cases, we take it, were more nearly alike than has generally been imagined; for though the House of Commons had

an existence long before the time of King Charles, it had not previously been recognised as the vehicle of commanding opinions, nor the organ of that great body to whom the actual power of the State had been recently and insensibly transferred. The Court still considered the effectual power to reside in the feudal aristocracy, by the greater part of which it was supported; and, when the parliament spoke in name of the people of England, thought it might safely disregard the admonitions of a body which had not hitherto possessed any considerable claims to attention. It refused, therefore, to acknowledge this body as the organ of the supreme power of the State; and was only undeceived when it fell before its actual exertion. In France again, the error, though more radical, was of the very same nature. The administration of the government was conducted, up to the very eve of the Revolution, upon the same principles as when the nobles were every thing, and the people nothing;—and the people, in the mean time, had become far more than a match for the nobility, in wealth, in intelligence, and in the knowledge of their own importance. The Constitution, however, provided no means for the peaceable but authoritative intimation of this change to the official rulers, or for the gradual development of the new power which had thus been generated in the community; and the consequence was, that its more indirect indications were overlooked, and nothing yielded to its accumulating pressure, till it overturned the throne,—and overwhelmed with its wasteful flood the whole ancient institutions of the country. If there had been any provision in the structure of the government, by which the increasing power of the lower orders had been enabled to make itself distinctly felt, and to bear upon the constituted authorities as gradually as it was generated, the great calamity which has befallen that nation might have been entirely avoided,—the condition of the monarchy would have insensibly accommodated itself to the change in the condition of the people,—and a most beneficial alteration would have taken place in its administration, without any shock or convulsion in any part of the community. For want of some such provision, however, the Court was held in ignorance of the actual power of the people, till it burst in thunder on their heads. The pent-up vapours disploded with the force of an earthquake; and those very elements that would have increased the beauty and strength of the constitution by their harmonious combination, crumbled its whole fabric into ruin by their sudden and untempered collision. The bloody revolutions of the Seraglio were acted over again in the heart of the most polished and enlightened nation of Europe;—and from the very same cause—the want of a channel for conveying constantly and tem-

perately and effectually, the sense of those who possess power, to those who should direct its application;—and the outrage was only the greater and more extensive, that the body among whom this power was diffused was larger, and the period of its unsuspected accumulation had been of longer duration.

The great point, then, is to ensure a free, an authoritative, and an uninterrupted communication between the ostensible administrators of the national power and its actual constituents and depositories; and the chief distinction between a good and a bad government consists in the degree in which it affords the means of such a communication. The main end of government to be sure is, that wise laws should be enacted and enforced; but such is the condition of human infirmity, that the hazards of sanguinary contentions about the exercise of power is a much greater and more imminent evil than a considerable obstruction in the making or execution of the laws; and the best government therefore is, not that which promises to make the best laws, and to enforce them most vigorously, but that which guards best against the tremendous conflicts to which all administrations of government, and all exercise of political power is apt to give rise. It happens, fortunately indeed, that the same arrangements which most effectually ensure the peace of society against those disorders, are also, on the whole, the best calculated for the purposes of wise and efficient legislation. But we do not hesitate to look upon their negative or preventive virtues as of a far higher cast than their positive and active ones; and to consider a representative legislature to be incomparably of more value when it truly represents the efficient force of the nation in controlling and directing the executive, than when it merely enacts wholesome statutes in its legislative capacity.

The result of the whole then is, that in a civilized and enlightened country, the actual power of the State resides in the great body of the people, and especially among the more wealthy and intelligent in all the different ranks of which it consists; and consequently, that the administration of the government can never be either safe or happy, unless it be conformable to the wishes and sentiments of that great body; while there is little chance of its answering either of these conditions, unless the forms of the constitution provide some means for the regular, constant, and authentic expression of their sentiments,—to which, when so expressed, it is the undoubted duty and obvious interest of the executive to conform. A Parliament, therefore, which really and truly represents the sense and opinions—we mean the general and mature sense, not the occasional prejudices and fleeting passions—of the efficient body of the people,

and which watches over and effectually controls every important act of the executive magistrate, is necessary, in a country like this, for the tranquillity of the government, and the ultimate safety of the monarchy itself,—much more even than for the enactment of laws; and, in proportion as it varies from this description, or relaxes in this control, will the peace of the country and the security of the government be endangered.

But then comes Mr Leckie, and a number of loyal gentlemen from Sicily, or other places, exclaiming that this is mere treason and republicanism,—and asking whether the king is to have no will or voice of his own?—what is to become of the balance of the constitution if he is to be reduced to a mere cypher added to the end of every ministerial majority?—and how, if the office is thus divested of all real power, it can serve the purposes for which we ourselves have preferred Monarchy to all other constitutions? We shall endeavour to answer these questions;—and after the preceding full exposition of our premises, we think they may be answered very briefly.

In the *first* place, then, it does not appear to us that it can be seriously maintained that any national or salutary purpose can ever be served by recognizing the private will or voice of the King as an individual, as an element in the political government, especially in an hereditary monarchy. The person upon whom that splendid lot may fall, not having been selected for the office on account of any proof or presumption of his fitness for it, but being called to it as it were by mere accident, may be fairly presumed to have less talent or capacity than any one of the individuals who have made their own way to a place of influence or authority in his councils; and his voice or opinion therefore, considered naturally and in itself, must be presumed to be of less value or intrinsic authority than that of any other person in office under him: And when it is farther considered that this Sovereign may be very young or very old—almost an idiot—almost a madman—and altogether a dotard, while he is still in the full possession and the lawful exercise of the whole authority of his station, it must seem perfectly extravagant to maintain that it can be of advantage to the nation, that his individual wishes or opinions should be the measure or the condition of any one act of legislation or national policy.—Assuredly it is not for his wisdom or his patriotism, and much less for his own delight and gratification, that an hereditary monarch is placed upon the throne of a free people; and this obvious consideration alone might lead us at once to the true end and purpose of royalty.

But the letter and theory of the English Constitution recognize the individual will of the Sovereign, just as little as reason

and common sense can require it as an integral element in that constitution. It declares that the King as an individual can do no wrong, and can be made accountable for nothing—but that his ministers and advisers shall be responsible for all his acts without any exception—or at least with the single exception of the act of naming those advisers. In every one act of his peculiar and official prerogative, in which, if in any thing, his individual and private will must be understood to have been exerted, the Constitution sees only the will and the act of his ministers. The king's speech—the speech pronounced by his own lips, and as his voluntary act in the face of the whole nation—is the speech of the minister; and as such, is openly canvassed, and condemned if need be, by the Houses of Parliament, in the ordinary course of their duty. The King's answers to addresses—his declarations of peace or war—the honours he confers—the bills he passes or rejects—are all considered by the Constitution as the acts of his counsellors. It is not only the undoubted right, but the unquestionable duty of the Houses of Parliament, to consider of their propriety—to complain of them if they think them inexpedient—to get them rescinded if they admit of such a correction; and at all events to prosecute, impeach and punish those advisers—to whom, and not to the Sovereign in whose name they run, they are exclusively attributed. This great doctrine of responsibility, then, answers the first question of Mr Leckie and his adherents, as to the enormity of subjecting the personal will and opinion of the Sovereign at all times to the control of those who represent the efficient power of the community. Mr Leckie himself, it is to be observed, is for leaving this grand feature of ministerial responsibility, even when he is for dispensing with the attendance of Parliaments;—though, to be sure, among his other omissions, he has forgotten to tell us by whom, and in what manner, it could be enforced, after the abolition of those troublesome assemblies.

The next question relates to the theoretical balance of the constitution, which they say implies that the will and the power of the Monarch is to be a separate and independent element in the government. We have not left ourselves room now to answer this at large; nor indeed do we think it necessary; as we have ventured, upon at least two * former occasions, to submit to our readers, at considerable length, the scope and outline of our views upon that question. Those who feel any doubt, or any anxiety with regard to it, we beg leave to refer to the passages indicated below. At present, we can only make

* Vol. X. p. 412. Vol. XIV. p. 292. & Vol. XVII. p. 277.

two remarks, and that in the most summary manner. The first is, that the powers ascribed to the Sovereign, in the theory of the constitution, are not supposed to be vested in him as an insulated and independent individual—but in him as guided and consubstantiated with his responsible counsellors—that *the King*, in that balance, means not the person of the reigning prince, but the department of the Executive government—the whole body of ministers and their dependants—to whom, for the sake of convenience and dispatch, the initiative of many important measures is entrusted; and who are only entitled or enabled to carry on business, under burden of their responsibility to Parliament, and in reliance on its ultimate support. The second remark is, that the balance of the constitution, in so far as it has any real existence, will be found to subsist almost entirely in the House of Commons, which possesses exclusively both the power of impeachment, and the power of granting supplies; and has besides the most natural and immediate communication with that great body of the nation in whom the power of control over all the branches of the Legislature is ultimately vested. The Executive, therefore, has its chief Ministers in that House, and exerts in that place all the influence which is attached to its situation. If it is successfully opposed there, it would for the most part be infinitely dangerous for it to think of resisting in any other quarter. If it were to exercise its legal prerogative, by refusing a favourite bill, or disregarding an unanimous address of the Commons, the natural consequence would be, that the Commons would retort by exercising their legal privilege of withholding the supplies; and as things could not go on for a moment on such a footing, the King must either submit at discretion, or again bethink himself of raising his royal standard against that of a parliamentary army. The general view, indeed, which we have taken above of the true nature of that which is called the power of the Monarch, is enough to show, that it can only be upon the very unlikely, but not impossible supposition, that the nominal representatives of the people are really more estranged from their true sentiments than the ministers of the Crown, that it can ever be safe or allowable for the latter to refuse immediate compliance with the will of those representatives.

There remains then but one other question, viz. Whether we are really for reducing the King to the condition of a mere tool in the hands of a ministerial majority, without any real power or influence whatsoever; and whether, upon this supposition, there can be any use in the institution of monarchy—as the minister, on this view of things, is the real sovereign, and *his* office is open to competition, as the reward of dangerous and disorderly

ambition? Now, the answer to this is a denial of the fact upon which the question is raised. The King, upon our view of his office—which it has been seen is exactly that taken by the Constitution—would still hold, indisputably, the first place in the State, and possess a substantial power, not only superior to that which any minister could obtain, but sufficient to repress the pretensions of any one who, under another government, might be tempted to aspire to the sovereignty. The king of England, it will be remembered, is a perpetual member of the cabinet—and perpetually the first member of it. No disapprobation of its measures, whether expressed by votes of the Houses, or addresses from the people, can turn *him* out of his situation; and he has also the power of nominating its other members;—not indeed the power of maintaining them in their offices against the sense of the nation—but the power of trying the experiment, and putting it on the country to take the painful and difficult step of insisting on their removal. If he have any portion of ministerial talents, therefore, he must have, in the first place, all the power that could attach to *a perpetual minister*—with all the peculiar influence that is inseparable from the splendour of his official character; and, in the second place, he has the actual power, if not absolutely to make or unmake all the other members of his cabinet at his pleasure, at least to chuse, at his own discretion, among all who are not upon very strong grounds exceptionable to the country at large.

Holding it to be quite clear, then, that the private and individual will of the sovereign is not to be recognized as a separate element of the constitution, and that it must in all cases give way to the mature sense of the nation, we shall still find, that his place is conspicuously and beyond all question the first in the State, and that it is invested with quite as much substantial power as is necessary to maintain all other offices in a condition of subordination. To see this clearly, indeed, it is only necessary to consider, a little in detail, what is the ordinary operation of the regal power, and on what occasions the necessary checks to which we have alluded come in to control it. The King, then, as the presiding member of the cabinet, can suggest, or propose, or recommend any thing which he pleases for the adoption of that executive council;—and his suggestions must at all times be more attended to than those of any other person of the same knowledge or capacity. Such, indeed, are the indestructible sources of influence belonging to his situation, that, if he be only *compos mentis*, he may be assured that he will have more authority than any two of the gravest and most experienced individuals with whom he can com-

municate; and that there will be a far greater disposition to adopt his recommendations, than those of the wisest and most popular minister that the country has ever seen. He may, indeed, be outvoted even in the cabinet;—the absurdity of his suggestions may be so palpable, or their danger so great, that no habitual deference, or feeling of personal dependence, may be sufficient to induce his advisers to venture on their adoption. *This*, however, we imagine, will scarcely be looked upon as a source of national weakness or hazard; and is indeed an accident that may befal any sovereign, however absolute—since the veriest despot cannot work without tools—and even a military sovereign at the head of his army must submit to abandon any scheme which his generals positively refuse to execute. If he is baffled in one cabinet, however, the King of England may in general repeat the experiment in another; and change his counsellors over and over, till he find some who are more courageous or more complying.

But, suppose that the Cabinet acquiesces:—the Parliament may no doubt oppose, and defeat the execution of the project. The Cabinet may be outvoted in the House of Commons, as the Sovereign may be outvoted in the Cabinet; and all its subordinate members may be displaced by votes of that House. The minister who had escaped being dismissed by the King through his compliance with the Royal pleasure, may be dismissed for that compliance by the voice of the Legislature. But the Sovereign, with whom, upon this supposition, the objectionable measure originated, remains; and may not only call another minister to his councils to try this same measure a second time, but may himself dismiss the parliament by which it had been censured, and submit its proceedings to the consideration of another assembly. We really cannot see any want of effective power in such an order of things; nor comprehend how the royal authority is rendered nugatory and subordinate, merely by requiring it to have *ultimately* the concurrence of the Cabinet and of the Legislature. The last stage of this hypothesis, however, will clear all the rest.

The King's measure may triumph in parliament as well as in the council—and yet it may be resisted by the nation. The parliament may be outvoted in the country, as well as the cabinet in the parliament; and if the measure, even in this last stage, and after all these tests of its safety, be not abandoned, the most dreadful consequences may ensue. If addresses and clamours are disregarded, recourse may be had to arms; and an open civil war be left to determine, whether the sense of the people at large be resolutely against its adoption. This last species of

check on the power of the Sovereign, no political arrangement, and no change in the constitution, can obviate or prevent; and as all the other checks of which we have spoken refer ultimately to this, so, the defence of their necessity and justice is complete, when we merely say, that their use is to prevent a recurrence to this last extremity—and, by enabling the sense of the nation to repress pernicious counsels in the outset, through the safe and pacific channels of the cabinet and the parliament, to remove the necessity of resisting them at last, by the dreadful expedient of actual force and compulsion.

If a king, under any form of monarchy, attempt to act against the sense of the commanding part of the population, he will inevitably be resisted and overthrown. This is not a matter of institution or policy; but a necessary result from the nature of his office, and of the power of which he is the administrator. But that form of monarchy is the worst—both for the monarch and for the people—which exposes him the most to the shock of such ultimate resistance; and that is the best which interposes the greatest number of intermediate bodies between *the purpose* of the king and his actual attempt to carry it into execution,—which tries the projected measure upon the greatest number of selected samples of the public sense, before it comes into collision with the general mass,—and affords the most opportunities for retreat, and the best cautions for advance, before the battle is actually joined. The cabinet is presumed to know more of the sentiments of the nation than the king;—and the parliament to know more than the cabinet. Both these bodies, too, are presumed to be rather more under the personal influence of the king than the great body of the nation; and therefore, whatever suggestions of his are ultimately rejected in those deliberative assemblies, must be held to be such as would have been still less acceptable to the bulk of the community. By rejecting them there, however, by silent votes or clamorous harangues, the nation is saved from the necessity of rejecting them by actual resistance and insurrection in the field. The person and the office of the monarch remain untouched and untainted for all purposes of good; and the peace of the country is maintained, and its rights asserted, without any turbulent exertion of its power. The whole frame and machinery of the constitution, in short, is contrived for the express purpose of preventing the kingly power from dashing itself to pieces against the more radical power of the people: and those institutions that are absurdly supposed to restrain the authority of the sovereign within too narrow limits, are in fact its great safeguards and protectors, by providing for the timely and peaceful operation of that great controlling power, which it

could only elude for a season, at the expense of much certain misery to the people, and the hazard of final destruction to itself.

Mr Leckie, however, and his adherents, can see nothing of all this. The facility of casting down a single tyrant, we have already seen, is one of the prime advantages which he ascribes to the institution of simple monarchy;—and so much is this advocate of kingly power enamoured of the uncourtly doctrine of resistance, that he not only recognizes it as a familiar element in the constitution, but lays it down in express terms, that it affords *the only remedy* for all political corruption. 'History,' he observes, 'has furnished us with no example of the reform 'of a corrupt and tyrannical government, but either from in-'testine war, or conquest from without. Thus, the objection 'against a simple monarchy, because there is no remedy for 'its abuse, holds the same, but in a greater degree, against any 'other form. Each is borne with, as long as possible; and when 'the evil is at its greatest height, the nation either rises against 'it, or, not having the means of so doing, sinks into abject 'degradation and misery.'

Such, however, are not our principles of policy; on the contrary, we hold, that the chief use of a free constitution is to prevent the recurrence of these dreadful extremities; and that the excellence of a limited monarchy consists less in the good laws, and the good administration of law, to which it naturally gives birth, than in the security it affords against such a melancholy alternative. To some, we know, who have been accustomed to the spectacle of established despotism, the hazards of such a terrific regeneration appear distant and inconsiderable; and if they could only prolong the intervals of patient submission, and polish away some of the harsher features of oppression, they imagine a state of things would result more tranquil and desireable than the sounding and salutary contentions of a free government. To such persons we shall address but two observations. The first, that though the body of the people may indeed be kept in brutish subjection for ages, where the state of society, as to intelligence and property, is such that the actual power and command of the nation is vested in a few bands of disciplined troops, this could never be done in a nation abounding in independent wealth, very generally given to reading and reflection, and knit together in all its parts by a thousand means of communication and ties of mutual interest and sympathy; and least of all could it be done in a nation already accustomed to the duties and enjoyments of freedom, and regarding the safe and honourable struggles it is constantly obliged to maintain in its defence, as the most ennobling and delightful of its exercises. The other

remark is, that even if it were possible, as it is not, to rivet and shackle down an enlightened nation in such a way as to make it submit for some time, in apparent quietness, to the abuses of arbitrary power, it is never to be forgotten that this submission is itself an evil—and an evil only inferior to those through which it must ultimately seek its relief. If any form of tyranny, therefore, were as secure from terrible convulsions as a regulated freedom, it would not cease for that to be a far less desireable condition of existence; and as the mature sense of a whole nation may be fairly presumed to point more certainly to the true means of their happiness than the single opinion even of a patriotic king, so it must be right and reasonable, in all cases, that his opinion should give way to theirs; and that a power should be generated, if it did not naturally and necessarily exist, to ensure its predominance.

We have still a word or two to say on the alleged inconsistency and fluctuation of all public councils that are subjected to the control of popular assemblies, and on the unprincipled violence of the factions to which they are said to give rise. The first of these topics, however, need not detain us long. If it be meant, that errors in public measures are more speedily detected, and more certainly repaired, when they are maturely and freely discussed by all the wisdom and all the talent of a nation, than when they are left to the blind guidance of the passions or conceit of an individual; —if it be meant, that, under a simple monarchy, we should have persevered steadily in the principles of the Slave Trade, of Catholic Proscription, and of the Orders in Council:—then we cheerfully admit the justice of the charge—we readily yield to those governments the praise of such consistency and such perseverance—and offer no apology for that change from folly to wisdom, and from cruelty to mercy, which is produced by the variableness of a free constitution. But if it be meant that an absolute monarch keeps the faith which he pledges more religiously than a free people, or that he is less liable to sudden and capricious variations in his policy, we positively deny the truth of the imputation, and boldly appeal to the whole course of history for its confutation. What nation, we should like to know, ever stood half so high as our own, for the reputation of good faith and inviolable fidelity to its allies? Or in what instance has the national honour been impeached, by the refusal of one set of ministers to abide by the engagements entered into by their predecessors?—With regard to mere caprice and inconsistency again, will it be seriously maintained, that councils, depending upon the individual will of an absolute sovereign—who may be a boy, or a girl, or a dotard, or a driveller—are more likely to

be steadily and wisely pursued, than those that are taken up by a set of experienced statesmen, under the control of a vigilant and intelligent public? It is not by mere popular clamour—by the shouts or hisses of an ignorant and disorderly mob—but by the deep, the slow, and the collected voice of the intelligent and enlightened part of the community, that the councils of a free nation are ultimately guided. But if they were at the disposal of a rabble—what rabble, we would ask, is so ignorant, so contemptible, so fickle, false, and empty of all energy of purpose or principle, as the rabble that infests the palaces of arbitrary kings—the favourites, the mistresses, the pandars, the flatterers and intriguers, who succeed or supplant each other in the crumbling soil of his favour, and so frequently dispose of all that ought to be at the command of wisdom and honour?

Looking only to the eventful history of our own day, will any one presume to say, that the conduct of the simple monarchies of Europe has afforded us, for the last twenty years, any such lessons of steady and unwavering policy as to make us blush for our democratical inconstancy? What, during that period, has been the conduct of Prussia—of Russia—of Austria herself—of every state, in short, that has not been terrified into constancy by the constant dread of French violence? And where, during all that time, are we to look for any traces of manly firmness, but in the conduct and councils of the only nation whose measures were at all controlled by the influence of popular sentiments? If that nation too was not exempt from the common charge of vacillation—if she did fluctuate between designs to restore the Bourbons, and to enrich herself by a share of their spoils—if she did contract one deep stain on her faith and her humanity, by encouraging and deserting the party of the Royalists in La Vendée—if she did waver and wander from expeditions into Flanders to the seizure of West Indian islands, and from menaces to extirpate Jacobinism to missions courting its alliance—will any man pretend to say, that these signs of infirmity of purpose were produced by yielding to the varying impulses of popular opinions, or the alternate preponderance of hostile factions in the state? Is it not notorious, on the contrary, that they all occurred during that lamentable but memorable period, when the alarm excited by the aspect of new dangers had in a manner extinguished the constitutional spirit of party, and composed the salutary conflicts of the nation—that they occurred in the first ten years of Mr Pitt's war administration, when opposition was almost extinct, and when the government was not only more entirely in the hands of one man, than it had been at any time since the days of Cardinal Wolsey, but when the temper and

tone of its administration approached very nearly to that of an arbitrary monarchy?

On the doctrine of parties and party dissensions, it is now too late for us to enter at large;—and indeed when we recollect what Mr Burke has written upon that subject, * we do not know why we should wish for an opportunity of expressing our feeble sentiments. Parties are necessary in all free governments—and are indeed the characteristics by which such governments may be known. One party, that of the Rulers or the Court, is necessarily formed and disciplined from the permanence of its chief, and the uniformity of the interests it has to maintain;—the party in Opposition, therefore, must be marshalled in the same way. When bad men combine, good men must unite:—and it would not be less hopeless for a crowd of worthy citizens to take the field without leaders or discipline, against a regular army, than for individual patriots to think of opposing the influence of the Sovereign by their separate and uncombined exertions. As to the lengths which they should be permitted to go in support of the common cause, or the extent to which each ought to submit his private opinion to the general sense of his associates, it does not appear to us—though casuists may mask dishonour, and purists startle at shadows—either that any man of upright feelings can be at a loss for a rule of conduct, or that, in point of fact, there has ever been any blameable excess in the maxims upon which our parties in this country have been generally conducted. The leading principle is, that a man should satisfy himself that the party to which he attaches himself means well to the country, and that more substantial good will accrue to the nation from its coming into power, than from the success of any other body of men whose success is at all within the limits of probability.—Upon this principle, therefore, he will support that party in all things which he approves—in all things that are indifferent—and even in some things which he partly disapproves, provided they neither touch the honour and vital interests of the country, nor imply any breach of the ordinary rules of morality.—Upon the same principle he will attack not only all that he individually disapproves in the conduct of the adversary, but all that might appear indifferent and tolerable enough to a neutral spectator, if it afford an opportunity to weaken him in the public opinion, and to increase the chance of bringing that party into power from which alone he sincerely believes that any sure or systematic good is to be expected. Farther than this we do not believe that the leaders or

* See his 'Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents.' *Sub initio—et passim.*

respectable followers of any considerable party, intentionally allow themselves to go. Their zeal, indeed, and the heats and passions engendered in the course of the conflict, may sometimes hurry them into measures for which an impartial spectator cannot find this apology:—but to their own consciences and honour we are persuaded that they generally stand acquitted;—and, on the score of duty or morality, that is all that can be required of human beings. For the baser retainers of the party indeed—those marauders who follow in the rear of every army, not for battle but for booty—who concern themselves in no way about the justness of the quarrel, or the fairness of the field—who plunder the dead, and butcher the wounded, and desert the unprosperous and betray the daring;—for those wretches who belong to no party, and are a disgrace and a drawback upon all, we shall assuredly make no apology, nor propose any measures of toleration. The spirit by which they are actuated is the very opposite of that spirit which is generated by the parties of a free people; and accordingly it is among the advocates of arbitrary power that such persons, after they have served their purpose by a pretence of patriotic zeal, are ultimately found to range themselves.

We positively deny, then, that the interests of the country have ever been sacrificed to a vindictive desire to mortify or humble a rival party;—though we freely admit that a great deal of the time and the talent that might be devoted more directly to her service, is wasted in such an endeavour. This, however, is unavoidable—nor is it possible to separate those discussions, which are really necessary to expose the dangers or absurdity of the practical measures proposed by a party, from those which have really no other end but to expose it to general ridicule or *odium*. This too, however, it should be remembered, is a point in which the country has a still deeper, though a more indirect interest than in the former; since it is only by such means that a system that is radically vicious can be exploded, or a set of men fundamentally corrupt and incapable removed. If the time be well spent, therefore, which is occupied in preventing or palliating some particular act of impolicy or oppression, it is impossible to grudge that by which the spring and the fountain of all such acts may be cut off.

With regard to the tumult—the disorder—the danger to public peace—the vexation and discomfort which certain sensitive persons and lovers of tranquillity represent as the fruits of our political dissensions, we cannot help saying that we have no sympathy with their delicacy or their timidity. What they look upon as a frightful commotion of the elements, we consider as

no more than a wholesome agitation; and cannot help regarding the contentions in which freemen are engaged by a conscientious zeal for their opinions, as an invigorating and not ungenerous exercise. What breach of the public peace has it occasioned?—to what insurrections or conspiracies or proscriptions has it ever given rise?—what mob even, or tumult, has been excited by the contention of the two great parties of the state, since their contention has been open, and their weapons appointed, and their career marked out in the free lists of the constitution?—Suppress these contentions indeed—forbid these weapons, and shut up these lists, and you will have conspiracies and insurrections enough.—These are the short-sighted fears of tyrants.—The dissensions of a free people are the preventives and not the indications of radical disorder—and the noises which make the weak hearted tremble, are but the natural murmurs of those mighty and mingling currents of public opinion, which are destined to fertilize and unite the country, and can never become dangerous till an attempt is made to dam them up, or to disturb their level.

Mr Leckie has favoured his readers with an enumeration of the advantages of absolute monarchy;—and we are tempted to follow his example, by concluding with a dry catalogue of the advantages of free government—each of which would require a chapter at least as long as that which we have now bestowed upon one of them. Next, then, to that of its superior security from great reverses and atrocities, of which we have already spoken at sufficient length, we should be disposed to rank that pretty decisive feature, of the superior happiness which it confers upon all the individuals who live under it. The consciousness of liberty is a great blessing and enjoyment in itself.—The occupation it affords—the importance it confers—the excitement of intellect, and the elevation of spirit which it implies, are all elements of happiness peculiar to this condition of society, and quite separate and independent of the external advantages with which it may be attended. In the second place, however, liberty makes men more industrious, and consequently more generally prosperous and wealthy; the result of which is, both that they have among them more of the good things that wealth can procure, and that the resources of the State are greater for all public purposes. In the third place, it renders men more valiant and highminded, and also promotes the development of genius and talents, both by the unbounded career it opens up to the emulation of every individual in the land, and by the natural effect of all sorts of intellectual or moral excitement to awaken all sorts of intellectual and moral capabili-

ties. In the fourth place, it renders men more patient, and docile, and resolute in the pursuit of any public object; and consequently both makes their chance of success greater, and enables them to make much greater efforts in every way, in proportion to the extent of their population. No slaves could ever have undergone the toils to which the Spartans or the Romans tasked themselves for the good or the glory of their country;—and no tyrant could ever have extorted the sums in which the Commons of England have voluntarily assessed themselves for the exigencies of the state. These are among the positive advantages of freedom; and, in our opinion, are its chief advantages.—But we must not forget, in the fifth and last place, that there is nothing else but a free government by which men can be secured from those arbitrary invasions of their persons and properties—those cruel persecutions, oppressive imprisonments, and lawless executions, which no laws can prevent an absolute monarch from regarding as a part of his prerogative; and, above all, from those provincial exactions and oppressions, and those universal insults, and contumelies, and indignities, by which the inferior minions of power spread misery and degradation among the whole mass of every people which has no political independence.

ART. V. *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.* By Edward Wakefield. 2 vol. 4to. London. Longman & Co. 1812.

MR WAKEFIELD, the collector of the information contained in the large volumes before us, appears to be a sensible, industrious, liberal minded and well informed man, whose attention has been chiefly directed towards those details which of late years have been thrown together under the newly naturalized, and not very exactly defined name of Statistics. His chief failing is a desire to make a shew of reading, and to give an unnecessary air of science and system to the collections of a traveller. An account of the Irish climate does not require twenty references to Roman historians and poets, to prove that Burgundy and the Crimea are now warmer than they were in the time of Pliny and Ovid. Nor is it in the least illustrated by panegyrics on the delightful climate of Chili, or by a description of the Monsoons, which prevail at different seasons on the opposite coasts of the Indian Peninsula. Faults which so needlessly add to the size of an immense book, are not unimportant. His manner is that of the Tours of Arthur Young—lively, dogmatical and disorderly. We are not disposed to dispute the

merits of that restless, rambling, meddling, bustling adventurer in Economics, who by his ardent spirit and unwearied labour, and perhaps even by his bold blunders, has for forty years usefully contributed to give a wholesome activity and a rational direction to the public understanding. But our author, a vehement admirer, ventures to compare one of Mr Young's ablest books, now however pretty generally forgotten, called Political Arithmetic, to the Wealth of Nations; which waving the disputed questions respecting its absolute originality, or uniform correctness, may assuredly be pronounced to be the most important philosophical work, without the limits of the exact Sciences, produced in the British dominions, since the Essay on Human Understanding.

But we should be ashamed to waste our time in literary criticism on an account of Ireland, the result of long and laborious personal examination, published at a moment when that country is the great hinge, on which the whole of our domestic policy turns, and when the speedy as well as general prevalence of right opinions concerning it may materially affect the safety of the Empire. Whoever at such a moment could measure his attention to this work by its literary merit, must have lost every thing masculine in his understanding, by the process which refined his taste.

But though literary animadversion would be frivolous, and misplaced, it seems reasonable to introduce a statement of facts, by such an account of the previous opinions, connexions and attachments of the writer, as he has himself supplied, in order that we may see where he may have followed, and where he must have conquered his prejudices, and consequently where the most unlimited credit is due to his testimony.

His general politics are those of a warm Antijacobin and Antigallican,—a strong, though not undistinguishing admirer of Mr Pitt's first administration. He was induced to engage in this survey, by the Right Honourable John Foster, long regarded as the chief of the Anticatholic party; a person much distinguished for decision of character, and dexterity in political management,—the two public virtues most easily acquired on the ministerial benches of the Irish House of Commons; and, whom Mr Burke was accustomed to characterize as the ablest man in Ireland,—with the addition of another epithet not equivalent in signification to the best. His connexion with that gentleman was so intimate, and so generally known, that he was sometimes suspected of being an emissary of government; and he thought it necessary, for the preservation of his independence, expressly to stipulate with Mr Foster, for permission to receive

assistance from the Duke of Bedford and Lord Darnley. He was consulted by Mr Pitt, and confidentially employed by the late Lord Melville, of whom he speaks in language which will be generally thought somewhat extravagant; though we are far from denying to that nobleman, strong and serviceable talents for office, and for parliament, as well as many of those more valuable qualities which command attachment.

'I do not hesitate to say, that he was among *the greatest of* 'modern statesmen; and I am fully convinced, that it was *the su-* 'periority of his too comprehensive genius, too active to be con- 'fined to one pursuit, which led him to neglect the details of 'office, and involved him in the trouble and disgrace of an im- 'peachment.'

It must not be thought that Mr Wakefield has yielded to these prepossessions. He certainly has manfully resisted them. He has proved the sincerity of his resolution to be impartial. Very few books bear stronger marks of the candour and probity of the writer. But the evidence of a respectable witness, when it is at variance with the wishes and interests of patrons whom he thus highly reveres, must be allowed to be of the most unsuspected and conclusive kind.

On that part of the work which relates to soil, climate, manufactures, commerce, rural economy, landed property, &c. it is not our intention at present to say much. Evils in these departments can only be remedied, or even well understood on the spot; and we leave these important subjects to the serious consideration of the small but (as we learn with pleasure from this book) increasing body of enlightened landholders and cultivators in Ireland.

Political evils are the source from which all other remediable evils in the condition of Ireland have flowed. The industry of man cannot prosper, and the bounty of nature cannot be enjoyed, till the sources of pestilence are dried up. To the political part of the work, therefore, we shall direct our attention; persuaded that we serve the husbandman more extensively by contributing to cut down the forest, and to drain the marsh, which give him a livid countenance and a feeble arm, than by laying before him the best precepts, and the most beautiful models of improved agriculture.

The political state of Ireland shall be given in the very words of the eyewitness, at the expense of some prolixity, and with a certainty that such unusual extent of quotation may be thought tiresome by fastidious readers. To novelty it makes no pretensions: If it did, there might be some hope of its inaccuracy. Unfortunately it is the same which has been a hundred times

repeated, and which exactly coincides with the testimony of every respectable writer of that country. But though one statement be sufficient to convey information, a thousand may be necessary for still more momentous purposes. Important truths must be repeated till attention be excited—till justice be awakened—or, if that be impossible, till salutary alarm be roused.

'A respectable writer of that country fairly acknowledges, "that the Irish peasant does not much excel the savage in just notions of liberty, or in due respect for the laws and civil institutions of men." Vol. I. p. 295.

What produces this desperate character?—Let us hear the answer in the following account of their desperate circumstances.

'Now, will any one who has attentively perused the above account of Russia say, that the situation of many of the Irish peasants is much superior to that of the Russian boor? The latter, indeed, is the property of the person on whose estate he resides; but provided he pays his *obrok*, he may go where he pleases to procure employment, and what he saves over and above that sum, he may appropriate to whatever purpose he thinks proper. Or he is allowed a certain portion of land for the support of himself and his family, and in return, he either pays the *obrok* with personal services, or the latter only; and in this he seems to be exactly on a level with the Irish slave. The terms I have used may offend some delicate ears—but to call the former *tenant*, would be a perversion of terms—to name the latter *landlord*, would be a prostitution of language. Does it not excite the flush of shame in the cheek of an Irishman, to hear that the internal economy of Ireland, in respect to agriculture is very little different from that adopted under the most despotic government in Europe?' Vol. I. p. 510.

From this general description there are many exceptions, which the generality of the evil renders most honourable to the benevolent and enlightened proprietors whose land exhibits them. But one is so striking, that, for the sake of example as well as of justice, we must extract the author's account of it.

'The immense tract of land belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam forms the largest estate in the county of Wicklow; and though his Lordship is an absentee, his estate, without exception, is the best cultivated of all those I have seen in Ireland. The peculiarly flourishing state in which it appears, has been ascribed to various causes—the talents and integrity of those to whose management it is entrusted—the opulence of the tenantry, *who, for the purpose of commanding votes, were formerly all Protestants*—the renewal of leases to the old tenants in preference to others—and the size of the farms, which are in general of considerable extent. But it is not improbable that this beneficial result has been the effect of all these causes combined. Where unbounded confidence prevails between the landlord and agent, and between the agent and tenant, industry will be ex-

erted on the one hand, and encouraged on the other; improvement will advance with a steady pace; and the mutual benefits which arise from a system founded in justice and liberality, will tend to cement the bonds of friendship between two classes of society, whose interests are undoubtedly the same. But whatever may be the cause, the estate of Earl Fitzwilliam in this county, exhibits an appearance that would do honour to any part of Europe; and though I am not inclined to be lavish of compliments, I will not hesitate to say, when I consider the situation of his Lordship's Wicklow tenants, that he appears to me to take justice as the guide of his conduct,—and to that chiefly I ascribe the admirable state of his property in Ireland. Can he who loves his country, and honours humanity, forbear from exclaiming to many a thoughtless landlord, "Go thou, and do likewise!" Vol. I. p. 285.

It may be asked, whence this lawless character, this absence of all the enjoyments, and of all the habits of civilized life, among a people cultivating a soil as fertile as that of England, under a climate which is even milder—apparently ruled by the same system of laws and government which has rendered the inhabitants of Great Britain the happiest and the most moral people of the world? The answer will be very fully given by other parts of Mr Wakefield's repository. It is that real inequality which renders the letter of equal laws a mockery. The Catholics of Ireland appear from Mr Wakefield's calculations to be about six-sevenths of the whole population: They are the original inhabitants, the ancient proprietors, and they speak the national language. The remaining seventh have every mark that can keep up the appearance of a foreign colony. As long as the penal laws excluded the Irish from the common rights enjoyed in the most despotic countries, it would be absurd to give any other reason for their wretchedness and depravity, but the want of that sense of security, that long experience of protection from law, and confidence in the administration of justice, which distinguish an English farmer from a Lithuanian Boor. But since the repeal of many of these laws, it is natural to inquire, what practical and sensible change has convinced the unfortunate Irish that the alteration in the words of the statutes is more than illusion?

Catholics, *i. e.* Irishmen, may now be appointed, as every body knows, to inferior military stations, and they may sit on grand juries.—Such is the law: But what is the fact—and how are the Irish to discover their real and substantial equality in this respect to the English colony?

Of about nine hundred grand jurors in Ireland, there are usually about eighty Catholics, or, on an average, about two to each grand jury. In the city of Waterford, where the Catholics

are ten times the number of the Protestants, no Catholic is summoned on the grand jury. In the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, where the Catholics are ten to one, there is not one Catholic commissioned officer in the militia. For the information of those who consider the letter of the law as all-sufficient, and the character of the men who execute it as insignificant, we extract the following important and characteristic statement relating to the county of Tipperary.

'Here are some large estates belonging to Catholics; and during the Duke of Bedford's administration, seven gentlemen of that persuasion were called on the grand jury: But when I was there in 1808 and 1809, not one was called, the nomination of the Sheriff being always an affair of party.' II. p. 622.

The sentiments of the Protestants, who possess this monopoly of power, respecting the Catholics, are represented in the following passage.

'The word Papist or Catholic carries as much contempt along with it, as if a beast were designated by the term. When the comfort or the interest of the Catholic are under consideration, he must always give way; for, although he stands as erect before his Maker as does the Protestant, he is yet considered as an inferior animal, and thought unworthy of participating in the same enjoyments. But the prejudices of the Protestants are rather to be pitied than blamed; *if the law have made such degrading distinctions, the ignorant part of the Protestants are in some measure authorised to entertain the same ideas.* Although the Protestants are better educated than the Catholics, yet many of them are still ignorant enough to believe that their Catholic fellow subjects are the *helots* of the country, who ought to be retained in a state of political bondage.' II. p. 570.

After such a description of the sentiments of the ruling caste, who can wonder that the following should be a faithful picture of the feelings of the *helots?*

'Some persons assert that the Catholics are not degraded; but the circumstances which might be produced to prove the contrary, are too numerous and too striking, to admit of any doubts. Were a stranger passing through Essex, to announce at every village, that on a certain night, a party, no matter of what religious persuasion, intended to spread desolation around them, by burning the houses, and massacring all the inhabitants, such a threat would excite only a smile. In the year 1798, a rumour of this kind was spread in various parts of Ireland;—the people were threatened, that on a certain night, the Orangemen would burn their houses, and make a general massacre of the inhabitants. The story was believed, the people deserted their houses and fled to the bogs. This indeed was during the rebellion; but I am sorry to say, that I saw numbers lying out of doors in the neighbourhood of Ross, in the year 1809, in consequence of such a report being spread by a stranger; and I am

convinced, that at this moment, any one in the least known, who might spread such alarm, would cause the Catholic inhabitants of whole districts to desert their homes. Is not this a proof, that the poor live in continual apprehension, and have no confidence in their own situation? They are haunted with the terror of persecution; they feel that they are without protectors; they are alive to the least alarm; and this must be the case, until they see the Aristocracy of their own faith participating equally with the Protestants in the political power of the country.' II. p. 568.

It is no wonder that the influence of such laws, and of such manners, acting and reacting upon each other, should be visible in every part of human life. We are told by Mr Wakefield, that Protestants are observed to be the most skilful and industrious farmers. This is in other words to say, that the law takes away from the Catholics skill and industry, hope and pride. The helotism of the Catholic, which either breaks his spirit or excites his rage, in either case equally unnerves his arm, and devotes his fields to barrenness. Men are only just, when they are justly dealt with; and those who are looked down upon as slaves, must look up to their masters as tyrants. The sense of degradation, as well as that of insecurity, extinguishes industry, either by subduing the activity of the human mind, or by converting it into destructive fury.

Suppose a Catholic, in a law-suit, perhaps political, with a Protestant, to come before a jury, composed as we have seen those of Ireland to be. Suppose him to have banished from his mind all those recollections of past times, which are so unfortunately calculated to fill it with animosity and distrust, would not all his new-born confidence vanish, when he learned, that the abhorrence and detestation entertained by Protestants against his religion was such, that the Protestant government had conferred the dignity of a Privy Councillor on the worst writer of his age, who had no other conceivable merit, but the hardihood to assert, that the form of Christianity professed for many ages by our own ancestors, as well as by all Christendom—still professed by the majority of the civilized world—the religion of Sir Thomas More, and of Fenelon, disqualified men from being members of civil society, by releasing them from the obligation of oaths, and of obedience to the laws? What would be his hope of impartiality, from a sect so infatuated by their hatred of his faith, as to patronize such assertions, and to disgrace themselves by such promotions?—Suppose the case to occur in the county of Tipperary:—most of our readers conversant in the sad history of Ireland, must recollect a High-Sheriff of that county, who, for his lawless violences towards the Catholics, would have suffered the inadequate punishment of the ruin of his for-

tune, by the damages which the law had, or would have, awarded to the wretched sufferers, if he had not been wrested from the grasp of a just retribution, by the act of indemnity. With what assurance of mind could a Catholic litigant bring his cause before such Juries, summoned by such a Sheriff?

But to proceed with Mr Wakefield.—We shall now extract from him some passages relating to the causes and circumstances of the rebellion. Whether they be perfectly accurate, it is impossible for us to determine. But their general belief is at least an index to the temper and condition of the country. Proof has been offered of the truth of still more dreadful charges at the bar of Parliament; and the parties to such transactions, who resist the solemn investigation of their own conduct, must be content to endure all the consequences of that natural presumption which they raise against themselves.

'The entry of one Lord Lieutenant, and the departure of the other, were distinguished by very different sensations among the people. One was hailed as the presage of peace, the other passed along under the dark and sullen gloom of smothered resentment and remembered wrongs.—Lord Cambden left Dublin with as much ostentation as if he had been the saviour of the country; the Marquis Cornwallis entered it with the modesty of a merciful mediator; his memory therefore will live in the faithful pages of history,—while the names of many who have filled the same situation, will be execrated as often as they are mentioned.

'Lord Cambden arrived in Ireland at a time when the country enjoyed profound tranquillity; he left it in a state of the utmost alarm, confusion, and discontent.—During his vicereyalty, a system of coercion had been established; and flogging, half-hanging, burning, &c. the sure attendants upon despotism, were the measures resorted to in the delusive hope of producing tranquillity by terror.' II. p. 371.

'A scene ensued (at Wexford), which, for the credit of humanity and for the honour of the country, ought to be expunged from the annals of British history. Whichever side obtained the superiority, cruelties were exercised, at the mention of which barbarians would shudder.'

'If the *people* filled the barn at Scullabogue with victims, men, women and children promiscuously thrown together, whom they consumed in one general conflagration, the opposite party applied a lighted torch to the hospital at Enniscorthy, which was crowded with unresisting and wounded enemies, and consigned them to a similar fate. The destruction of these helpless wretches, by a death the most horrid that can be conceived, seemed to afford heartfelt gratification to the fiends who revelled in the blood of their fellow creatures. An author, who has employed his pen on the Irish rebellion, says, "I have reason to think that not more fell in battle than were slain in

cold blood. No quarter was given to prisoners. For one instance, fifty four were shot in the little town of Dunlairin."

'The rebel in arms was less the object of pursuit, than the unsuspecting peasant who remained quiet in his cabin. To be seen, was the signal of death; the appearance of these poor wretches on the highway was a conviction; they were fired on and cut down without mercy, as if they had been beasts of prey. Many, therefore, were compelled to fly to the rebel camp for protection.' II. 366–67.

'It will be perceived,' says Mr Wakefield, 'that my political principles do not accord with those of Mr Plowden, and that the opinion which I have formed of the views of Mr Pitt and the Marquis Cornwallis is directly opposite to his. But there are circumstances related by him which I cannot read without horror. In a little publication, he has detailed the trial of Mr Arthur of Limerick before a military tribunal, the tyranny of which exceeds any thing I ever read of in a Spanish Inquisition.' II. 366.

The following paragraph deserves the serious consideration of the reader. The feelings entertained by the higher classes of a people to the lower, are among the most important features of national character.

'In the month of June 1809, at the races at Carlow, I saw a poor man's cheek laid open by a stroke of a whip. He was standing in the midst of a crowd near the winning-post; the inhuman wretch who inflicted the wound was a gentleman of some rank in the county. The unhappy sufferer was standing in his way; and, without requesting him to move, he struck him with less ceremony than an English country-squire would strike a dog. *But what astonished me more even than the deed, and what shows the difference between English and Irish feeling was, that not a murmur was heard nor hand raised in disapprobation;* but the surrounding spectators dispersed running different ways, like slaves terrified at the rod of their despot. I observed to a gentleman with whom I was in company how different a feeling would have actuated the populace in England. There, no man who lifts his hand unjustly is sheltered by his rank. The bystanders are always ready to espouse the cause of the injured, and would themselves inflict summary punishment even on a nobleman who should violate the laws of his country by such an aggression. "What," replied my friend, "would a man there dare to strike his superior?" "—Yes," said I, "and on his own estate and in the midst of his tenantry." But twenty magistrates of the county of Carlow are present. Will they not interpose?"—"Oh no," said he; "they will get into no quarrel with ————." The conversation dropped, and I never felt so proud of being an Englishman.' II. 773-74.

The pride of Mr Wakefield ought to have been converted into an opposite feeling, if he had recollected that laws imposed by an English colony, and now supported by English influence,

were the true source of the shocking outrage, and still more shocking patience which he had indignantly witnessed; and that even at this moment a powerful faction in England is contending to preserve the remnant of those laws, which keeps alive the spirit of tyranny and of servitude with as much zeal as was displayed by their ancestors in extorting the Great Charter, or resisting the Armada. Ireland, we must say, is not the country where an Englishman is best entitled to be proud of the name. Balancing the virtues and vices of nations, it is doubtless among the most honourable of national distinctions; and in almost every other region of the globe it may be avowed with pride. —But in Ireland its honours are yet to be earned.

The political sentiments of the Irish Catholics are a most serious subject of inquiry. Many of their advocates seem to think it necessary to represent them as the most loyal part of his Majesty's subjects. But we applaud the plainness with which Mr Wakefield has spoken out in the following passages, which contain a more probable account of what a government has to apprehend from a people whom it proclaims to be unworthy of partaking the common rights of mankind.

'They (the Catholics) form by far the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland; and to ascertain their real disposition is a matter of the utmost importance, especially as different opinions are entertained on the subject. To judge from the resolutions of the Catholic aristocracy, we might be induced to believe that the Catholic populace are as loyal as any other class of men in the kingdom;—but I am convinced from the result of my observations, that on their attachment to Government no reliance can be placed: nor is this surprising: for the man who has nothing to fear from any change that might occur, cannot be supposed to be very anxious for the preservation of a system which does not permit him to enjoy even the pleasures of hope.'

'There are facts which speak more clearly on this subject. The levy *en masse* was considered as the best and safest bulwark of England—yet it was not extended to Ireland. The supplementary militia was confined to England. The truth is, Government dare not put arms into the hands of the majority of the people, as they do in England.' II. p. 651.

'In Ireland the army is considered by the people as their determined and implacable enemy. Were the Corsican Tyrant landed in England with all his legions, they could not be viewed with more jealousy and rancorous hatred than the army is by the Irish.' II. p. 364.

'The events (of the invasion of 1798) have no other connexion with the subject of this work, than as they show the temper and disposition of the people at that time; and I fear that the twelve years which have since elapsed have not effected a material change

in their sentiments. I indeed entertain so doubtful an opinion of their loyalty, that I should dread to see their fidelity again put to the test by another invasion. On this subject, I had frequent conversations, and some only a few months before his death, with my late friend Dr Law, Bishop of Elphin. Those who were fortunate enough to enjoy his Lordship's acquaintance will attest, that he was a man distinguished by superior acuteness and observation: As he resided constantly within the province, his opinions must be the more deserving of confidence. He stated to me, that he believed little dependence could be placed in the attachment of the people to the existing order of things. He intreated me to examine them attentively. The result of my inquiries confirmed the opinion of the Bishop. When I told them of the defeat of the French in Spain, the reply was, "Oh, that's only in the papers." II. 380.

'The poorer Irish, notwithstanding their ignorance, are aware of the situation in which they are placed. They are perfectly acquainted with the nature of the barrack system, and the military government which is maintained to awe them into subjection. Their sentiments, though not openly avowed, may be frequently collected from feelings which they are not always able to repress. I could perceive a general joy among them at the Walcheren expedition, and the measure of assisting in Spain; because they afforded a prospect that the troops would be withdrawn from the country." II. p. 825.

That the Catholics of Ireland are indifferent to their grievances, is one of those monstrous paradoxes which the zeal either of bigotry or of interest, sometimes emboldens politicians to hazard. On this subject, let us listen to our author, who, after so much time spent in exploring Ireland, and in conversing with all classes of her inhabitants, thus delivers the result of his observation.

'During two years I was in the habit of mixing with the Irish Catholics in every part of the country, I associated with their clergy and laity, and lived in terms of friendship with some of the most respectable of them; and I can assert, that "emancipation," a term which few properly understood, was their first and general topic, and was always dwelt upon with a warmth of feeling which evinced its importance in their estimation. Interrogate any of the common orders, who have not an idea of the extent of their exclusion, and who would desire no immediate advantage from the success of the measure, and their reply is, "Oh sure! I am for my own people." This seemed to be the sole object to which their hopes were directed; and these hopes are sanguine. That the Catholics are not anxious for the agitation of the question, is an extravagant and absurd idea, and a strong proof of the dilemma to which their opponents are reduced.' II. p. 661.

'At the Catholic meeting of the county of Dublin, held at Kilmainham in the year 1811, Col. O'Shea addressed the Chairman in

the following words—' Having made in the Austrian army the campaigns against the common enemy, I found myself, at the late unfortunate struggle at Wagram, a Colonel commanding a regiment of 3000 men; a rank I still retain, with the advantage of being able to resume my military situation, should Austria again make common cause against the despotism of France; and there every employment, even the command of the army, is open to me, Catholic or Protestant; and such is our national reputation, that the Archduke Charles said to me, " Never was the army of Austria better officered, than when possessing so many Irish;" of whom, at one time, upwards of thirty were generals. How different my situation at home! Although of the oldest and most respectable families in the country, possessing fortune to back it, let my acquirements and talents be what they will, I am curbed in my pursuit. No confidence is to be placed in me—no command to be entrusted to me—because I am a Catholic.' II. 573.

One important feature in the picture of the Catholics will be supplied by the following passage. The loyalty of their gentry appears to be more certain than the discontent of their populace.

' As far as I can judge, the Catholic aristocracy evince no want of attachment to the general interest of the empire. Whatever opinions they may entertain of particular administrations, their love and respect for the constitution are unshaken; and although they dislike those laws which deprive them of equal rights, they do not entertain a thought hostile to the government. Convinced that the happiness of Ireland depends on its connexion with Great Britain, they have no desire to see them disunited. As to the higher classes of the Irish Catholics, I shall quote the authority of a Right Honourable friend of mine.* " I know, personally, many of the petitioners. Those of them whom I have the honour and pleasure to speak of from personal acquaintance, are as loyal men, as good subjects, and have acted with as much zeal and energy to uphold the state against the invader and against the rebel, as any individuals in the kingdom." II. 553.

As an example of the loyalty of that respectable body, the conduct of the Earl of Fingal is noticed with just commendation. He took arms, during the rebellion, at the head of a volunteer corps, which distinguished itself at the hill of Tara.

' Killeen Castle, the seat of this hospitable nobleman, was a place of general retreat to the well affected; and during that commotion afforded protection to the Protestant and to the Catholic. I can state from authority, that the clergy of the Church of Ireland, as well as those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, performed divine service under the same roof, and at the same time, as long as danger existed, and while it was necessary to consider it as a sanc-

* Speech of the Right Hon. J. Foster, May 14. 1805.

tuary from the fury of the rebels. His Lordship's conduct has rendered him justly popular. He is at the head of the Roman Catholic interest, not only in this part of the country, but throughout all Ireland; and while he is venerated by those of his own persuasion, he is esteemed and respected by the Protestants.' II. 778.

It appears from Mr Wakefield's statements, that fewer Catholics enter the army and navy than is generally believed, and many fewer than might have been reasonably expected from the numbers and peculiar circumstances of that body. The exact deficiency, he does not enable us to estimate. But whatever may be its extent, he is no doubt right in ascribing it to the political discontent caused by the Popery laws. Every Irishman kept back from the defence of the country, is one soldier sacrificed to intolerance. He seems embarrassed by an apparent inconsistency between two generally received and very certain principles—that a rich country only can keep up a great military force; and that a country like Ireland is the best nursery of recruits. But both these propositions are true; and the repugnance between them disappears on a very little consideration. The number of persons whom a community can maintain in a military, or in any other unproductive state, must bear a direct proportion to the produce of the national labour. As that labour is more ingenious, more skilful, and, above all, more aided by machinery, the number of soldiers may increase. A civilized and prosperous country alone can support great military establishments. The British Islands accordingly, including the army, navy, and militia, have more than a fortieth part of their population permanently under arms; a considerable larger proportion than Louis XIV. or Napoleon ever found it possible to support, and probably the largest deduction from industry that any country has for a long period been able to endure. But though a rich state only can maintain great standing armies, a poor country, with a redundant population, and consequently with an inadequate reward of labour, is that which will naturally afford the greatest number of recruits. In a prosperous country, indeed, as long as every part of the national industry continues to flourish, recruiting is always extremely difficult. It is by the destruction of some branches of employment that war, in such a country, can supply herself with recruits. A relation may subsist between two parts of the same empire, similar to that which a subsidiary treaty creates between two allies, in which each contributes to the common cause that which they can most easily spare—the one money, and the other men. Such a relation has been generally supposed to subsist between England and

Ireland. By such a connexion, England would receive the only benefit which she could derive from the unhappy situation of Ireland; and Ireland would feel present relief to her most urgent sufferings—while her progress to a better state would be rather accelerated than retarded. For though a military life be destructive of the highest industry, yet, to the idle and dissolute, it is a school of order, obedience and sobriety, which are the necessary preparation for habitual labour.

As far, then, as the Popery laws diminish the Irish recruits, it may be truly said, that they forcibly turn against the British government that spirit which must otherwise have been pointed against her enemies, and intercept the only casual and transient benefit which society could have received from the turbulence and idleness of part of its members.

Every reader of the above extracts, must already have observed a remarkable circumstance in the present state of these laws. The remaining disabilities chiefly relate to Parliament, and to the higher offices of the state and the law. These are the natural objects of the ambition of the nobility and gentry. They are the persons directly affected by the disabilities now subsisting; so that, if exclusive laws were the remedy, instead of being the cause of disaffection, the Irish code in its present state would be chargeable with the absurdity of letting in all that part of the Catholic population who may be discontented, and shutting out only the nobility and gentry, whose unshaken loyalty has stood the severest tests. One of the main objects of that ferocious code, in its complete state, was to prevent the formation of a Catholic aristocracy. 'Having thus,' said Mr Burke, 'converted the Catholics into populace, we ought not 'to have been surprised that they committed the excesses of a 'populace.' The same spirit still hovers over its ruins. Instead of favouring the growth of a Catholic aristocracy, and supporting its ascendant by all the aids of political dignity, and privilege, and influence, we withhold from the loyal gentlemen all share of authority, and we do all in our power to level these natural magistrates and leaders of the Catholics with the meanest and most mutinous of their followers. But their influence, founded in property, in the remembrance of the virtues of their ancestors, and often in the experience of their own will, bid defiance to the hostility of our laws. In some shape it must exist. These laws can only give it the worst form which the virtue of its possessors will suffer it to assume. Instead of that mild and constant ascendant which would arise from distinction and patronage, the Catholic gentry are driven, by exclusion, into the situation of demagogues, and obliged to pay

that court to the popular passions which is imposed by that character.

Presuming Mr Wakefield's statement to be correct, that Irish Catholics are divided into a discontented populace and a loyal gentry, it is perfectly evident, that Government could have only two objects of wise policy towards such a people. The first, to strengthen the influence of the gentry over the populace; the second, to multiply the ties which bind the gentry to the Government and to the English connexion, whether they be of interest, or affection, or pride. When the Catholic gentry shall have acquired a share of landed property proportioned to their wealth—when honours shall be fairly bestowed upon them—when they shall be exhibited to their fellow-religionists as the magistrates and ministers of law—when they shall distinguish themselves in both Houses of Parliament—when they shall be seen on the bench of justice—when the renown of one Catholic Wellington shall restore the long-forgotten feelings of patriotic pride and national exaltation to every cottage of a martial and enthusiastic people; then the Catholics will be obedient to their gentry, and the gentry more attached to the Government—then will begin the career of Irish prosperity—and not till then will the English connexion be secure. Unfortunately for the British Islands, that period cannot be brought so near, by any wisdom, as the bigots apprehend. But it is most evident that a rational conqueror would instantly begin those measures which tend to accelerate its approach, not as concessions to the Catholics, but as the means of securing and perpetuating his own power. If he should chuse to incorporate into his ranks a defeated army, of whom the officers were well affected, he would use all possible means to strengthen the authority of these officers, and to attach them more strongly to his cause. Such was in substance the policy of Elizabeth, when she almost compelled Irish chieftains to submit to the imposition of English honours. The means of re-establishing the natural order and discipline of Society in Ireland, instead of being withheld from the prayers of Catholic petitioners, ought to be imposed on them if they were vanquished enemies.

The Catholic cause is at this moment endangered by too confident an assurance of easy victory. The controversy is, indeed, triumphantly terminated. The bigots are silenced on every ground of justice and policy. Very few persons now venture to avow principles universally prevalent but a short time ago. But the defeat of a faction never immediately follows the discomfiture of its arguments. It is very easy for expert in-

triguers to discover a thousand pretexts for delay, to embarrass and perplex the decisions of popular assemblies; to clog concessions with conditions which prevent their acceptance, and which are meant to exasperate those whom they pretend to conciliate, and to extract, from the irritation of the people produced by themselves, the means of again irritating Parliament; to provoke the pride of the Catholic; to alarm the fears of the Protestant; and in the midst of general confusion, fear and anger, to gain some chance of saving or respiting the remains of the persecuting code. An invasion, or a revolt, might again raise a cry of No Popery, and preserve its life for an indefinite time.

The case of the Slave Trade affords a recent and very memorable precedent of what may be done in such cases. In the year 1792, the general indignation against it was too strong, to leave the slightest chance of success to its avowed abettors. The vote of immediate abolition must have been carried, if some means had not been devised to break the force of what could not be resisted. But scruples (no doubt conscientious) had arisen in high quarters. A gradual abolition was proposed, and of course united the suffrages of all men who either had no opinions, or no courage to act upon them—of all who wished to patronize the Slave Trade, without incurring the shame of defending its principle—and of all who thought that its only salvation was in delay. The abolition was by this stroke postponed for fifteen years; and the trade might have continued to this day, if, by the most improbable of all occurrences, an administration had not maintained themselves a few months, willing to risk their power for the sake of justice to African negroes. The number of imported slaves, during these fifteen years, it is not important to ascertain with precision. It can hardly have been less than fifty thousand annually. One stroke of Parliamentary tactics, therefore, produced more than half a million of acts of manstealing—half a million of cases of a crime now punishable as felony by the law of England. How many murders attended each act of manstealing, we cannot determine; but probably there was not so little as one African murdered for every African stolen. If to these be added the massacres in the West Indies, justly referable to the importation of new negroes, the slaughter occasioned by this single decision will bear a very respectable proportion to that in the wars of Cæsar or Napoleon.

Such expedients are not only obvious stratagems in the war against the common enemy, but they are also very natural conditions of compromise between the members of a divided admi-

nistration. Those who would not consent to declare against the Catholics, might be persuaded that the delay of a Session could be of no importance. They might consent to propose conditions to the Catholics. If these conditions were to excite popular indignation, they might agree to postpone Catholic Emancipation till the indignant language was retracted, and till Irish popular meetings should learn decorum and politeness. They would not renounce their principles; they would only sacrifice all the means of giving them effect. Whatever might become of the Catholics, the harmony of the Cabinet would be thus preserved.

It is indeed scarcely possible to conceive, that the present administration can have agreed to continue in office without some hope of escaping from their own divisions by such a compromise. A real and honest debate for a session between two parts of a Cabinet, on the most urgent as well as important question in our internal policy, wherefore professes to contend for the existence of the constitution, and the other for the existence of the empire, is a project too likely to terminate in disunion, to be seriously contemplated by any body of ministers.

The language now used is, 'that little of a political nature 'remains to be done in Ireland;—that the repeal of a few re-'maining disabilities is falsely, as well as mischievously, called '' emancipation;'—that the true object of policy is to emanci-'pate the Irish from poverty and ignorance.' The usual commonplaces on the danger of yielding to violence and clamour are added. Hints are thrown out to the Orangemen, that all the late misfortunes have arisen from the relaxation of the penal laws, which perhaps it would be wise to reenact; while the pretenders to liberality, at the opposite extremity of the band, insinuate 'that the repeal of the popery laws will follow 'other wise measures in due time, when the Catholics are bet-'ter prepared to receive the concession, and the Protestants to 'grant it.'

Sir Samuel Romilly, whose language has that conscientious character of scrupulous precision, earnest plainness, and religious solemnity, naturally resulting from a deep sense of duty, on a late occasion declared, that he thinks this measure 'truly called Catholic Emancipation.' We deliberately concur with this most respectable and eminent person. No figurative term can indeed be used more justly. Liberty itself is applied only in a secondary sense to the merely political condition of individuals or of communities. Julius Cæsar destroyed the liberty of Rome; and William III. preserved that of England. Yet the question in neither case respected that exemption from personal restraint,

which liberty, in its primitive sense, denotes. When the most cautious and temperate of our classical writers, such as Addison and Blackstone, called the people of France by the name of slaves, they thought the term sufficiently just, as signifying exclusion from the blessings of a free constitution. Emancipation from such a slavery is now the demand of Ireland.

The exclusion of the Catholics from the privileges of the constitution is a fact of a very peculiar nature, and extremely different from those precautions which have been adopted in other countries by predominant sects, to secure their monopoly of profit and power. It is not to be discussed solely on the general principles of religious liberty. It was not directed against a sect—it was directed against a nation. It was the proscription of a people, under the name of a religion. It was first pronounced by a conquering colony against a conquered nation. It long preceded that religious distinction which is now its outward sign. From the invasion of Henry II. to the Reformation, it existed under the appellations of *Englishry* and *Irishry*. At the Reformation it assumed the new names of *Protestant* and *Papist*. From the Reformation to the Revolution, invasion, massacre, rebellion, and confiscation, added new fierceness to the hatred which had subsisted for so many centuries between the English colony and the Irish nation. They were first proscribed as Irish, then as Papists, then as Rebels. But the same body of men were in all these cases proscribed. The total conquests by Cromwell and King William; the utter expulsion of the ancient lords of the soil; the dreadful revolt of 1641, provoked by the tyranny of Lord Strafford, left a mixture of contempt and hatred in the minds of the governing faction, and of hatred and fear in those of the governed, scarcely to be paralleled in any other region of the globe, unless perhaps in a West India island, immediately after the suppression of a revolt of slaves.

The effects of this state of mind were singularly exemplified in the course of the eighteenth century. In that fortunate age of tranquillity and refinement, the principles of toleration, if not of religious liberty, had gradually established themselves throughout Europe. The Inquisition dwindled into insignificance. The Vatican was almost taught to respect the sacredness of the rights of conscience. Hungarians and Muscovites were suffered to worship God as they thought best. Ireland alone beheld a different scene. There, in the age and country of Swift and Berkeley, a new code of persecution, unnoticed in its progress by other countries, and scarcely known even in England, was gradually formed by the Protestant Parliament of Ireland,—a

body of gentlemen who believed themselves to be the disciples of Locke, men of polished manners and elegant accomplishments, and who, in every relation but that in which they stood to their Catholic countrymen, were doubtless as just and humane as any of their neighbours. But towards the Catholics they inherited all the scorn, the hatred, and the alarm of a lord towards subdued slaves. Full of this spirit they began the Popery code. They rebuilt the wall of partition between the two races which divided the island. They freshened that mark of servitude and outlawry upon the brow of the Irish, which time, intercourse, reason and humanity, must in a civilized age have worn off. This was the chief evil of the code. * For though the reports of the courts in Ireland unfortunately prove, that the penal laws were not a dead letter, yet they were, on the

* The following extracts from Hardy's Memoirs of Lord Charlemont are very illustrative of the temper which animated the Irish parliament towards the Catholics.

'As some slight alleviation to the sufferings of the Papists, and 'to encourage the peasantry of this persuasion to benefit the coun-'try by building cottages, heads of a bill were prepared to enable 'them to take leases, for ninety years, of the *tenement on which their* 'cabin was to be built, and a small portion of land *to some as a po-*'tatoe garden. This *had been repeatedly moved in the Commons, and* 'repeatedly rejected! In 1772 I resolved to try it in the Lords; 'and so far prevailed as to get it read twice and committed. But 'all in vain. The House had hitherto been thinly attended; and to 'this circumstance I owed my success. But the trumpet of bigotry 'had sounded the alarm. To give the wretched cottager a perma-'nent interest in his miserable mud-built hut, was said to be an in-'fringement on the penal code, *which threatened the destruction of* 'church and state; and *a cry was raised that the Protestant interest* 'was in danger. The Lords were summoned to attend. The House 'was crowded with zealous supporters of orthodoxy and oppression; 'and I was voted out of the Chair, not wholly unsuspected of being 'little better than a Papist.'—*Hardy's Charlemont*, I. 372.

'The chief object of another bill was to empower Catholics tak-'ing the oaths of allegiance to take leases of lands for 999 years, 'and to make them descendible and deviseable. To this was added 'a clause disabling the sons of Papists from making their fathers te-'nants for life by their own conformity; *a legislative regulation so* 'infamous as to disgrace the code of any nation upon earth. *But the* 'bill was combated in every stage!' *Id.* I. 371.

If such sentiments prevailed among the Protestants in 1772, we may ask whether the repeal of parts of the code, from 1778 to 1793, could be attributed to their justice, and what sort of spirit is now kept up by the remnant.

whole, far too detestable to be generally enforced. But the temper from which they flowed was felt in every relation of human life. Their indirect evil, their operation on the national character, was more mischievous than their direct action. The repeal of part of them was chiefly valuable as a symptom of returning humanity. In such a case, the part retained, envenomed as it is by all the resentments connected with the part abrogated, has almost all the evil of the whole. The principle exists in the remnant; like one of those animals of which the full vitality subsists in the minutest subdivision. The language spoken by the smallest remnant is, 'These are papists, conquered in the twelfth century; rebels in 1641, 1689, and 1798; who must regain their ancient property and dominion if they are not held in the most rigorous bondage.' The slightest fragment prevents that amnesty and oblivion which, at the end of six hundred years of civil discord, seem at length so loudly called for. It is the outward and visible sign of the evil spirit. It is like the operation of colour in those climates where importance and power are determined by complexion, and where the slightest tinge of the degraded colour excludes a man from the privileged caste as effectually as the sablest hue. If the remaining disabilities were in themselves less important than they are, they would still be hideous scars left by painful and disgraceful wounds. They constitute a principle of hostile distinction between a conquered and an enslaved race. They are the badges of six hundred years tyranny in the one, and the brand of six hundred years slavery in the other.

It is not easy to anticipate any argument for delaying Catholic emancipation, consistent with an acknowledgement of its general necessity and safety. The personal feelings of the Sovereign can no longer be urged. These feelings might have been considered by some statesmen as an obstacle, in point of fact insurmountable, which must have rendered the proposition ineffectual, and probably injurious to the Catholics themselves, by throwing power into the hands of their enemies. This was the only tolerable mode of representing them. For, to suppose that the private opinion of a prince *ought* to prevail over the advice of his parliament and people, is subversive of the fundamental principles of the English government, and little better than the doctrine of the Mahometan officer, who suffered the English prisoners in the Black Hole to die of thirst, rather than disturb the slumbers of the Nawawb. That obstacle, however, is removed; and no objection can now operate which must not continue as long as the Irish nation is Catholic.

Since the melancholy discovery made by the expedition of

Hoche in 1796, delay has, for sixteen years, made the security of Ireland dependent on the winds. At this moment, if we may believe Mr Wakefield, the fear of Catholic discontent keeps twenty thousand British troops in Ireland. While Napoleon is employed in Russia, such a reinforcement might enable Lord Wellington to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees. A delay of Catholic emancipation for six months may therefore be decisive of the fate of Spain.

If Catholic emancipation were unanimously voted in the first week of the new Parliament, the laws of nature would still delay the enjoyment of its greatest blessings. The sorrow and anger of ages cannot be obliterated in a moment, by a stroke of the legislator's pen. He may cease to inflame them—he may withdraw the fuel with which his laws have so long supplied them—he may do much to facilitate and accelerate their extinction; but, to extinguish them at once, surpasses the power of man. Much of the immediate benefit of Catholic emancipation must depend on its manner, and on the motives from which it shall seem to issue. To be well done—to inspire confidence—to deserve gratitude—it must be done with the alacrity of men eager to begin the reparation of long injustice. But such alacrity is impatient of all delay. Delay is a proof of a reluctant and sullen submission to necessity, which can neither deserve nor command the thanks of any people. If after every art of procrastination is exhausted, the concession shall at length be made by a divided administration, of whom the most active portion profess themselves to be its conscientious, and therefore irreconcileable enemies—though the ultimate benefits will, even in that case, be inestimable;—we must expect nothing from it for the present, but that it may enable the loyal gentry to contain the populace in a state of cold and passive neutrality, no longer indeed enemies, but far enough from being friends. Loyalty, zeal, enthusiasm, must not be expected to spring from a concession, which will be thought to prove only that the English government has more dread than detestation for the Catholics. It will be an experiment to determine the least possible quantity of immediate advantage derivable by Great Britain from such an act of national justice.

The beneficial operation of a political improvement on the condition of men is necessarily slow; but its effect on their feelings is commonly instantaneous, and must entirely depend on the manner and circumstances of the change. Catholic emancipation however delayed, however extorted from fear, however clogged with ungracious or even insidious conditions, is substantially so great a benefit, that the moment of its adoption

must form a new era in the history of Ireland. But whether that country is to be made actively useful in the present contest—whether she is to become the most valuable of all allies against France—whether the Catholics are to love, or only to endure the British connexion,—are questions which must be entirely decided by the temper, the time, and the apparent motives of the concession. The benefits of the substance must be reaped by our posterity. The manner alone can render it advantageous to us.

If it had been adopted at the accession to unrestricted power of a prince beloved in Ireland, and supposed to approve the Catholic claims—by ministers who had once left office, and afterwards refused to accept it on account of Ireland—and whose fidelity to the Irish cause had considerably weaned the Catholics from foreign hopes—at a moment when all the friends of Mr Pitt thought themselves at liberty to concur with the friends of Mr Fox, leaving only the adherents of Lord Eldon and Lord Sidmouth as an exception to national unanimity—when two illustrious Irishmen, Lord Moira and Lord Wellesley, were almost equally well qualified to be bearers of the boon; surely it is not too much to expect, that such an act of magnanimous justice would have kindled the most enthusiastic attachment in the breasts of a people, susceptible in the highest degree of sudden and ardent feelings, and not more lukewarm in their affection than in their resentment. That opportunity is indeed past. Promptitude seems now to be the only adventitious aid which the measure is capable of receiving. We therefore look with peculiar jealousy and apprehension to the discussion of those supposed securities for the Protestant establishment, which are thought by some to be preliminary conditions of emancipation. Upon the intrinsic value of these securities we have very little to say. Thirteen years ago, the Irish prelates were willing to have admitted a Royal negative on the appointment of bishops. The delay of justice produced its usual effect. Such a negative is now resisted with a vehemence perhaps disproportioned to the magnitude of the object. If it could have been so regulated, as neither to weaken the constitution, nor to impair the credit and usefulness of the Roman Catholic clergy, by ministerial influence in the nomination of their dignitaries, it would have been a becoming concession to the Protestant state, though neither to be demanded as a matter of right, nor useful for any other purpose than that of quieting the apprehensions of some wellmeaning Protestants. In point of justice, there seems to be no more reason for giving the Crown a negative on the

election of *unendowed* Catholic prelates, than on the appointment of priests in synagogues or mosques. In a contest between the pride of the Catholic and the fears of the Protestant, wise policy will doubtless aim at conciliating both. But if that should be impossible, impartial justice must pronounce, that more regard is due to the feelings of the sufferers by long iniquity, than to those of its authors.

Other expedients might be devised, to provide against the danger of foreign influence, which seem to us considerably less exceptionable than a royal negative on episcopal nomination. But all such expedients would be worse than useless, if they were adopted without the hearty consent of the Catholic body; for, otherwise, they would amount to a renewal of that stigma on the Catholic faith, which it is the grand object of emancipation to efface. Every law which proceeds on the supposition that the Catholics of the nineteenth century are more unworthy of the confidence of the magistrate, than the members of other christain sects, is a gross injustice, and a grievous calumny. A change avowedly founded on such principles of sectarian jealousy, will be no reform. To proclaim distrust, is to repel attachment. In pursuit of the frail safeguards of words and paper —the only solid security—the affection of the Irish nation may be for ever alienated.

It will be seen that, in our opinion, the consent of the Catholics affects the merits of the question itself. The political effect of any security, will entirely depend on that consent. With it, the plan, most objectionable in itself, might become harmless; without it, the most plausible will only reproduce the old mischief in a new form.

But why should such a discussion precede or attend the repeal of the penal laws?—If it be unnecessary, it must be allowed that it multiplies the means of procrastination, the opportunities of attack, and the chances of disunion. But the power of parliament to provide against danger from a foreign patriarch, will be as complete, after, as before emancipation. It will not be seriously said, that ten Catholic Peers, and twenty Commoners, however disposed, will materially affect the disposition of the Legislature. But why should they be supposed adverse to reasonable provisions of this nature?—This at least, ought not to be supposed by those who tell us, that one great purpose of such provisions, is to protect the Catholic body itself against the usurpation of the See of Rome. With their consent, even after discussion, in a parliament where Catholic members are present, such provisions will not be conditions imposed on the Catholics by an enemy. Emancipation, therefore, ought to pre-

cede the consideration of these provisions, because it will remove the most formidable obstacles to their adoption, as well as to their usefulness.

It is asked why the Catholics object to such measures as Catholic Sovereigns have adopted? We answer, because in Catholic Sovereigns, they can only be precautions against the court of Rome,—not proofs of distrust in the fidelity of Catholic subjects. —Innumerable precedents are quoted of similar acts of legislation by Catholic Princes in ancient times, and by Sovereigns of the Protestant and Greek churches in our own.—To the ancient precedents we have already given one answer. Another equally good remains.—Pius VII. is no more Gregory VII, than Francis II. (when he called himself emperor of the Romans) was Trajan. Every thing but the name is in both cases changed. Our ancestors, when they took measures to protect themselves against the encroachments of Rome, directed their vigilance against one of the most formidable enemies of liberty in their own times. It is by showing the same spirit, not by combating the same enemies, that we shall wisely imitate their example.

Frederic and Catharine might have suffered their chancellors to copy from old *concordats*, the precautions taken against the tyranny of Rome in the fourteenth century. They were perhaps amused at the care with which these learned bigots guarded against the ghosts of departed enemies. As despotic sovereigns, they might have been jealous of any pretensions to religious or civil independence in their dominions. And it is not altogether impossible, that the disciples and correspondents of Voltaire would be pleased to communicate to their patriarch at Ferney, the harsh conditions by which they had humbled the pride of the Vatican.

ART. VI. Essai *sur la* Geographie Mineralogique *des Environs de* Paris. *Par* G. Cuvier & Alex. Brogniart. Paris. 1811.

The Metropolis of France is situated in the midst of a country which, for one of horizontal or secondary stratification, is among the most remarkable that has ever been described. Great bodies of rock, containing thousands of marine *exuviæ*, alternate regularly with other rocks, in which the shells of fresh-water fish lye similarly imbedded. The bones of land animals, of which not only the species but even the genera are unknown, occupy entire districts; and other bones, belonging to animals of vast size, and to which we find none analogous except in very

distant countries, are scattered through the beds nearer to the surface. The characters also of a great torrent from the south-east are impressed on the forms of the hills, and the direction of the principal ridges. All those circumstances unite in forming a country well calculated to instruct us concerning the later revolutions of the earth's surface.

Two very eminent naturalists, CUVIER and BROGNIART, the one known by his valuable productions in various departments of physical science, and the other by his excellent system of Mineralogy, have undertaken the survey of this tract, and have given an account of their observations in the work before us. The perusal of one of the first copies that reached Britain has afforded us an opportunity of laying before our readers an abstract of this interesting publication.

The boundaries of the territory which is here called the country round Paris, are not fixed by arbitrary rules, but by lines which Nature herself has traced out on the surface of the earth.

The valley of the Seine is separated, for a considerable distance from that of the Loire, by an elevated ground of great extent, usually known by the name of *Beauce*, which stretches from north-west to south-east for more than 40 leagues; and from the line of partition of this tract the rivers descend on the north to the Seine, and on the south to the Loire. The surface of this ridge is formed of sand, which covers all the beds of which the interior consists. From the two extremities of it, or from about the *Mauldre* on the west, and *Nemours* on the east, run off two portions of a chalk country, which extend to a great distance in all directions, forming the whole of Upper Normandy, Picardy, and Champagne. The inner boundary of this great belt passes through Montereau, Sézanne, Epernay, on the east; and on the west through Montfort, Mantes, Gisors and Chaumont, to Compiégne; and forms, with the sandy ridge just described, the natural boundary of the district to which the following observations extend.

The whole of the tract comprehended within the limits now described consists of regular beds of rock or of earth, succeeding one another every where in the same order, from the chalk, which is the lowest, to the sand, which is the uppermost of all. Those successive formations convey the idea of so many depositesmade in the bottom of a great gulph, the sides of which were originally of chalk. *

* This is certainly inaccurate; the chalk itself is one of the deposites, and is only the first or oldest of the series.

The lowest rock, or that which is inferior to all the rest, is the chalk; and above this are ten others in the order here exhibited.

1. Formation of chalk.
2. — of plastic clay.
3. — coarse limestone.
4. — silicious limestone.
5. — gypsum, containing bones and fresh-water productions.
6. — marl of marine origin.
7. — sandstone without shells.
8. — grit, or sandstone of marine origin.
9. — buhr, or milstone formation without shells.
10. — marl and buhr stratum, containing fresh-water shells.
11. — travelled earth, containing rounded pebbles, poudingstones, orgillaceous marl, and peat-moss.

On this enumeration, the authors of the Essay remark, that they have used the term *formation*, adopted by the school of Freyberg, to denote a collection of beds of the same or of different nature, but all formed at the same period. 'The greatest part 'of these formations are unknown to the geologists of the cele- 'brated school just mentioned, at least we have not been able 'to recognize any of them in the works which they have pub- 'lished, and which we have had occasion to consult. Never- 'theless, as it is very possible that those different formations 'exist in other places, it appeared to us of consequence to give 'them such precise denominations as may furnish geologists 'with the means of recognizing them elsewhere.'

The Essay goes on to describe the Chalk formation.—It consists of horizontal courses, often indistinctly marked, and never subdivided into thin layers. It contains flints, unconnected with one another, but disposed in beds, and adhering to the chalk. It is known, however, that in a great part of Champagne the chalk contains no flints.

This formation is particularly characterized by the fossils or organic remains which it contains, different not only in the species, but often in the genus, from those found in the limestone above.

Though the authors of the Essay remark, that all the fossils in the chalk have not yet been enumerated and described, they give us the names of 22 species, not one of which is to be found in the limestone; * the most remarkable of these, and one which

* It is remarkable that the characters of the chalk about Paris seem to agree perfectly with those of the mountains of St Peter at Maestricht. The same kind of Belemnite is found on both.

they consider as peculiarly characteristic of the chalk formation, is the Belemnite.

In all the chalk about Paris, a skilful naturalist quoted in the Essay, M. DE FRANCE, observes, that no univalve with a simple and regular spiral, such as the *Cerite*, &c. has ever been found; and this is the more remarkable, that such shells are discovered in abundance, a few yards higher up, in the coarse limestone of the third formation. It is certain, however, that this rule does not hold with respect to the chalk of other countries.

2. Almost the whole surface of the chalk is covered with a bed of plastic clay, unctuous and tenacious, very refractory, and containing some silicious but no calcareous matter. It varies in its colour, and in many of its properties, as it also does in its thickness, which in some places is seventeen yards, and in others not more than two or three inches. If there are any organic remains in this clay, they are extremely rare,—and in the few cases where they have been found, seem to have been introduced by accident.

3. The coarse limestone comes next.—It does not, however, always cover the clay immediately, but is often separated from it by a bed of sand more or less thick; and it is doubtful whether this sand is to be considered as belonging to the clay or the limestone formation. The latter is composed of alternate layers of coarse limestone, argillaceous marl, clay in thin beds, and lastly calcareous marl; and these always occur in the same order. Some of them are occasionally wanting; but that which is inferior in one district never becomes higher in another. This constancy of their order has been observed in places twelve myriameters (about 74 English miles) distant from one another. The means of ascertaining this curious and important fact was afforded by the fossils contained in the different beds, those belonging to each being sufficiently characterized to ascertain the identity of the stratum in which they were included.

Fifty of the most remarkable of the fossils found in these beds are enumerated and named in the Essay: This, however, is only a small part of the whole; upwards of 600 species having been collected and described by the two able naturalists MM. DE FRANCE and DE LA MARK.

4. The fourth formation is a silicious limestone, not lying above the former, nor below it; but in a situation, geologically speaking, level with it, or side by side, and immediately above the plastic clay. It is formed of distinct courses of a calcareous stone, penetrated with silex in all directions. It is often cavernous; and it seems that the silex, in penetrating into the

cavities, has covered their sides, in some instances, with mammellated stalactites variously coloured, and in others with short quartz chrystals, very pure and transparent. This formation has never been observed till now, though it exists over so considerable an extent of country. It has this distinctive character, that it contains no organic remain of any kind, either belonging to salt or fresh water.

In this formation is found one species of the rock called a *buhr*, used for milstones, which seems to be the silicious skeleton of a limestone. The silex having been deprived of the calcareous part, by the operation of some unknown cause, remains now a porous mass, very hard, and containing in its cavities an argillaceous marl, which has no traces of stratification. These milstones, however, must not be confounded with those which will be described afterwards, in the 8th article of this enumeration. The country about Fontainbleau belongs to this species of limestone.

5. & 6. The formations of gypsum and marl come next in order. The gypsum lyes immediately on the limestone described above. The formation is not, however, entirely gypseous, but consists of alternate beds of that substance and of argillaceous and calcareous marls. These beds observe the same order of superposition as far as they have been examined. In the beds of this formation are constantly found the skeletons and scattered bones of birds and of unknown quadrupeds, as also, though but rarely, shells belonging to fresh-water fish ; so that it would appear that the gypsum of Montmartre, and of the other plaster quarries about Paris, has been deposited and chrystallized in fresh-water lakes.

In the higher gypseous beds are also contained, the skeletons of the great animals which Cuvier has described with so much industry and skill, and to which we have adverted in a former Number of this Journal. These consist of five different species of the Paleotherium, as many of the Anoplotherium, a Pachyderm of the hog kind, the Canis Parisiensis, the Didelphis Parisiensis, or the Parisian Opossum,—besides three or four unknown species of birds, a tortoise, a crocodile, and some fishes. The upper strata of marl contain remains of the palm tree and of fishes, together with shells belonging to fresh water. A great number of other fossil remains are found in marly strata of marine formation that lye above those just mentioned. These are enumerated (p. 41), and amount in all to twenty-six species.

The account of this formation, so curious and enigmatical, concludes with the confirmation of a remark which Brog-

NIART had made in his Mineralogy, that the gypseous strata in the neighbourhood of Paris cannot be referred to any of the formations described by WERNER. The reasons assigned are, that this gypsum covers the shell limestone, instead of being covered by it; that it is not fibrous; and that it does not alternate with the coarse sandstone, as the second gypseous formation of WERNER is supposed to do.

7. The seventh formation consists of sand and sandstone, without shells. This sandstone is often found extremely pure, and furnishes a silicious sand that is useful in the arts: In other places it contains a mixture of clay, and is coloured by oxids of iron.

8. The eighth formation is of sandstone, and is distinguished by containing marine objects, of which sixteen are here enumerated from Montmartre, Romainville, &c. There are therefore in the neighbourhood of Paris three different formations of sandstone.

When we look back on the series of beds which have been enumerated, the idea of a sea, which has deposited at its bottom an immense mass of chalk, and of marine objects of different species, forces itself on the imagination. The precipitate of chalk, and of the remains which accompany it, ceases all at once; the beds which succeed are of a nature entirely different, and consist of a deposition of clay and sand. Another sea, or the same, furnished with new inhabitants, now exhibits a prodigious quantity of testaceous mollusci, altogether different from those of the chalk, and forms at its bottom vast beds, composed in great part of these testaceous remains.

By degrees, the quantity of those shells diminishes, and at length ceases entirely; the sea has retired, and the earth is covered with fresh water. Alternate beds of gypsum and marl are now formed, involving the shells of the fish which inhabited these lakes, and the bones of the quadrupeds which lived upon their banks.

Next, the fresh water disappears; the sea returns, and brings with it certain species of bivalve and turbinated shells, which afterwards cease, and are replaced by oyster shells. An interval of time then took place, during which nothing but sand was deposited: Either, therefore, no organized bodies were contained in that sea, or their remains are entirely destroyed.

At last, the sea retires a second time; lakes and marshes of fresh water succeed, and cover with the remains of their inhabitants the summits of the hills, and the surfaces of the plains between them. Such is the series of vicissitudes which, in the strata here described, has left so many unequivocal monuments of its existence!

9. A Milstone formation without shells. This rock is a silex, filled with a multitude of irregular cavities, traversed by silicious threads, disposed like the reticulated structure of a bone, and covered with a coat of red ochre (p. 48). These cavities are often filled with argillaceous marl, or argillaceous sand; they never communicate with one another; are never lined with mammellated silicious incrustations, like chalcedony, nor with chrystals of quartz. These last characters, independently of its position, are sufficient to distinguish it from the milstone beds derived from the silicious limestone already mentioned.

Another geological character of this rock is, the entire absence of all organized remains, animal or vegetable, belonging either to fresh or salt water. Chemical analysis shows it to be composed almost entirely of silex.

We are glad to present our readers with so distinct an account of the geological characters of a stone, so valuable in the arts, and formerly so much used in England, as the milstone, or buhr, of Paris.

10. A second fresh water formation. This is composed of two sorts of stone, the one silicious, and the other calcareous; which are sometimes found separate, at other times mixed, and as if kneaded together.

Whether the formation we now speak of is marly or compact, it often contains irregular cylindric cavities nearly parallel, though crooked. These resemble exactly the cavities that might be left in a mass of thick mud by bubbles of gas rising from the bottom to the surface. The greater part of the shells found in this stratum have been particularly described by Brogniart in the 15th volume of the *Annales* of the Museum. They belong all to rivers or lakes; such as the *Potamides Lamarkii*, Planorbis of various kinds, Limneus, Helix, &c.; together with many specimens of silicious wood, of reeds, seeds, &c. amounting in all to twenty different species.

11. The 11th formation consists of unconsolidated earth, viz. sand, marl and clay, mixed with coaly matter. It contains also gravel; but the objects which particularly characterize it, are the remains of large organized bodies, such as trunks of trees, bones of elephants, oxen, rein-deer, and other large mammalia.

It is probably to the existence of these organized bodies, not yet entirely decomposed, that we must attribute the dangerous, and often pestilential emanations disengaged from this earth, when removed for the first time, after the long series of ages which have elapsed since its deposition. For it is with this formation, which appears so modern, as with all that are before examined. Though very recent, in comparison of the

others, it is yet anterior to all historical record; and we may gather from it, that the earth, or *debris* of the ancient world, did very little resemble that of the present; since the remains of plants and animals found in it are entirely different, not only from those of the countries where it is found, but from all that are known at present to exist.

We have now given an abridgement of the first part of this valuable and interesting Memoir. The second part consists of a minute, geographical detail of the places and circumstances in which the phenomena above described have been particularly observed; into which it is not possible, in an abstract such as this, to enter with any effect. We shall however endeavour to give a general idea of the sections, and the mineralogical chart with which the Essay is illustrated.

The vertical sections of a country, horizontally stratified, convey much more information concerning its structure, than the horizontal section, or the map of the mere surface. The reason is obvious. A vertical section is transverse to the strata, and gives a view of their order of succession, their thickness, their depth under the surface, &c. A horizontal plan tells only what particular bed happens to be at the surface at a particular place, a circumstance that may depend on accidental or foreign causes that have determined the waste and decomposition of the rock to be greater at one place than another. Hence the great value of the vertical sections of a country horizontally stratified, a matter of which the geologists employed in the construction of mineralogical maps, do not seem always to have been sufficiently aware. MM. Cuvier and Brogniart, have however been aware of it, and have accompanied their survey with 11 vertical sections of the country round Paris, as well as a mineralogical map, in which the formations that are at the surface are distinguished by different colours. On this map they have also laid down the lines in which their sections are made. It will be readily understood, that in forming a section of this nature, information cannot be obtained, except at points considerably distant from one another, at those, viz. where natural operations may have laid bare the strata, or where art may have done the same, by sinking mines, working quarries, digging wells, &c.; or where the mineralogist, in pursuit of knowledge, may have bored, or cut into the interior of the earth. The constitution of the interior, at these different points, is all that actual observation can ascertain: the geologist must fill up the intervals between, as the astronomer does the intervals of his observations, by attending to the law which the

things actually observed, when compared with one another, appear to obey. The greater the number of the observations actually made, and the greater the consistency of the results, the greater is the evidence that the things which remain concealed resemble those which have been actually discovered. The sections before us are estimable on both these accounts; for the points of examination are numerous, and the conclusions to which they lead, have a remarkable conformity with one another. One of the sections is an ideal one, containing as it were the mean result of all the rest; and it will serve therefore better than any other to give our readers a general notion of the relative thickness of the strata, as well as of their position.

The level from which the heights are reckoned, is that of the Seine at the Pont de la Tournelle. We shall give the measures in metres, observing that where great accuracy is not required, they may be reduced to yards, by considering that a metre is to a yard, as 13 to 12 nearly. * The upper surface of the chalk is represented as undulating, but as having its average height very little below the level just mentioned. The section below this level, is wholly on the chalk, and extends to the depth of 34 metres. The plastic clay covers the chalk to the height of 12 metres; the coarse limestone with shells, and the collateral silicious limestone without shells, are of the thickness of 34 metres. The whole of the fresh water formation above this, occupies a space of 43 metres. The beds above this formation, containing the sandstone without shells, and some other thin beds, occupy altogether 42, the milstone formation 12, and the uppermost fresh-water formation 11, making in all about 180 metres (196 yards) from the lowest point of the chalk. What is called the *limon d'atterrissement*, or the earth that covers the surface, is not included in the section.

The first of the real sections is one carried from *Notre Dame* to *Lonjumeau*, south from Paris, and a few degrees to the west, the distance being a little more than 18 kilometres, somewhat more than 11 English miles. The strata above enumerated are seen in this section on levels considerably different from those in the ideal section, but having nearly the same relation to one another. The section through Lonjumeau passes also through the observatory, and shows the depth of the *caves* that belong to it. The height of the floor of the observatory is about 66 metres above the level of the Seine at the bridge abovementioned; and the *caves*, to which you descend by a perpendicular shaft, are 60 metres under the

* The ratio of 131 to 120 is more exact.

surface. These caves are in the coarse shell limestone, which is the third of the preceding formations. The highest ground in this first section is the *Plateau de Verriere*, where the uppermost fresh-water formation is found covered with sand, at the height of 115 metres, or 124 yards, above the level of the Seine.

The second vertical section extends from Paris, north-west to Montmorency, a distance of about 21 kilometres, or 13 English miles, and contains several very satisfactory exhibitions of the different formations, though not so complete as the preceding, as it does not go below the level of the river, and consequently does not extend into the chalk. We shall not attempt any enumeration of the rest.

Any idea that we can convey, in words, of the horizontal plan or mineralogical chart, is still more imperfect than of the vertical sections. This plan expresses, by means of colours, the different formations that compose the superficies in all the tract to which the map extends, that is, for a space 14 myriameters, or 87 miles in length from east to west, by 12 myriameters or 74 miles in breadth from north to south, a superficies of more than 6400 square miles.

To the eastward of Paris, in the space between the Seine and the Marne, and for a considerable way to the south of the former, towards Fontainbleau, &c. the silicious limestone of the fourth formation prevails very generally, and occupies a circular space between 30 and 36 English miles in diameter. * This extensive tract is bounded to the east and north-east by the plastic clay, or second formation, which extends in those directions beyond the limits of the map.

Immediately round Paris, on the north of the Seine, the formation, at the surface, is that from the fresh water above described. This extends to the distance of three and a half myriameters, occupying nearly the whole of the space between the *Marne* and the *Oise*, and bounded both on the north-east, north-west, and south-west, by two very extensive districts of the shell limestone of the third formation. A little farther to the north, on both sides of the Oise, the chalk reaches the surface for a considerable extent; but still farther to the north is succeeded by the plastic clay. A great tract of country on the south-west of Paris, about Epernon, Dourdan, and Estamps, consists of the milstone or buhr formation. If to these we add a considerable tract of gypsum round Versailles, and another of the same substance, having Lonjumeau nearly in its centre,

* All the measures not expressed in French names are understood to be English.

we shall have a tolerably exact notion of the extent and bearing of the principal tracts in which these different formations are exhibited at the surface.

Having thus gone through the main heads of this very interesting Essay, we are now to offer a few remarks. The manner in which the Essay is written, and in which the investigation has been conducted, appear to us to be entitled to the highest praise. Great attention and industry have been employed in obtaining the necessary information; and great skill in turning it to the best account. The descriptions are given without theory, in plain intelligible language; and an accurate knowledge and classification of the organic remains contained in the strata, has afforded the best possible means of ascertaining their identity in different situations. Conchology is a branch of mineralogical science, which cannot be sufficiently recommended to the attention of all geologists, as furnishing the most infallible means of ascertaining with accuracy many of the leading facts in the structure, and in the history of the globe. It is a branch of study in which the French naturalists appear to have made great progress; but which, with us, is yet in its infancy. We would willingly hope that the paper of which we are now giving an account, may prove a strong incitement to the cultivation of it. It may obviously become a most powerful instrument of discovery in the hands of a sklful geologist; and may have a great effect in giving certainty to a science which, more than any other, is embarrassed by the recurrence of equivocal and ambiguous phenomena. Whatever can render the indications of such a science more distinct and precise, must of all things contribute most to its perfection.

The clearness with which this Essay is written, and the absence of all technical language, except where it is absolutely necessary, we consider as great recommendations. The geologists of Werner's school follow a method directly opposite to this; they affect a phraseology peculiar to themselves, and employ a vocabulary, of which the harsh and uncouth terms, when closely examined, have not the precision to which every other consideration appears to be sacrificed. Descriptions drawn up in this way excite little interest, and render a branch of knowledge extremely inaccessible, which in its own nature is calculated to be very generally understood. The darkness which the language of Werner has thrown round all his doctrines, seems as if intended to protect them from the eyes of the vulgar and uninitiated; and it may be doubted whether the Eleusinian rites threw a darker veil over the opinions of the

Greek mystics, than the vocabulary of Freyberg does over the dogmas of the Saxon geognosts. The consequence is, that of all the mineralogical descriptions which the Wernerian school has produced, we are persuaded none will be found so satisfactory as that which is now before us. If we mistake not, the superiority of this *first* Essay, as we may call it, of the French philosophers, in mineral geography, is in a great measure to be attributed to this, that the persons who have embarked in it are men conversant with general science, and bred in the school of rigorous and sound philosophy. It is true, as Bacon long ago observed, that to succeed in one branch of knowledge, the mind must be fortified with the knowledge of many branches. Cuvier is well known, all over Europe, to possess a mind so fortified in a very eminent degree; and there is every appearance that his associate, though known to us only as a mineralogist, is entitled to a similar encomium.

The authors of the Essay have themselves remarked, that the appearances exhibited by the country round Paris, are not very consistent with the doctrines of the Wernerian school. We must add, that to us they appear most adverse to the theory of universal formations, the favourite and distinguishing dogma of that school. Eleven formations are here enumerated, and shown to succeed one another in one uniform order. They do so, however, only over a certain tract; and have none of them the least pretensions to be reckoned universal. In that respect, they exactly resemble the carboniferous strata, or those that, in the Wernerian language, are said to constitute the *independent coal formation*. We have here an independent chalk formation; and the same, we have no doubt, will be found to hold of every system of horizontal strata that admits of being traced to a considerable depth, and over a considerable surface. The world is indebted to Werner, we believe, for the fact, that the succession of strata may often be traced to a very great extent, exactly in the same order. He found this to hold in many instances; but, when he concluded from thence that these strata had at one time completely encompassed the globe, he gave, we will venture to say, an instance of the most unauthorized and extravagant generalization of which there is any example since experiment and observation were entrusted with the care of philosophic speculation. If, therefore, this examination of the Parisian strata affords facts inconsistent with the idea of universal formations, it has a tendency to overthrow a great Geological *Idol;* to expose the absurdity of the worship paid to it; and to remove a powerful obstacle to the further improvement of science.

The same examination is equally adverse to another doctrine of the school of Freyberg, closely connected with the former. The mineralogists of that school have boldly ventured to assign to every stratum its individual place, and to fix, with more than prophetic skill, the order in which the different formations of the mineral kingdom, will be found to succeed one another all over the globe. If these pretensions are well founded, nothing in the science of mineralogy can be so valuable as the knowledge they must confer; if they are ill founded, nothing can be more pernicious than the errors into which they will betray. Every thing, therefore, is of importance that brings them to the test of experience. Now, it is remarked by BROGNIART, that the order laid down by WERNER is inverted in the case of the chalk. That substance is made the fifth of the *Floetz* formations, and is placed above the highest floetz gypsum. Here, however, it appears far below it, with several formations between. The rule of WERNER, therefore, does not hold in this instance. It is however to be mentioned, to the credit of Professor JAMESON, that he expresses a doubt in his *Geognosie*, whether the gypsum of Montmartre belongs to any of the formations described by WERNER. (Geognosie, p. 174.) That doubt is now entirely removed,—more to the credit of Mr Jameson's sagacity than his master's; it being proved, that though the gypsum of Montmartre agrees nearly in its mineral characters with the newest gypse formation of Werner, it differs entirely in its geological position.

Again, the chalk described in this Essay is not only covered by gypsum, but by limestone, and the gypsum itself by a second stratum of limestone and of sandstone, besides the silicious milstone; all which is quite inconsistent with the Wernerian arrangement. All this shows how very imperfect that arrangement is, notwithstanding its pretended infallibility.

One of the circumstances which must strike every one in considering the facts above described, is the alternation of salt and fresh-water productions, which seems so little to agree with any thing that theory can suggest. The successive changes of level that must thus have taken place, are very hard to be understood; and, whether they are to be ascribed to the alternate rising and falling of the land, or to the alternate falling or rising of the sea, are discussions on which we have not leisure to enter, and about which we are not prepared to decide. The Parisian strata contain, however, undeniable proofs, and the only such proof that has yet appeared, that the relative level of the sea and land has been more than once changed, even in the later geo-

logical periods, in opposite directions; in a word, that there is a vibration backward and forward, in what seems to us of all things the most stedfast, arising from causes about which we can only form imperfect conjectures.

The existence of species, and even genera, of animals in the very remote ages of the world, that are now unknown, has already been inferred from the examination of the bones contained in these strata; and we are glad to present our readers with so much accurate information concerning the substances in which those bones are found. It is not a little curious to consider, that since these animals existed, the land on which they dwelt has been again immersed under the waters of the ocean, and has remained so long under it as to be now covered by a bed of oyster-shells, two thick beds of sandstone, and the hard silicious rock, which constitutes the Milstone formation. Far back as this reaches, with regard to the natural history of the earth, the deposition of the strata in which these bones are contained, nay, even of the chalk, the basis of the whole, is recent, compared with the rocks of intermediate or primary formation.

In the bones contained in the Plaster or Gypsum formation, we have the most ancient monuments of land animals that are yet known to exist, and on account of their great antiquity it is perhaps less wonderful that they resemble so little any of the animals now inhabiting the earth. The genera and species of animals that inhabit this globe are evidently subject to change; some are entirely extinguished.—As old species perish, do new species rise up? Is there some secret law of animal reproduction by which there is a succession of species in the course of ages, as there is of individuals in the course of years!—The mind is lost amid the uncertain lights and gigantic images that pass before it; and, on awakening from a fearful dream, sees nothing real, but one mystery more added to the thousands that are already around it.

We have before observed, that the descriptions given in this Essay are free from theory, and confined to the facts observed, or their *necessary* consequences. In a geological discussion, this amounts to a very great encomium; and it would be strictly applicable on the present occasion if it were not for the use of one term, viz. the word FORMATION, which it is difficult to clear of all theoretical import. It signifies, no doubt, literally nothing more than a body formed by the action of some physical agent; and it may be said, that this is exactly that which must be understood of the forms now possessed by all the bodies around us, at whatever period of time the acquisition

of those forms is supposed to have taken place. But though the word *formation* literally signifies no more than this, it is never used in geology but with a reference to time. When rocks are said to be of the same formation, it is understood that they were formed at the same epocha, as well as by the same agent; and the contrary is understood when the formations are said to be different. The French naturalists themselves give this explanation of the terms. Now it certainly would be more philosophical to describe minerals by the external characters themselves, than by conclusions deduced from those characters. What is it that induces us to refer different mineral bodies to the same or different epochas? Let the observer describe this *something*, whatever it be; and let him leave to another place any inference to be drawn from it. It is thus that the history of Nature should be written—thus that it should be kept separate from theory—and it is not till this is done that such history can lead with certainty to the truth. The fact however is, that language is but ill provided with terms adapted to this sort of description. The mind passes so rapidly from external characters to that which it conceives them to signify, that it hardly rests at all upon the former, and is not always at the pains to give them names. This method of proceeding is very well adapted to the ordinary business of life, where we are, in general, more concerned about the things that are signified, than about the signs which point them out. In philosophy, however, it is often quite otherwise. When the thing signified is not obvious, and is not to be found out but by the comparison of many instances, and an extensive induction from particulars, there is no surer barrier against the discovery of truth than those imperfections of language which force us to a premature interpretation of the signs, before a due comparison of instances can be made. It is however very difficult to find a substitute for the word *formation* not liable to the same objections with itself. The term might perhaps be rendered quite innocent, if it were understood to signify a collection of mineral bodies formed by the same physical agent operating in the same or similar circumstances. No reference is to be understood to the nature of the agent, whether fire or water, or both together,—nor to the time when they operated, which is left to be collected from other considerations.

As to the external appearances from which we are to denominate formations the same or different, they must depend on a certain similarity in character and position, which will require to be precisely defined. Contiguous formations are

not to be accounted different, unless the change from the one to the other be distinctly marked, and be not made by insensible gradations. To this circumstance, the authors of this Essay have been peculiarly attentive; and we believe that the term which we are now speaking of has hardly ever before been so cautiously employed.

As we cannot but consider the survey of the Parisian strata as a work drawn up in very exact conformity to the rules which should guide the composition of natural history; so we venture to recommend it as a model deserving to be carefully studied and followed in all similar inquiries. Great variations in the application of the method will be necessary when the countries are of a very different nature; as where the strata are vertical—where they belong to the intermediate or to the primary series of rocks—and where they are not characterized by organic remains. There it would become necessary, in order to ascertain the identity of formations, to attend to the nature of the chrystals or regularly formed bodies which the rocks may contain; and great care must also be taken to note the inclination, the stretch, and the inflexions of the strata.

The country about London would afford an excellent subject for the application of these methods. Its situation in some respects is similar to that of Paris. It is in the midst of a chalk formation,—perhaps the same which is found in Picardy, and in the very tract we have been describing. However that be, the chalk of England is extensive and varied enough to afford a sufficient subject for a mineral survey, similar to that of which we have just given an account. The counties of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, great part of Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, are known to consist of chalk, which by a communication, perhaps not every where visible, seems to extend into the southern and eastern parts of Yorkshire. It might, however, be sufficient to include, in a mineral survey, the portion of this extensive tract that is in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis. The deep wells that have been sunk in many different parts of that tract, must already have afforded much valuable information about the succession of the strata. It would be especially necessary to attend to the species of marine objects contained in the chalk; and the study of mineral conchology would be an indispensable preliminary for entering on this investigation. By such an inquiry, many enigmatical appearances might receive a satisfactory solution. Some light, for example, might be thrown on the origin of those masses of flinty gravel, found in such abundance, and extending to such a depth,

at Blackheath, and many other parts of the chalk country. We have been accustomed to consider these as formed from the waste of the chalk strata which, in the valleys and the basins of the rivers, seems to have taken place to a great extent. Many mineralogists, however, are by no means of that opinion; and the truth might perhaps be ascertained by the facts which a mineral survey would bring to light. The account of the vertical strata of chalk in the Isle of Wight, in which an ingenious and enlightened observer is now said to be engaged, will contribute greatly to the more accurate knowledge of the chalk formation of England, and would materially assist in the survey which we now venture to recommend. But much time and pains must be employed, and much comparison of one part with another, before any general conclusions can be established. We have heard of a section of the mineral strata between London and Brighthelmstone, in which the author has been bold enough to set down the position and the characters of fifteen different strata that lye under the chalk; with all which he became acquainted in three journeys that he made from London to Brighthelmstone, on the top of the mail-coach. The French philosophers, we believe, did not travel with quite so much rapidity, when they drew the eleven sections that are mentioned above; nor did Sir Henry Englefield, we presume, when he examined the *Needles* in the Isle of Wight.

The country round Edinburgh affords very good scope for a survey of the same kind; and the geologists of that city would perhaps be more usefully employed in the execution of it, than in the theoretical discussions in which they have sometimes been so warmly engaged. Edinburgh is situated toward one edge of an extensive tract of carboniferous strata, such as in the language of Werner compose an independent coal formation. From under these strata, which in general are nearly horizontal, and of which the series reaches to an unknown depth, the inferior or more ancient rock emerges, and forms a hilly or mountainous barrier, which surrounds them on all the sides where they are not terminated by the sea. On the north, this barrier consists of a ridge, which, springing from the extensive group of the *Ochils* on the west, passes along the southern bank of the Tay, and forms the hilly country on the north side of Fifeshire. This ridge cuts off the coal; that is, the rocks which constitute it, rise up from under the coal formation, and gradually assuming a more erect position, after several changes, unite at last with the great primary mass of the Grampians.

On going round toward the west, we find the coal strata first circumscribed by the group of the Ochils already mentioned, and afterwards by that part of the Grampian chain which advances the farthest to the south. On the west the boundary is not evident; and it remains, we believe, to be determined, whether the coal strata of the east side of the Island connect themselves with those of the west, and have, of consequence, in that direction, no other boundary than the Atlantic.

On the south the coal country is bounded by the Lammermuir ridge, which crosses Scotland from north-east to south-west, and consists of transition rocks that rise from under the horizontal strata. Connected with this ridge at its base, the double line of the Pentlands advances within a few miles of Edinburgh, making a deep indenture in the coal country. Before the coal strata reach the foot of the Lammermuir ridge, at their south-east extremity, they are cut out by the red sandstone, the oldest or the lowest of the secondary rocks, which here rises to the surface, and limits the coal country in this quarter. The coal strata are indeed often bounded by the elevation of the older of the secondary rocks, and are seldom permitted to repose directly on the transition or primary formations. On the east and north-east the coal country seems to run into the German Ocean.

This extensive tract would afford room for much investigation in the enumeration of the coal strata, and the comparison of those in different parts of this great field with one another. The edge-seams of the coal, and the concomitant strata, on the south of Edinburgh, where they have acquired a position almost vertical; the intersection of the strata in so many places, by powerful dykes of greenstone and basaltes; the great masses or hills of these rocks which are scattered about in so great a number, and apparently with so little connexion; the relation of the secondary strata to the intermediate or primary, with which they are every where surrounded:—the accurate description of all these phenomena, could not but lead to the most interesting conclusions.

When many such surveys, in parts of the globe remote from one another, and very different in their nature, shall be obtained and diligently compared, there can be little doubt that the true theory of the mineral kingdom will spontaneously emerge.

Art.

Art. VII. *Ex Tentaminibus Metricis Puerorum in Schola Regia Edinensi Provectiorum Electa, Anno* MDCCCXII. 12mo. pp. 116. Edinburgh. 1812.

Our learned readers in the South, we fear, will look upon this title-page as the herald of a very barefaced imposture. Latin verses by *Scotch* schoolboys!—a printed volume of metrical themes by infants of *Edinburgh!*—the thing, they will exclaim, is physically impossible—and the verses must either be a mere tissue of blunders, or they must have been stolen from the body of some murdered Etonian! To say the truth, we had some misgivings ourselves, on the first appearance of this publication; and proceeded to make the inquiries that were incumbent on us as guardians of the literary police, not without apprehension that all was not as it should be. The result, however, has been perfectly satisfactory; and we can now assure our said learned readers of the South, upon our own credit, as well as that of the Editor, that the volume before them consists of verses really and truly written by boys educated at the High School of Edinburgh;—and moreover, by boys under the age of fifteen,—no one of whom had so much as thought of making verses eighteen months ago. The structure of the lines, too, appears to us to be in general exceedingly accurate;—and we question whether the jealousy of English criticism will be able to detect half a dozen false quantities in the whole collection. This is an era in our national history, we are well aware, which will mortify the pride of Englishmen far more than the defeat at Bannockburn; and raise us much higher in their estimation than all the publications of Hume, Smith or Robertson:—and though, for our own parts, we must confess, that we cannot bring ourselves to look upon it exactly in this light, we are glad to have so good an opportunity of making a few calm observations on a subject of some little importance to the cause of good learning.

It is notorious, that there has long been a great difference between the discipline of English and Scotch schools, with regard to the composition of Latin verses. In the principal seminaries of England, this exercise is an important and leading object; and engrosses a large proportion of time and talent. It forms, indeed, the principal standard by which a boy's progress is measured, and his rank assigned him in school; and in more advanced stages of education, medals and public honours are bestowed on successful exertions in this favoured department;—circumstances which have cherished in our Southern neighbours a sensibility to *longs* and *shorts*, and a horror of

blunders in prosody, with which we on this side of the Tweed have been perhaps too little disposed to sympathize. Among us, the practice of Latin versification, though once common, has long been utterly neglected. Not long after the death of Buchanan, the last and most illustrious of our Scotish Latin poets, the decay of poesy was felt and regretted by the constitutional guardians of education: but so far is there from being any ground for imputing this falling off to the influence of the Presbyterian Establishment, that we find it seriously complained of in the meetings of the Church, who accordingly adopted the following overture, in the General Assembly of 1645. 'That 'for the remedie of the great decay of Poesie, and of abilitie 'to make verse, and in respect of the common ignorance of 'prosodie, no schoolmaster be admitted to teach a grammar 'school, in burghs, or other considerable paroches, but such 'as, after examination, shall be found skilfull in the Latine 'tongue, not only for prose, but also for verse.'

No permanent effect, however, seems to have been produced by this injunction: The making of verses, and, what is an almost necessary consequence, attention to prosody, continued to decline, till at length many not contemptible scholars in other respects, openly set *quantity* at defiance, and maintained that, as we are ignorant of the true Roman pronunciation, it is a matter of indifference whether we make a particular syllable long or short. Of late years, indeed, this heresy has been abjured, and laudable attention has been paid to prosody in our principal schools: but the practice of versification, so far from being generally resumed, is still vilified by many, upon grounds not much more tenable than those upon which its importance has, in other quarters, been so extravagantly magnified.

Conceiving these different views of the subject to be both in some degree erroneous, we shall endeavour briefly to state, *first*, What appear to us to be the real advantages of this species of exercise; and, *secondly*, What seems to be its proper rank or place in the business of a great school.

The most obvious, though by no means the most important benefit likely to result from the exercise in question, is an intimate knowledge of prosody and of the various measure and melody of Latin verse. That this is a thing worth acquiring, if the price be not too great—that since boys are employed in reading the Latin poets, they ought to be made acquainted with the structure of the verse they employ—secured against blundering in quantity, and awakened as much as possible to the perception of harmonious versification, are positions so evidently true, that nothing but mere prejudice or polemic petulance could induce any one to contest them.

Now, with regard to the knowledge of Prosody, we allow that by the help of Latin rules, continual scanning, and a strong and tenacious memory, a boy may be secured, even without the habit of making verses, against frequent or very flagrant breaches of quantity. But this security, we conceive, will be purchased at a much greater expense of time and labour, and held by a far more precarious tenure, than if, with a moderate portion of prosody rules, he had been practically drilled to the *mechanical* part of versification. As to the other point—an acquaintance with the measure and melody of Latin verse, we conceive it to be absolutely unattainable, by schoolboys at least, without the habit of composing verse themselves. They may be perfectly masters of the rules of prosody, and able to scan fluently and accurately, and yet be total strangers to all that constitutes the charm of Virgilian and Horatian versification. We have witnessed an experiment pretty decisive of this point, made on a class of 140 boys: They had for years been in the almost daily habit of scanning, and giving rules for the quantities; the nature of *nonsense verses* * had been explained to them: and yet, when they were required to write four of these within an hour, not one of the whole number succeeded; some blundering in one thing, some in another; but all, without exception, in that cæsural cadence, so indispensable to the melody of verse.

On the other hand, when a boy is accustomed to versify, he must recur so often to his *gradus*, or to the poets he has read, to satisfy himself with regard to a particular syllable, that the doubtful quantities become indelibly fixed in his memory. He must err, too, so frequently in the structure of his lines, and be informed of his failure, either by his own ear, in comparing them with the ancients, or by the correction of the Master, that he insensibly acquires a certain tact, or rapid and instinctive perception of what is harsh and unmusical, and consequently of what is flowing and harmonious in verse. It must be obvious to every one at all acquainted with the subject, how much his relish for the Roman poets will be improved, when, from his own experience, his mind is aware of the difficulties in the execution, and his ear alive to the charm that results from overcoming them.

The practice of making Latin verses, is also one of the

* There is nothing satirical, as some of our readers may perhaps imagine, in this appellation; nor has it the least reference to the works of the ingenious Anna Matilda, or any other living poet or poetess. *Nonsense verses* are merely such combinations of words taken at random from a Latin author, as, though void of meaning, shall be accurate in the *quantity* and *cadence*.

most effectual means of extending a boy's general acquaintance with the language. To have a clear conception of the idea he means to embody, is but a small part of the duty imposed on him. The necessity of conveying it in a certain measure, subject to a number of rigorous and arbitrary laws, forces him to have recourse to every variety of expression and construction which the authority of the Poets will justify. Of all the forms that present themselves, one only is employed:—but not unfrequently, in his way to it, he makes acquaintance with a number of others, which arrange themselves in the storehouse of memory for future use. And all this research—this consultation of poets, *graduses*, and dictionaries, is performed with a degree of interest, and a keenness of attention, which he never puts forth in the preparation of a common lesson, and which we do not believe could be excited by any other contrivance.

It is with the Poets, of course, more particularly, that this exercise makes him familiar. As much of them as he has hitherto read, is summoned up or referred to; he levies contributions from all quarters; whatever bears in any degree upon the theme set, is selected; and, after such alterations and adaptations, as may suit his purpose, and obviate the charge of mere copying, is incorporated with his own matter. Thus a very powerful species of machinery is set at work, to stamp, in durable characters, on the youthful mind, the finest passages of the ancients, and to cherish that richness and enthusiasm of classical allusion, which is not among the least advantages of a liberal education.

This leads us to notice a third, and the most important, perhaps, of all the uses of this kind of school-exercise—the general improvement of intellect, and evolution of the faculties, which are produced in this way more effectually than in any other that could be attempted at the same period of life. No sooner is a theme or subject of verses announced than the boy's imagination is immediately employed in collecting fresh ideas, new-modelling those he had before, or working upon the few hints the Master may have thrown out: He not only glances back on all he has read in school, but is eager to turn up every book in his own language, whether in poetry or prose, that seems likely to give him information, or suggest matter for his purpose; and when he has all his materials before him, his judgment is called upon to determine what is fit for his purpose, and to arrange it in the most striking and luminous order. It is in this way that the exercise we speak of makes the business of school something more than a mere exertion of memory; that it leads a boy to think, to read, and to turn his reading to account; that it accustoms him to discrimi-

nate and select; that it urges the young faculties to activity, and teaches them to go in quest of knowledge:

——*aptat opus puero, monstratque moveri*
Erudit infirmas ut sua mater aves. OVID.

In short, that it gives to the mind, if we may be allowed the metaphor, that summer-fallowing, which prepares it for rearing to a plentiful maturity the seed that may afterwards be sown.

We come now to consider what place verse exercises ought to hold in the business of a great school. In order to decide this point, it may be proper to premise, that there are three principal stages in the discipline of verse-making. The first and lowest is the putting together of what is called *nonsense verses*. It is intended by this exercise, which has been the object of a good deal of ridicule far more unmeaning than the verses themselves, to habituate a boy to the application of his rules of prosody, and to tune his ear to a perception of the metre. The second stage is the construction of what are termed *sense verses*. In this exercise, a literal translation of a few verses is dictated, divided into lines corresponding to the Latin; and the boy proceeds, with the assistance of his *gradus* and dictionary, to turn it into the measure required. This is not, like the last, a simple exercise in prosody, but requires some industry and dexterity in finding the proper phrase, and adapting it to the verse. The third, and by far the highest stage of progress, because, in addition to the foregoing qualities it requires invention and imagination, is, to write a copy of verses on a given subject, with nothing to guide the writer but his own understanding, and a few suggestions perhaps of the Master's.

The two first of these stages we think attainable, at the proper time, by almost every schoolboy; and as they secure many of the benefits we have detailed, without encroaching upon the time that should be devoted to more important business, they ought, we think, to form part of the general discipline, and to be enforced by the ordinary sanctions and penalties of the school. The case, however, we apprehend, is quite different with regard to the third and highest species of exercise, which we have no hesitation in pronouncing by far the most difficult of all the tasks that are usually imposed upon schoolboys. To *compose* tolerably—a task which many grown men find so hard in their mother tongue—not only in a foreign language, but in the poetical measure of that language—requires considerably more exertion of mind than the Latin-English and English-Latin versions that form the ordinary exercises of our grammar schools. It is so difficult, indeed, that a small proportion only of the pupils of a great school can ever be brought, by any

management, to acquire the faculty. If, therefore, we insist upon every scholar making Latin verses from his own *sense*, the necessary consequence will be, either to multiply the punishments to an immoderate degree, or to force the dull boys to get their verses written for them by the clever. The former consequence is deplorable enough: the latter, we conceive to be still more pernicious. It enures one set of boys to systematic deception, at which the Masters themselves are obliged to connive; and another set it so overloads with drudgery of this kind, undertaken from motives of friendship or interest, that they acquire a habit of slovenly composition; and fall at last into a knack of tagging verses together in a sort of improvisatore style, very unfavourable to solid intellectual improvement. An undue proportion of their time also, is thus devoted to an employment, which it is certainly possible to overdo: and various other evils result, of which we can now offer but an imperfect enumeration.

The principle being once laid down, that *all* the scholars must go through the ordeal of verse-making, it becomes necessary, in the arrangement of school business, to allot such a portion of time to this most difficult exercise, as the *average* capacity of boys may appear to require—a portion which is soon found to be very considerable. The other business of course is starved: prose composition is comparatively little practised; and a surprisingly small quantity of the classics is read, in proportion to the age and progress of the boys. Even in the little that is read, the pupil is not trained to that wholesome and invigorating exercise of mind, which elaborates the meaning of an author by patient and solitary study,—but is spared the exertion of any faculty but memory, by the certainty of hearing the lesson of next day construed over night by the Master in his pupil's room. Every thing, in short, is made to bend to verses: Translation of the best authors, in all the variety of close and free interpretation, and with all possible illustration of mythology, geography, and antiquities, which has always been justly considered as the standard business of *our* grammar schools, is depressed, in many of those of England, into a subordinate exercise by the overwhelming necessity of verses: and, instead of exploring the rich mines of antiquity, the boy is condemned to beat about the narrow circle of his own ideas; or, secure of being furnished with a ready-made copy by some facile friend, is left to employ the allotted time in strenuous idleness.

The remedy we would propose, to correct this disturbing influence of verses, is to make the most difficult stage of their

composition an exercise for *the higher boys only* of a form or class, and to have it done in addition to the ordinary school business:—in other words, not to insist upon every blockhead writing verses, or stretching his rickety understanding upon this iron bed; but to make it a voluntary exercise, accompanying, however, the performance of it with such honourable distinction, and substantial reward, as shall make it an object of ambition to every boy who has talents to entitle him to a place among the favoured few. One great advantage of this method is, that it enables the master to calculate the general business on a more comprehensive scale; because, in the distribution of employment and time to the whole class, it will not be necessary to reserve any for this sort of verse exercise. It will be performed in that surplus of time which a clever boy always has to dispose of, and which is thus redeemed from idleness, and funded for the use of his future life. It is a work of supererogation, extorted by strong stimuli from the natural indolence of those boys to whom the every-day business of the school cannot afford sufficient occupation. The proposed arrangement, then, while it enables the Master to translate a great deal more with the body of the class, opens a career, boundless as human genius itself, to those youthful talents, which, when cramped and bound down to the ordinary march of a great school, are sure to be wasted in restlessness and mischief. The latter qualities, general as they are in great schools, particularly among boys of genius, are in most cases symptomatic of something morbid in the discipline of the seminary, or the management of the Master, rather than in the boy himself. Give a boy business and incitement, and he will find equal pleasure in using the faculties of his mind, as in exercising the muscles of his body.

The practicability and good effects of the system we are recommending, are still less hypothetical than the evils of that we contend against. The verses in the little volume before us have been produced, in the High School of Edinburgh, under the very circumstances we have described. Whatever its intrinsic merits may be (of which we shall speak presently), it puts in its claim to our indulgence at least, as the first produce of a soil hitherto almost uncultivated, and in many places overrun with weeds. We have in the preface, not the Utopian notions of a speculatist, calculating effects upon data that are doubtful, but the plain matter-of-fact statements of a practical man. * He is engaged in superintending a school of nearly 700

* The gentleman to whom we now allude, we understand to be Mr Pillans, the present head Master, or *Rector* as we call him,

boys; and conducts, himself, the education of somewhat more than a fifth part of that number, who are put under his immediate care about the age of twelve or thirteen, and remain with him two years. About a year and a half before the publication of the *Tentamina*, we are given to understand, he began to train the higher boys to the making of nonsense and sense verses in school; devoting to that object only those scraps and odd ends of time which were employed in drilling the lower boys in the lesson of the day. By degrees, he encouraged them to add a few lines of their own to *sense* which he had dictated; and at last gave out themes for original composition. These were generally set on Saturday; the verses to be shown up on Tuesday or Wednesday morning. Among other encouragements, the boys who gave up verses were exempted from some lesson or exercise required from the rest of the class, but of little importance to them. The subject was given out without any injunction on particular boys to write, or any denunciation of penalty against those who should not: The exercises were collected on the appointed morning by the head boy; looked over, characterized, and returned by the master next morning to be corrected. If they were particularly good, they were mentioned as such in presence of the class, hung up in the room for the inspection of all, and the writer occasionally allowed an hour or two to play. Those boys near

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of this great seminary, who was appointed to this important office on the death of the celebrated Dr Adam, about two years ago. Besides the great improvement in the article of verse-making, which is detailed in the text, it is proper to mention, that this eminent teacher has carried the study of the Greek language much farther than had ever been done in this school. At his last public examination, various pupils, to whom the very alphabet had been unknown but ten months before, publicly read and translated any part of the New Testament *ad aperturam libri*, besides giving a complete grammatical analysis of all the words that occurred. Among the most radical and important, however, of all his improvements, we are inclined to reckon that partial adoption of Mr Lancaster's system of teaching by Monitors, in consequence of which, he is enabled to do very nearly *twenty times* as much as could possibly have been done without some such contrivance. The details of his plan could not easily be brought within the compass of a Note;—but the result is, that every individual boy, in a class or form of 160, is now called up, and thoroughly examined, at least two or three times every day, instead of being left for two or three days to inactive or counterfeited attention; and a spirit of industry and emulation is diffused through the whole body, instead of being confined, as formerly, in a great degree, to the boys near the head of the school.

the head of the class who did not present verses, suffered no greater punishment than the loss of a single place forfeited to the boy below who had shown up a copy.

In no instance (and we gladly mention a fact so much to the honour of our young countrymen, especially in a case where flogging has been reckoned indispensable) in no one instance was corporal chastisement inflicted, either by way of stimulus to write verses, or punishment for the want of them. Yet, by these means, and by never expecting verses from those who were unable to write them, eighteen or twenty boys, about the head of the class, scarcely ever failed to show up copies.—Such is the effect upon ingenuous minds of gentlemanlike treatment, honourable emulation—'*laudumque arrecta cupido.*'—These verses were of various degrees of merit; but each bore a distinctive character that could not be mistaken. It was scarcely possible, indeed, for verses to be *given*; every boy having his hands full with his own; and, among so small a number, detection was inevitable.

We do not mean to generalize this individual instance, so far as to say, that of 150 boys, from twelve to fourteen years of age, who have gone through the same preparation, we are in no case to look for more than eighteen or twenty capable of writing verses from their own sense, and doing all the ordinary business besides. The number, we have no doubt, might be increased, by perfecting the previous discipline; though, we are disposed to think, not to any considerable amount. It will vary, of course, from year to year, as well from the differences of preparatory training, as from the varying proportion of boys of talent. But we cannot help thinking, on the whole, that an incalculable good must result, both to masters and pupils, from any arrangement that confines the composition of verses to the higher and more ambitious boys. The Master will be saved the irksome, thankless, and unprofitable labour of licking into shape the unseemly productions of dull plodders, whose industry, on the other hand, is turned into channels more likely to be useful. Much fraud and flogging, and unworthy connivance will be avoided. Instead of a low drudgery, enforced by ignominious punishment, the writing of verses will be raised to its proper character—of an ennobling and elegant exercise—reserved for the able and assiduous student—performed from the most laudable motives—and rewarded with honourable distinction. Of this description are all verses that gain a boy credit, or do him good: Why, then, insist on wringing a few meagre lines from hard-bound brains, by efforts that would be far more usefully directed to the common business of translating the classics?

The Volume now before us contains a series of verses on twenty different themes or subjects. These themes follow one another, according to the order of the time when they were set, from the commencement of the school session, in October 1811, till the breaking up at the Holidays, in August 1812.—The productions of two, three, and sometimes as many as 6 or 8 boys on the same subject, are inserted under each title. By the former of these arrangments, a scale is furnished for measuring the progress of the pupils, during the year, by comparing their earlier with their later productions, both as to quantity and quality. By the latter, the diversities of thought and association in youthful minds, working on the same materials, are brought immediately under our view;—circumstances which give the work some value, as a history of mind.

We do not profess, in general, to have much patience for those juvenilities in verse, which, having first outraged modesty by appearing in print, next lay claim to our indulgence, as the unpretending productions of slender youths of sixteen. The book before us may fairly be exempted from the sweeping censure which the public are disposed to bestow on such feeble effusions. It is not pushed into notice by the overweening conceit of its authors, but given to the public by their instructor; and by him, not as the preternatural offspring of individual precocity, but as the natural result of a system of discipline on a certain class or description of boys. The verses it contains, are not the overflowings of rural ease and vapid sensibility, but the strenuous efforts of minds just ripening into manly and vigorous action. Even though we found nothing, therefore, either very new in thought, or very exquisite in versification, still we should be sorry to confound them with the wonderful works of which we have been speaking; and we are confident our philosophical readers will contemplate the faint, but increasing light that proceeds from the natural dawn of the understanding, with feelings of a higher kind, than those with which they view the passing blaze of a meteor.

In taking a general view of these compositions, we should say, that they display considerable force of thought, and promise, at least, of originality, in our young countrymen; together with a very creditable acquaintance with the language in which they are written. We were particularly struck with the frequent allusions to passages of the classics, and the felicity with which, in numerous instances, those passages are altered and adapted to a different measure,—a circumstance indicating a complete possession and command of the books that had been read in school. The following lines, for example, on the late

arrival of spring, appear to us to be thoroughly imbued with this spirit; and show the writer to have read the first Georgic of Virgil to some purpose.

'Illa dies nobis tandem expectata revisit,
Verque diu populi precibus geniale vocatum
Instat; soliciti jam vota audita coloni.
Nunc Boreas reticet, nec labens montibus amnis
Sternit agros, verrens hominumque boumque labores, &c.
Tum volucres pavidæ modulantur carmina voce,
Perque diem multam errantes gratèque canentes,
In ramis sylvæ patulis se millia condunt.
Protinus effossam convertit vomere taurus
Tellurem, durisque ligonibus excolit arva
Rusticus, et cantu mollit fallitque laborem:
Tunc sulcis credit Cerealia semina longis.
Interea sequitur rastrum, finemque labori
Imponit. Riguus cælo nunc decidat imber,
Et celebret passim magnum natura Parentem!' p. 61–62.

We shall content ourselves with one other specimen of this kind of beauty, where the author culls at once from Ovid, Virgil, and Horace,—though we fear his use of *cingitur* is not quite classical.

'Tempora, Saturno quondam regnante, fuerunt,
Contentus vixit cùm benè quisque suo.
Arte faber dirâ cùm nondum duxerat ensem,
Nec galeæ levis, nec clypei usus erat.
At nunc atra ciet Mars totum bella per orbem,
Invisa et passim matribus arma sonant.
Cingitur assiduo miles duroque labore,
Quem sonitusque tubæ sævaque castra juvant.' p. 12.

And a little after, when speaking of the soldier—

'Si moritur, gaudet speratâ fine laborum,
Occidit et cunctis flebilis usque bonis.
Si vincit, magno æternoque triumphat honore,
Et tectus, grato pectore, civis amat.' p. 13.

In these, however, and in several other passages, we are aware that there is now and then a turn of expression, which to ears accustomed to the smoothness and fastidiousness, we will not say of classical, but of Etonian versification, may sound somewhat startling, and hazardous,—though we must confess that in most of the cases where we were inclined to doubt, a reference to classical authority justified the expression. They are deficient in the high polish, and absolutely classic air which we are accustomed to admire in the *Musæ Etonenses*; and though we see in them symptoms of as great vigor of understanding, they are inferior in terseness and elegance of latinity.

Nor is it wonderful that they should be so :—they are the productions of boys of fourteen, after six, or at most eighteen months training to versification; and they are the crop of a single year, and of one set of boys. The age of the Etonians, whose poems are inserted in the *Musæ*, may, we believe, be fairly stated, on an average, at seventeen; the time of previous discipline at five years: and the book comprehends a period of fifty years, or, in other words, contains the flower of Eton verses for half a century. If we reflect for a moment on the rapid strides, which a mind of talent makes in the interval between fourteen and seventeen, this statement will satisfy us, that the *Musæ* and *Tentamina* are not fit subjects of comparison; or at least that they should not be compared without keeping those facts constantly in view. The object indeed of the two publications is quite different:—the one challenging an applause, to which it is well entitled, as affording beautiful specimens of modern Latin poetry; the other intended, partly to exhibit the effects of certain modes of treatment in education, and partly to show that the reproach, so often cast upon Scotish prosody, is not altogether well founded, or at least bids fair to be soon wiped away.

The following description of the Captive, will illustrate some parts of the general character we have given of these juvenile compositions. The theme is from Tibullus, '*Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum.*'

' Dirum est captivi fatum, qui compede vinctus
Sævâ, squalenti in carcere tempus agit.
Stramineo recubans lecto, sine tegmine restat:
Immites ventos fœda fenestra capit.
Squalens est laquear quà nectit aranea telas:
Mucor edit lapides pergelidumque solum.
Inveniunt radii solis vix limina cæca;
Nec possunt mœstum lætificare virum.
Non illi uxor adest quæ tardum fallere tempus
Curet, et immeritis ingemuisse malis.
Nulli circumstant pueri, linguâque loquaci,
Enarrant longo plurima facta die.
Crura sonant ferro mordaci pallida morbo,
Et nutrimentum est parvula crusta cibi.
" Patria, felices! " inquit, " quibus extitit alma,
" Et possunt patrum qui requiêsse solo.
" O Dea Libertas, Divûm te carior alter
" Arva beatorum non veneranda colit! ' &c. p. 22, 23.

The next specimen we select, entitled ATHENÆ, is written with more sustained purity of diction and harmony of measure; and is really, we think, a very respectable performance. The local description is surprisingly accurate: the allusion to the

Sages of the Lyceum and Academy, the contrast between the ancient grandeur and present wretchedness of that seat of art, and the spirit and generosity of the concluding wish, might do credit to a more experienced votary of the Muses.

' Aoniæ divæ, Parnassi sacra colentes,
Vos patrias rupes dulcesque Aganippidos undas
Linquentes, operamque levate et adeste faventes,
Et mihi jam audenti magna adspirate secundæ!
Mœnia vestra cano, dictasque a Pallade terras.
' Aspice quà tollit rupes * abrupta superbum
Turribus excelsis culmen, doctæque minantur
Palladis in cælum domus †, et penetralia sacra
Mille renidenti de marmore nixa columnis.
Hinc oculus, circùm spectans et cuncta pererrans,
Multa videt latè; Æginæque cacumina celsæ,
Hospitis et montes etiam Salaminis opacos:
Tum Pelopis Phrygii telluris littora curva,
Æquoraque Ægei tam crebris consita terris,
Chalcidos avulsasque oras, bimarisque Corinthi
Antiquas arces. Propiûs sed magna videtur
Gloria Graiorum, collesque domusque superbæ
Fluminaque. Hic viridis collucens surgit Hymettus
Floribus æstivis, apibus qui maxima cura
Sollicitis: illic riparum anfractibus errans,
Labitur Ilissus tortis; Cephisus et undas
Leniter arguto trepidantes murmure volvit.
Illic jucundis oleis Academica sylva
Vernat, et aligeræ modulantur gutture blandum
Carmen aves tenui:—docto olim grata Platoni
Sedes, quà docuit divini Socratis artem,
Qui Sophiam a cælo terræ deduxit in orbem,
Monstravitque viam liceat quâ scandere sedes
Æthereas, Patrisque attingere regna beata.
Te neque præteream, toties cui docta, Lyceum,
Porticus excepit sapientem, vincere cuncta
Qui Pellæ docuit juvenem, nisi semet et iram.
' Hic antiquus honor; fuit hic et splendor Athenis
Olim; at nunc vastata vides loca, mœnia nuda,
Desertasque vias: passim fractæque columnæ,
Marmoreæque trabes, lapides, truncataque signa,
Strata jacent; mæstis atque omnia sparsa ruinis.
Quoque loco quondam Pario de marmore templum,
Auratæque ædes stabant, et limina celsa,
Sordida nunc tecta, et constructa mapalia turpi

* Acropolis. † Parthenôn.

(Quæ magis apta feris) limo miser incola ponit.
Et quà ridebant onerati messibus agri,
" Infelix lolium et steriles damnantur avenæ."
Fecundis celsâ pro Palladis arbore ramis
Nunc subière vepres: Musis pro flumine caro
Parvus vix reptat stagnanti rivulus undâ.
' O utinam exoriens aliquis, Thrasybulus ut alter,
Nascatur, duri subvertens regna tyranni,
Qui patriæ reddat divini jura Solonis,
Et recidiva manu genetrici mœnia ponat! p. 54—56.

We are tempted to subjoin another copy on the same subject, by a different boy, in Alcaics; both as a specimen of the Lyrics, which appear to have been a supplementary exercise on some of the themes,—and also because it indicates some vigour and power of fancy in a youthful mind.

' Ascendo rupem plurima quæ imminet
Urbi; et potentis mœnia Palladis
Perlustro; me circum caduca
Templa deûm speciosa nutant.
Hæc sunt Hymetti purpurei juga;
Ægina, contrà, natio bellica;
Tellusque, quà pugna redivit
Frons Danaûm redimita lauro:
Subterque, quondam templa celebria:
At nunc virescens saxa coinquinat
Muscus; ruinosum manetque
Ignibus et sine cæde fanum.
Hæc urbs Athenæ, Persica millia,
Obnixa, quæ olim viribus obruit,
Ostendit et quî solveretur
Græcia servitio prementi!
Nunc, quando vinclis ambitio premit,
Mutata quantum est!—Unda vel amnium
Ripas refugit assuetas,
Servitium ob pudibunda gentis.' p. 105, 106.

Under the title, Το ῥοδον ακμαζει βαιον χρονον, we have five copies; the first of which, in spite of some puerilities, exhibits a singular union, in so young a boy, of delicacy, and even tenderness of sentiment, with considerable felicity of expression. We give the concluding lines only.

' Sed cur pallescis, cadit et tua gloria terræ?
Dum loquor, in ventos forma repente fugit.
Quî te describam? fugisti; et spina relicta
Nulla dat amissæ nunc monumenta rosæ.
Sic hominis decedit honor, viridisque juventas
Sæpe cadit veluti in germine carpta rosa.
Sol oriens juvenem vidit persæpe vigentem,
Cujus ad occasum corpus inane jacet.

Mortis tempestas homines, ut flamina flores,
Aufert, et summis fit mora nulla viris.
Sic, mortale genus, trahimur, properante senectâ,
In flumen secum cuncta ferentis aquæ.' p. 40, 41.

As we advance in the order of time, the exercises increase in length and merit. Under the head of Nilus is a copy too long for insertion, from which we shall give two extracts. The first contains a poetical account of the swelling of the Nile, and the phenomena of the Catadupa, to which Cicero alludes so beautifully in the *Somnium Scipionis*;—a passage which the young poet has dexterously enough interwoven with his lines.

'Musa mihi memora, quâ flumina vi alta tumescant
Et superent ripas, latèque natantia rura
Subjiciant fluvio, "rursusque in seipsa residant,"
Arvaque fecundo limo contecta relinquant.
En! spatiis anni redeunti tempore certo,
Ipse Deus, patriis assidens montibus altis,
Sublimi gravidas diffindit vertice nubes.
His effusarum magnum ruit agmen aquarum,
Quas lacubus recipit divus, vastisque latebris
Speluncâque cavâ claudit: cistisque repletis,
Obicibus motis, fluviis urgentibus ingens
Pandit iter. Subitò erumpens cum murmure vasto,
Torrentes impellit aquas per spumea saxa
Et scopulos duros violento tramite flumen.
'Rupibus abruptis locus est conseptus utrimque,
Quà via præcipiti fluvio contracta patescit,
Assiduis undis usu longoque cavata.
Finit acuta silex, præcisis undique saxis,
Hoc immane jugum, camporumque æquora plana
Infrà pressa jacent longè. Huc ut pervenit Amnis,
Horret; at instantûm tergo vi pulsus aquarum
Volvitur in præceps, fervensque fremensque videtur
Spumarum cumulis celsas aspergere nubes.
It fragor ad cælum, stupefactaque littora complet
Immenso sonitu; reboat vicinia tota,
Pulsatique vago montes plangore resultant.
Surdi homines fiunt, sonitum nec prendere tantum
Auribus humanis datur, at stupuêre silentes.' p. 65, 66.

The following extract from the same exercise contains a description of the Battle of the Nile, which is thus happily introduced.

'Nile vale tandem, nunc te magnum accipit æquor;
Perfectumque iter est; tamen ultima carmina plectri
Laus petit ingenui patriæ præclara Britanni.
Classibus hìc nostris præfectus et inclytus heros,
Præstantes numero Gallos certamine claro

Devicit, rediens superato victor ab hoste.
Dic mihi, Musa favens, possim quî carmine digno
Concelebrare viri laudes, cui nomen ad ipsum,
Attonitis hostes animis pallere solebant.—
Gallica jam classis tutâ secura quiete
Littora stringebat: terrâ, sine lege tyrannus
Cædebat natos, vastabat et arva Canopi;
Puppibus in celsis cùm signa Britannica longè
Apparent, celerique abradunt æquora motu.
Ultor adest vindex—gaude Mareotica tellus!
Nile pater gaude! jam vincula vestra fuerunt,
Imperiumque tuum cecidit nunc, Galle superbe!
En, properante caput sole undis condere pronum,
Prœlia commiscent totis cum viribus ambo,
Et liquidum magnis clamoribus aëra complent.
Nec tormenta neçis cessant lethalia ferro
Horrifico vibrare sono; micat ignibus unda;
Crebris cuncta tonant late discordibus armis.
Jamque polos nigro nox atra involvit amictu,
Addit et horrorem pugnæ caligine cæcâ;
Quum subitò tenebris mediâque videtur in undâ,
Inter tigna Ducis regnans Vulcania pestis
Galli: confestim magno se sustulit altè
Quassa fragore ratis; paulisper corda pavore
Strati, per naves tenuêre silentia cuncti.
Pallida sed croceum linquens Aurora cubile,
Primaque conspergens redivivo lumine terras,
Ostendit victos Gallos navesque sequentes
Imperium nostrum: superas tolluntur in auras
Clamoresque virum repetiti et murmura læta.' p. 68, 69.

The last subject is announced in these words of Tacitus (Vit. Agric. c. 31.) *Ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit:* and the four copies given are no unworthy termination, both in length and number, of the honourable exertions their authors seem to have made during the year. We can give room only to a few extracts; and shall begin with the following tribute to the poets of our country, who, among the well earned praises they have received, were never probably complimented before in Latin verse by a young countryman.

'Est huic, naturæ tempestatumque peritus,
Frigora qui * brumæ, rabiemque æstusque leonis,
Et flavum autumnum, et placidè ridentia veris
Tempora, divino depicta in carmine liquit.
Est, qui † sublimes animos erexit aratro,
Hausit et impavidus Thebani munera fontis,

* Thomson. † Burns.

Dum lætæ Aonides natum salvere juberent,
Tempora cingentes insignia fronde perenni.
Est, qui † commemorans ætatis gesta peractæ
Priscorumque patrum mores, et tempora prisca,
Obtinuit nomen victurum in secula sera.
Carmine nec nostro meritâ tu ‡ laude carebis,
Qui Spem mærentis cecinisti mentis alumnam,
Undas sublimi, nunc, majestate per alta
Saxa ruens rapidas, montano vortice torrens,
Omnibus attonitis, querulus, nunc, murmure rivus
Lene susurranti per mollia prata relabens.
O si pars animi mihi, sicut nominis, esset,
Scribere digna cedro sperarem carmina posse! p. 88, 89

The last copy on Caledonia opens with these spirited lines:

'Salve, magna Parens; salve, felicibus oris
Diva Caledoniæ semper fidissima custos!
Laudes ecce tuas meliori carmine dignas
Hinc canere incipiam, et tenui deducere plectro.
Rejice nec, Mater, nati tentamen ineptum,
Pectore dum grato mea patria rura celebro.
O natale solum, mihi te non dulcior ulla
Terra patet Phœbo; neque tellus thuris abundans,
Eoæ sedes Arabum, Nabathæaque regna;
Gallia nec dives, frondosis vitibus alma,
Ebria qua spumant calcatis prela racemis;
Nec fines Italûm illustres, Saturniaque arva,
Et quondam domitrix terrarum Roma superba.' p. 98, 99.

After some good description of the peculiar scenery and productions of Scotland, and the fatal effects of luxury in less invigorating climates, the ancient history and heroes of the country are connected with the modern in the following encomium.

'Atque etiam, quamvis "retro sublapsa referri
Et ruere in pejus" naturâ multa videntur,
Intemerata patrum descendit gloria vivax;
Magnanimûm genitrix heroum Scotia mansit.
Illius natum conspexit Iberia nuper,
Gallos extremâ victorem fundere vitâ.
Haud indignum ipsis jactat sociâsse triumphis
Nelsoni comitem; § ad ripas, septemflue, pingues,
Nile tuas, veniens cui mors redimita virenti
Fronde, dedit palmâ victrici insignia fata.
Te peregrina tegit distanti littore tellus,
Magne senex! refovet gremio nec terra paterna;
Nomini at in patriâ restabit fama superstes,
Et fato ereptus plorantûm in pectore vives.
Quum produxit adhuc heroas inclyta tantos

† Scott. ‡ Campbell. § Abercromby.

Vestra Caledonia, exemplo vos discite Scoti!
In vobis videat renovatas patria prisci
Virtutes ævi, nec jam desideret illas
Cum claris pariter raptas majoribus; ætas
Floreat hæc præsens, imitans quoque gesta prioris.
Vos, quibus est annûm meliorum læta juventus,
Est quibus in bello splendentis nominis ardor,
Hostes externos arvis propellite tutis.
Sed quibus est potius tranquillam ducere vitam,
Et procul à castris armis rabidisque remotam;
Vobis, et patrum leges servare vetustas
Cura sit, et populi carissima jura tueri,
Sincerumque Dei cultum, longeque relictas
Temnere delicias, turpis mala gaudia mentis.
Hæ tibi erunt artes; sic, Scotia, gloria patrum,
Qualis ab incepto processerit, usque manebit,
Natorum vitiis nunquam maculata pudendis.' p. 101, 102.

If we have not already trespassed on the reader's patience, by the length of our quotations, we are in no danger of doing so by adding the concluding poem, on taking leave of the school; which we look upon as a very favourable specimen of juvenile latinity, but still more remarkable for the tenderness and moral tone of the sentiments.

'Jam nunc incipiunt arvis flavescere lætis
Frumenta, et dulces parturit arbor opes:
Tempus adest, Socii,—quos æstas sexta laborum
Participes mecum lætitiæque videt,—
Tempus adest propiùs, quo vos diversa tenebunt,
Quo linquenda estis, pectora chara, mihi.
Vos igitur primi, dulces, valeatis, amici,
Non spectandi oculis forte, valete, meis!
Non tamen ex animo tollent oblivia nostro;
Olim pulsabunt nomina vestra sinum.
Vosque valete, meam quæ primam aluêre juventam
Mœnia, nunc ætas quà puerilis abit:
Vos linquenda etiam;—sed quamvis corpore distem,
Et liquidi intersint cærula vasta maris,
Per varios casus, per cuncta pericula vitæ,
Hunc memori semper mente tenebo locum,
Quà meus ingenuas animus primùm inbibit artes,
Excipiens veterum gaudia multa libris:
Quà primùm sese studiis intendit honestis
Ætates quæ omnes, tempora cuncta, juvant;
Præcipuè decorant quæ res ornantque secundas,
Auxilium adversis, perfugiumque ferunt.
Tuque vale postremùm, animos qui rebus honestis
Formásti teneros, alter et ipse parens!

Doctrinæque viâ fortes perstare citâsti,
Sistere nec mediâ, deficiente pede;
Temporis, intenti studii, assiduique laboris
Prodigus, haud ullâ victus inerte morâ!
Quod me juvisti, manet altâ mente repostum;
Semper ego nomen gratus amabo tuum.
Si quid commerui, tibi me debere fatebor
Quicquid adhuc laudis, quàm minimumque scio!
Forsitan aut olim, quodam si digner honore,
Certè oblita tui non erit illa dies!' p. 115, 116.

On the whole then, when we regard the verses before us as the first fruits of an experiment made in the principal school of our country, and reflect that so much has been done—such strenuous and successful efforts have been made, without a single appeal to the rod, we may be permitted to question the omnipotence of that potent engine, and to inquire whether a saving in the article of birch might not be effected, by substituting less costly, and more efficacious *stimuli*; which, instead of degrading, by odious punishment, should elevate and humanize the mind, and give it habits of uniform and willing exertion, of far more importance than all the learning of the schools. Again, if the cleverer boys in a school can be drilled to such proficiency in the course of a single year, we should be disposed to doubt the propriety of beginning the practice of versification so very early as is customary in the English schools, in which boys have often, before they are thirteen, *made* nearly as many verses as they have *read*. We should rather imagine, that, till near that period, they would be better employed in becoming quite conversant with the elements of the language, and reading as much as possible of the authors they can understand, in order that they may lay in a stock of the solid bullion of the Ancients, before they venture on compositions of their own.

Art. VIII. *An Inquiry into the Origin and Functions of the Popular Branch of the Constitution.* 8vo. pp. 116. London, 1812.

A Few Plain Observations on the End and Means of Political Reform, and the Measures adopted by the present Supporters of that Cause. 8vo. pp. 140. London, 1811.

In comparing the structure of society among the free states of antiquity, with that which is presented in the few which bear the same character in the modern world, we shall probably find

that they differ chiefly in two great features. The Military profession has become a separate employment, instead of forming part of the duty of every citizen: and the system of representation has in like manner confined to a few hands the important cares of Government. In Athens and Rome every man was a soldier and a statesman. He was liable, at a moment's warning, to march against the enemy,—and his habits of life had qualified him to take the field: He was also called upon perpetually to deliberate upon the most weighty public measures;—and, however little qualified he might be for so grave a task, his voice was required to sanction the scheme, or enact the law. With the various improvements of modern times, this most important change has been introduced—far more important than all the rest put together—that we confide the task of Defence and Government—the province at least of *immediate* military and political operations, to classes of the community more or less completely set apart for performing those eminent functions.

It is not our present intention to trace the various consequences which may be deduced from this change—or even to enumerate the effects which it has produced upon the manners and habits—the situation—the liberties of the people. Our attention shall be confined to one part of the remark which has just been made:—and we shall stop for a moment to observe, that unquestionably there is no greater improvement in the arts of government than the substitution of representation—or a delegation of the right of managing their own affairs, inherent in the people—for the actual exercise of this undoubted right by themselves. Such an arrangement gives stability and dignity to public deliberations—it removes all chance of turbulence and discord—it commits the management of the general affairs to some of the wisest men. Even were the choice less happy, it is likely to secure more wisdom in the national councils than the deliberations of a whole people can possibly attain;—it leaves the bulk of the community more worthily and more appropriately occupied than they could be were their time spent in political assemblies;—and lastly, it is an invention absolutely necessary in a free state of any considerable extent—for it furnishes the only conceivable means of giving the people any voice at all in the government, when the seat of administration is removed at any distance from their own doors.—For these reasons this change in the structure of political society has justly been regarded as among the happiest inventions of human sagacity or experience.

With all these blessings, however, and they are as undeniable as they are important, the plan of delegated authority is liable to several objections—not, indeed, such as greatly to detract from its merits—but such as are well adapted to keep our jealousy a-

wake to its abuses. It may be enough to mention one, into which indeed almost all the others resolve themselves. The delegation of the greatest of all trusts, that of government, necessarily implies a surrender of the function itself, and with the function much of the power—and leaves the people, in some degree, at the mercy of those whom they chuse for their trustees, during the whole term of the appointment. Hence the danger of those trustees abusing their delegated authority in such a manner as to weaken the control of the people over them—and, by rendering themselves more powerful and less accountable, to make the resumption of the trust more difficult. It is quite manifest, therefore, that there is nothing of which the Constitution, in a state like England, ought to be more jealous, than any step towards independence on the part of the representatives—any attempt of theirs to acquire a substantive and separate authority—either an existence not created, or attributes not bestowed by the people. From so self-evident a maxim we may deduce all the arguments in favour of parliamentary reform—all the observations which place in the strongest light the abuses in our representative system—the principles which render the septennial act by far the greatest mockery of popular rights, and breach of common good faith that ever was committed by the governors to the governed—the grounds upon which the exclusion of so many of the community from all share in the government, and the usurpation of the elective franchise by the few, are demonstrably shown to be a mere subversion of the very purpose and meaning of representation. But we choose rather to view the subject in another light, because it is of great practical importance, though not perhaps altogether so familiar, in our political reasonings—and, above all, because it leads to the prospect of a palliative, if not a remedy, for the evils at present justly complained of.

The people having in this country parted with the powers of Government, have become much more estranged to the interests of their order, and, indeed, to the general interests of the community, than is wholesome for the common weal. It is by no means desirable, indeed, that appeals should be made to them upon the merits of individual measures—if by such appeals we mean real references of the fate of those measures to their decision: and yet, how the courtiers of the present day can maintain this doctrine, we marvel exceedingly; for they have never scrupled to make precisely such appeals when it seemed to suit their purpose. A great and most complicated question divided the wisest men in Parliament—no less than the merits of two detailed plans for governing our vast dominions on the other side of

the globe. Mr Pitt conceived it right to refer the decision of this question, one of the most nice and complex nature—involving every speculative difficulty—every refined principle of policy—and incumbered with an incredible mass of details, to the people at large. He raised a cry about *chartered rights*—dissolved the Parliament—and, having thrown many of his adversaries out of their seats, he had the *gravity* to pronounce, that the question was decided by the *sense* of the country in favour of his plan, and against Mr Fox's! Twenty years after this notable experiment, the successors of Mr Pitt, still professing the highest Tory doctrines—still abhorring all popular topics, thought proper to raise another cry against religious liberty, and forthwith to ask the opinion of the country upon the merits of the Catholic question. The late dissolution of Parliament is said to have originated in a wish to consult the people on men as well as measures—to give them an opportunity both of testifying their approbation of the conduct of the war, and of pronouncing that mature and flattering judgment respecting the Prince Regent's demeanour in public and private (if indeed Princes have any privacy) which it is quite well known every man in the kingdom *must* have formed. It would be difficult, then, with such instances staring us in the face, to accuse the Court of a consistent aversion to popular practices, or to comprehend how they can object to giving the people a larger share in the government than they now enjoy. They surely can never have the countenance to maintain that proposition which we would lay down as the corner stone of the representative system—that the people ought not to decide directly and finally on any public measures, except the choice of their representatives. This proposition does not, as the lawyers say, lye in their mouths—and it is none of the lightest charges which we have to urge against them and their system, that they have never scrupled to invade the Constitution, when it suited the purposes of the moment—sometimes on one quarter—sometimes on another—now in the regal part—now in the popular—with the weapons of tyranny or of anarchy—in the capacity of Tories or of Levellers—exactly as the view of their present interest directed; thus evincing themselves apt scholars in the great school of expedients, whereof Mr Pitt was for so many years the master. But be this as it may, the principle is an undoubted one; and *we* take leave to maintain it, who can do so with perfect consistency.

There are, however, certain explanations necessary to prevent this principle from leading to very fatal mistakes. It is quite true, that the adoption or rejection of specific measures ought

in no case to be left with the bulk of the people. But it is equally true, that the people have a right to deliberate on specific measures—to discuss them individually, and in bodies—to express the result of those deliberations, and to tender to the Legislature and the Executive Government their opinion, their advice, nay, the free expression of their wishes upon all matters of public import. This is the sacred inalienable right of the English people—it is theirs as they are free men—it is theirs as they are both the fountain and the object of all Government—it is a right, the invasion of which we conscientiously hold to form an extreme case—a case, perhaps, more easy than safe to discuss; and one which all lovers of their country, and friends to the peace and good order of society, must fervently pray against ever living to see practically moved. This right, however, was actually violated by Mr Pitt—by the very man who did not scruple to invade the first principles of the representative system on the opposite quarter, by taking the sense of the country on a particular measure. He was the first minister who ever dared abridge the rights of Englishmen to discuss their own affairs.

We are perfectly ready to admit, that very many well-meaning persons, friends of liberty, generally speaking, and lovers of the Constitution, submitted to this violent, and, in the worst sense of the word, revolutionary proceeding, through the alarms artfully excited in those bad times. Nor should we be disposed to make any allusion to that most dismal period in the history of the Constitution, but for the sake of warning all our countrymen against ever again submitting to such gross impostures. To these delusions, and to the suspension of popular rights effected through them, we assuredly owe the continuance of that system which has brought the country into its present condition—overwhelmed with debt, groaning under tribute, and surrounded by the ruins of allied dynasties, and the monuments of hostile triumphs.

When the laws against popular meetings (commonly and justly named the *Gagging Bills*) were introduced, an universal disposition had begun to manifest itself for peace. The war had utterly failed in attaining any one of the many objects which its slippery authors had proposed as the ground of it. France was not conquered—the Bourbons were not restored—Holland was not defended—Belgium was not reclaimed—the balance of power was not reestablished—and the gulph of bankruptcy, which used to yawn in France through the costly orations of the ministers, seemed shifting its positions a few points nearer the orators themselves. Meanwhile, tax after tax was imposed and submitted to—our trade was shackled—the prices of all articles were

on the rise,—a perpetual borrowing promised a long duration to the burthens successively thrown upon the country,—and with the money the best blood of the nation was lavished in unprofitable expeditions, which only served to signalize some illustrious branch of the Royal Family, or, at the most, to add a useless sugar island to our unwieldy empire:—All these things were very sensibly felt by the people, and they were beginning to evince the impression which was produced:—Meetings for peace were in agitation every where; and, before the session closed, one universal cry would have been raised for it, from North to South. Even in Scotland, where there is much less popular feeling than elsewhere, because there is no popular representation at all, it was quite plain that the sense of the people was strong, and would speedily have been expressed. How else can we explain the petitions against the gagging bills sent from this part of the kingdom, which was so little affected by them in ordinary times? We believe the one from Edinburgh had 20,000 signatures, and comprehended a prayer for peace also.

The courtiers saw these signs of the times, and knew the probable fate which awaited their favourite war. They proceeded therefore at once to remove the very corner stone of the Constitution, and made it no longer possible for the people to meet and deliberate on public measures, as it is their unquestionable right at all times, and often times their bounden duty to do. The expression of popular feeling was checked,—the mock-embassy of Lord Malmsbury was despatched,—the negotiations were broken off,—the war was renewed: and there being no longer any fear of control from the voice of those whose lives and properties were exhausted to feed it, onwards it went for year after year—as fruitless, as expensive as before—until another set of courtiers having quarrelled with its authors, thought they could turn a little popularity by making a peace—when there was nothing left to fight about, and scarce any thing to fight with. Now, we take the liberty of holding, that a clear and general expression of the popular opinion in favour of peace, by unrestrained, frequent, numerous meetings in all parts of the country, must necessarily have influenced the conduct of the government, and would have put a stop to the war some years before, or at all events would have put the sincerity of the enemy to a real test.—Does any one doubt that, at the least, such an expression of public opinion, would have procured us peace on Buonaparte's return from Egypt?—Yet the war lasted long enough after that, to produce the overthrow of the fortunes of Austria in Italy, and its invasion in Germany—to augment the glories of France by Hohenlinden and Marengo.

We have taken the question of war as an example only, though it is doubtless the most important one, of the benefits which result to the country from an unrestrained expression of popular opinion; and a proof how incumbent on the people the duty is—as imperious indeed as their right is indisputable—of freely canvassing and reporting to the government, their judgement on all important matters of state. It is essential to the freedom and stability of our happy constitution, as well as to the right administration of our affairs, that the people should have the practice of frequent public meetings, at which the discussion of their great interests may be undertaken, their voice raised boldly, yet peacefully, to the parliament and the prince; and their sentiments made known without reserve:—This practice, so far from being inimical to the representative system, or in the least degree inconsistent with it, flows naturally from it, and gives it life and vigour.

For surely it cannot be pretended, that the people of England are, only once in seven years (or in three years, supposing the constitution were restored), to exercise the right of interfering with the management of their affairs; and that this interference is to be confined rigorously to one function—the choice of their delegates. Were this the case, only see with what powers those delegates are invested, and consider both how impossible it would be to find persons worthy of so dreadful a trust—and how ridiculous to elect them for more than a few months. Then, indeed, the foolish sarcasm of Rousseau would have some meaning, that once in seven years the people of England are free—at all other times slaves. But if any further reasoning were required on this head, it might be sufficient to state, that a people limited to the exercise of this one function of election, must necessarily lose the capacity of making a fit choice; and, if it even retained the capacity, would very speedily be either cajoled or forced out of the exercise of it. The elective franchise—the whole system of representation—may safely be pronounced at an end, from the moment that the people confine themselves to the exercise of this one political function.

Again—Though we do not maintain that the representatives of the people are strictly the agents of their constituents, and bound, on each individual question, to follow their specific instructions—a doctrine wholly untenable, in our apprehension; yet he would err just as far on the other side, and in a far more dangerous kind, who should hold the representatives to be quite independent of the people, except at the moment of election. For this would be to maintain, that the government

of England is a mere oligarchy—and that the people exercising no voice in the administration of their affairs, limit themselves, in their politic capacity, to the bare performance of an empty triennial or septennial ceremony. This must strike every one who reflects how certainly a member's conduct would pass unnoticed, and be forgotten, at each succeeding election, if the mass of his constituents stood by, idle and listless, during the whole currency of the Parliament. But if this were not the consequence, and if the people retained their regard for public questions, and were resolved, as far as in them lay, to be consulted—and if we still suppose them only to interfere in the act of election; then an evil of an opposite kind, and scarcely less hurtful to the representative system, must infallibly arise;—the electors, unable to trust him whom they can neither watch nor control, will take care to choose such a man as may be tied down, regarding each vote he is to give, by previous stipulations:—And we ask the pretended friends to our Constitution, whether so niggardly and jealous a delegation of this important trust could ever answer the true ends of representation? One of these evils, however, is quite sure to happen. In the present state of the country, we rather dread the first; and we think it not only more imminent, but of a worse description—for it involves the loss of the elective system altogether.

We shall only stop to mention one other point of view in which the subject may be considered. Even if the duration of Parliaments were reduced to the constitutional period of three years; or if, as some learned and virtuous persons think, of one year—still, in the changeful scene of political affairs, unforeseen events arise, upon which the representative could not possibly have had a previous understanding with his constituents, and must be left wholly in the dark as to their feelings and opinions, and oftentimes as to their interests, if he has no opportunity of learning those by their own free and united deliberations. Some unexpected rupture with foreign powers—some novel measure affecting trade—some new invention in the art of taxing—some extraordinary stretch of prerogative; all these incidents may demand a communication between the Parliament and the people—which popular meetings alone can fully and safely maintain.

Hitherto we have been arguing, upon strict and admitted constitutional principles, to show the connexion between frequent popular meetings and the representative system. But, in our minds, there is a far more important view of the question, arising out of the indirect effects of such meetings, both in giving strength to the hands of the representative, and in setting

bounds directly to the encroachments of tyranny and misgovernment. This involves considerations so much more momentous than any we have been reviewing, that we must stop to dwell a little at large upon them. We are still, it may be premised, proceeding on the supposition, that the representation of the people is quite pure—and that, by a salutary reform, the practice of the constitution is restored to a correspondence with its principles; and we are showing that, in such a state of things, the frequent interference of the people is necessary to our liberties. We shall afterwards advert to the vast additional strength which the argument derives from the actual state of the Parliamentary representation.

Let us cast our eyes upon the real foundations of liberty in this country, as these are laid in the powers and privileges of Parliament. The question is, to what cause must we ascribe the control which Parliament has over the power of the Crown?—What makes the sovereign a limited monarch? He is master of a vast army, and a treasure scarcely calculable, if he pleases to divert it from the purposes for which it was granted. He has an influence, dangerous to liberty we must admit it to be, from patronage almost unbounded. Why is this influence not absolutely fatal? Why is military force, generally speaking, harmless? Why does the weight of this enormous treasure press so lightly upon our rights and privileges?—It cannot be maintained, that there is any thing very formidable to a tyrant in the physical force of six or seven hundred gentlemen, even if we add to the corps all their families and immediate dependants. Their influence—the power which their wealth gives them may be somewhat greater: but, divided and unorganized as they necessarily are, this can be nothing worth estimating in the scale. Their debates and resolutions may have weight—the weight of reason—the force of eloquence—the power of worth and character. But a file of grenadiers dispersed them once;—and if such coarse instruments were again to enter the house, we suspect they would again prove as deaf to the debate, as irresistible to the debaters. —But the members of the Parliament sit not in their individual capacity—they are the delegates of the whole people, and represent the people. An attack upon them is therefore an attack, not on six or seven hundred individuals, but on the nation at large.—All this is very true; but unfortunately it is only theory; and, practically considered, it sinks into a mere figure of speech, to which the armed affecter of despotism would be found extremely insensible. Then what stops his course—a course which in fact almost every prince has more or less desire to pursue—which on every sacred principle of the constitution we are bound to presume all princes may be prone to follow?—The answer

is perfectly obvious. He knows that the constituent will make common cause with the representative—that *the people* will side with the Parliament *—that the nation at large will resist—that the army will waver, perhaps suddenly desert him and cleave to the country. He knows that a project, so senseless on his part, would inevitably produce a state of things frightful to contemplate,—a necessity most hateful to all good men, but far more terrible to tyrants;—a necessity so very terrible, that it is quite sure never to occur. The doctrine of resistance, as was well observed by the first nobleman in the Empire, standing in his place as premier peer of England—the doctrine of resistance placed the present Royal family on the throne of these kingdoms—it is interwoven in the constitution: but it is a doctrine more fit to be inculcated on princes, than rashly instilled into the people.—It is a principle, said Mr Fox, which we should wish Kings never to forget, and their subjects seldom to remember.

Now, in every view which can be taken of this principle, whether we would prevent the necessity of recurring to it in practice, or derive all the advantages which the knowlege of its existence is fitted to bestow,—we must be satisfied, that the constant exertion of the popular voice is the surest means of avoiding the one, and attaining the other.

Let us only consider in what way the voice of the representative body may be made most effectual against the errors or the faults of the Executive. If that voice comes backed by the opinion of the country, supported not merely by the act of election, constituting the members, but by frequent expressions of popular opinion, evincing that the delegate really represents his constituent, surely no man can doubt that it must speak with tenfold force. It has often happened, that the resolutions of Parliament have been disregarded by the Crown: but when was it ever attempted by the boldest or the blindest rulers, to disregard the voice of Parliament, when the sense of the people was also loud in backing it?—Of late years we have had instances of ministers retained in office after the Parliament had declared their

* Some of the reasonings in this, and other parts of this article, may probably strike our readers as bearing a very near resemblance to those which have been already submitted to them, in the review of Mr Leckie's publication. That article, however, was printed off before the present was received; and while the general coincidence of sentiment may perhaps appear to afford some additional presumption of its justness, it may be proper to remark, that the former paper was devoted merely to clear *the genuine theory*, and legitimate practice of the Constitution, while this is intended to point out its existing hazards and natural securities.

incompetence. But then the people were silent, the tricks of their enemies had succeeded in beguiling them of their voice; for if that voice had been raised, it must have triumphed. This delusion, indeed, is one of the most notable ever practised. As long as it lasts, the existing minister is safe. He has the chance of procuring majorities; but, if he fails, he need not care:—until the people awaken from their apathy, he is secure, and the Parliament will speedily follow him. This is the very nature of such a body as our legislature. They may come to a resolution after many conflicts; but if the Crown stands out against that resolution, the concurrence of the country alone can prevent that which has always happened in such cases from happening again—the ultimate compliance of the Parliament, and the final victory of the Crown.

But, above all, those ought to patronize popular meetings, regular and free discussion of public affairs by the people themselves, who are apprehensive of violence; and dread—as all well disposed men must dread—the extremity of a conflict between the Crown and the country. To hasten such a deplorable issue, no better means could be devised by the mischief of man, than to retain the bulk of the community in thraldom by prohibitory laws, or by gross delusions to lull them into apathy—until, having kept them quiet and unthinking through a course of misrule, they are at length compelled to open their eyes by the extremity of their sufferings. To prevent or discourage popular meetings might well answer the purposes of bad governors—if the taxing machine were not going on all the while, grinding the nation down. It might be extremely safe, in the long-run, as well as comfortable for the present, to those whose interest it is that all should be kept silent, if there was the smallest chance that the storm of war could blow over the heads of the people without ever rousing them. But let it be remembered, that this is simply impossible—and that, sooner or later, the people must be awakened to their real condition. Now, we would put one plain consideration to any real friend of domestic peace and good order:—We are satisfied with this one view of the many that might be taken of the subject. While the war is only beginning, and news of victories come in from time to time, the cost is not thought of; or, if thought of, is soon lost in the glory. For some years all wars are but too popular. Then come a few reverses, and the people cease to like the business:—but their rulers as much as possible seek to withdraw their attention from the subject; and the game goes on in the hands of the Government for some years longer—the people remaining indifferent. It is part of the plan to impose the new burthens very

gradually, and in minute portions, for each article; so that each item, taken separately, almost escapes observation. Straw after straw the load is laid on; yet the Eastern proverb says, that the last straw breaks the back of the camel. While this process is pursued, there is no one point of time at which the patient creature, the People, can pause, more than at any other, and complain of being bent to the ground. Yet the process of loading goes on unceasingly, and must go on while the war continues. Does any one doubt that, in the end, endurance will cease? Can it be questioned, that they who have not been permitted to discuss the measures themselves, will at length quarrel with the price to be paid for them? Nothing can indeed be less reasonable than for those who have shown no objection to the war, to refuse paying the expenses of it;—and this is a very common observation against the people, when they begin to grumble at taxes. But the truth is, that for some years the people have been silent upon the war, only because the bad habit of never meeting to discuss public measures has become inveterate since its renewal. If popular assemblies had been frequent, the people, instead of quarrelling with the taxes, would have quarrelled with the war itself, and must have obtained such a change of measures as would have rendered those taxes unnecessary. But, admitting that the result of their discussions might have been favourable to the continuance of the war—is it not clear that, in this case, we should have obtained a guarantee against their ever showing violent opposition afterwards to the burthens rendered necessary by that war? And, even if they had shown decided indisposition to the war, but been disregarded by the government, would not the constant discussion of the subject at least have saved the peace and stability of the community from the great jeopardy in which they must be put, when suddenly, and for the first time, the sense of burthensome oppression rouses the nation, and unites it in opposition to a system, now for the first time, and too late, submitted to its full consideration? Far be it from us to be parties to such a delusion as recommending popular meetings as a means merely of carrying off the ill humours that prevail among the people. We wish to see those assemblies frequent and free, for their own sakes,—and because we know they will always produce the most salutary effects on the conduct of the Government. But it is also allowable to state, as an indirect good resulting from them, that they prepare the public mind for necessary sacrifices, and, by preventing surprises, are highly favourable to public tranquillity, in the only sound and enlarged sense of the word.

We have all along been reasoning upon the supposition that

the Parliament is really, and not in name only, a representation of the people—that its members are chosen by the nation at large—that its deliberations are the result of discussions among delegates appointed by those whose business they are to manage—that the choice of them is free, and the trust so often renewed, as to give the elector, by the mere act of election or rejection, some control over the deputy—that the representative body consists of persons sent, on the part of the nation, to resist the encroachments of the Crown and the Aristocracy, and not in any considerable number, of persons chosen by the Crown and Aristocracy to play into their hands, and betray the people under the disguise of their trustees. But how greatly is the force of the argument increased by the actual state of the representation? Who shall say that a parliament, chosen as ours really is, requires no looking after? Who shall tell us that the Crown requires no watching from the people themselves, when their regular watchmen are some of them named, and more of them paid, by the Crown itself? Who shall be permitted to question the necessity of the people deliberating about their own affairs in their own persons, when such vast masses of them are wholly deprived of the elective franchise, and destitute of any semblance of representatives to speak their wishes, or transact their business?

The history of last session, fruitful as it is in lessons of political wisdom, offers none more striking than the one which it reads to us upon this important subject. The most weighty interests discussed in Parliament were those of the manufacturing districts. The bread of hundreds of thousands was in question; and the two Houses were occupied for many weeks in discussing their grievances. Those persons composed the population of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Wakefield, Halifax, Boulton, Bury, Glasgow, and other places. Not one of those towns, some of them containing 100,000 inhabitants, has a single representative in Parliament, except Glasgow;—and Glasgow is *represented* (if the abuse of language may be tolerated) by its corporation uniting with three other corporations, and the whole four sets of magistrates chusing one member; but so that the other three at all times (and two of them every other Parliament) may return the member, and leave Glasgow wholly out of the question. Now, in what manner could those great and most important bodies of men have made themselves heard but through the public meetings, which they wisely and constitutionally held to discuss their grievances? In no other way could they have each obtained a hearing, or established a correspondence with a temporary representative:—But surely in

no other way could they have gained the point which they did so nobly carry with the Legislature and the Executive Government. In specifying these towns, we have enumerated the greater part, by far, of the manufacturing interests of England;—and they are all without local representatives in Parliament. Is it asking too much, to demand that they may use freely the only means left them of sharing in the public councils—of influencing the measures for which they pay so dearly in all ways—and assemble from time to time, in order to communicate with each other, and with the Government, upon the matters so imminently affecting them? In truth, while so many vast branches of the community are wholly deprived of all share in the representation—while so many members of Parliament owe their existence to private nomination—while the electors, who exercise their franchise the most amply, have only an opportunity once in six or seven years of changing their delegate—and while the enormous patronage vested in the Crown, strews with tempting baits the whole floor of the House, and besets every avenue to it with promises and threats—he must be a stubborn lover of despotism indeed, who can deny that the people betray their own cause, and have themselves to blame for the mismanagement of their affairs, if they cease to discuss and speak out their own minds upon all fit occasions. Such a Parliament *must* be *aided* by the watchful eyes of the country. If the people slumber themselves, let them not vainly hope that their *representatives* will be very vigilant, or very successful in the public cause, whatever they may be in their own.

Whence, then, it may be asked, arises the dislike of popular meetings, too prevalent not merely among the natural enemies of the people, or among persons honestly, yet most groundlessly, alarmed at the apprehensions of violent proceedings, but among many real friends to popular rights, and to the best interests of the Constitution? Careless as we should be of opposition from hostile quarters, we are extremely anxious to reason a little with persons of this cast; because the utmost respect is due to their scruples,—and we are confident they may be removed.

Their apprehensions arise, we suspect, in a great degree from fastidiousness of taste. They dislike the kind of oratory which is, we presume to say, most absurdly believed to be necessary in popular meetings; and they are still more averse to the unworthy arts which men too often practise for the sake of popular favour. Now, let it once for all be understood distinctly, that with respect to any such arts—and generally with respect to any tricks or deceptions which men of honour would shrink from in any other circumstances—we hold them all in equal abhorrence when used for compassing

objects with the people. Of these, then, there is no question here; but indeed we fancy their usefulness is much overrated, especially with a well informed and rational people; and of this there can be little doubt, that the more the people were accustomed to assemble and deliberate on their concerns, the less easy would it become to entrap their understandings by such base means. Nor is this remark altogether inapplicable to the species of eloquence with which popular assemblies may be addressed. Why a man of sense should not speak to two or three thousand persons of ordinary understandings the same things which he would say to two or three hundred, in the same plain and rational manner, seems difficult to conceive.—But they are, many of them, perhaps most of them, vulgar and illiterate.—He who urges this, must forgive us for reminding him, that some of the finest orations of modern times have been addressed to twelve common jurors; and spoken before an audience, the bulk of which was of no higher description. The people are grievously underrated in all these remarks. We shall not go back to the assemblies of Greece and Rome—nor ask for whose taste—for whose ear—the divine orations of the ancients were composed;—nor remind the reader of the proverbial fickleness and volatility of the Athenian * multitude, that is, the audience of Demosthenes,—or the gross ignorance and barbarism of the *Quirites*—we might say, of the *Patres Conscripti* also. But we would ask, if the diffusion of knowledge—the constant habit of reading, and of reading on political subjects—the greater morality and decorum of modern manners—the peaceful demeanour of men who bear the part of citizens and not soldiers—if these circumstances are not well calculated to prepare an English public meeting for behaving with dignity, and for listening with satisfaction and intelligence to the discourses of well-informed and rational men, who may treat them, not as children, but as judges; and give them credit for preferring sense to nonsense? It is common to speak of the *balderdash* which men *must* talk at popular meetings. If the auxiliary verb were changed, and we were asked to laugh at what they *do* talk there, there might be more reason in the thing: though, even then, that matter would be exaggerated by a good deal. But the necessity of either speaking nonsense, or declaiming in bad taste at such assemblies, we profess ourselves unable to dis-

* When Alcibiades was making his first speech before them, it is well known, that a bird happened to escape from his bosom, where he had confined it; and straightway the whole audience got up and run after it.

cover. The truth seems to be, that our patriots think they must speak one language in Parliament, and another to the people: whereas, if there were no such thing as a Parliament, and they yet attended popular meetings, they would deliver to those the same speeches, or very nearly so, which they now reserve for the precincts of Westminster. There is no surer way to debase any person in reality, than treating him as if he were base already; and a more effectual method of lowering the taste of the people cannot be devised, than to compound such articles for their use as offend against every rule of correctness, and outrage every feeling of refinement. But when did the experiment ever fail, when, treating the people like a large body of sensitive and yet intelligent beings, you addressed to them, in the language of delicacy, the arguments and statements which illustrated an important topic? When were they either found inattentive, or benighted, or disposed to laugh at your refinements? We will venture to assert, that the most brilliant speeches of either Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, or Lord Erskine, might with perfect safety have been committed to any popular assembly in the city of Westminster.

This topic is by no means one of mere curiosity; it is intimately connected with our present discussion. As long as popular meetings are shunned by the more enlightened members of society, they must want much of the respectability and effect which they ought to have; and the fear of either failing to gratify and instruct such an audience, or of descending too low to gain this end, is apt to scare those whose patriotism would otherwise lead them thither, and whose talents might there be exerted to the lasting benefit of their country. We are endeavouring to show, that no such lowering of a man's faculties is required, and that success is attainable without any sacrifice at all.

Public meetings, such as we are now alluding to, have of late years, we suspect, fallen into a degree of contempt, in which they were never before held. Some of the causes of this, we have already glanced at. The alarms purposely excited against such meetings during last war, and propagated among numbers of honest believers, have in a good measure subsided. The laws which virtually prevented them have expired. Let us hope then that the fastidiousness we have been speaking of will no longer prevent the most upright and enlightened men in the community from coming forward and performing a duty sacred and paramount to the people, and only, from misconception, disagreeable to themselves. We ask for no compromise of principles—no unworthy concessions—no violations of feeling or

even of taste—But we live in England; and we dislike the sickly, foreign squeamishness, as much as we despise the slavish fears, which estrange popular men from an honest intercourse with the people, and prevent true patriots from leading on the strength of the country against its oppressors.

Are examples wanting of such popular courses taken by approved and regular statesmen? We will not refer to such men as Wilkes and Horne Tooke; though we believe, if their principles had only been as pure as their manners were refined, and their habits, both of thought and speech, classical, the most severe moralist and correct politician must have been satisfied. Neither will we say any thing of living examples; because so odious a topic may well be avoided. But we have now lying before us a volume of Mr Burke's works, one half of which is made up of speeches delivered by him to the people at Bristol, and afterwards corrected, or rather written and published by himself, and of letters written to them. One of those speeches, among the first he ever made, occupies about a hundred pages of the volume. To be sure, it was connected with his election there:—But will the greatest enemy of popular measures pretend to say, that the people are fit to be spoken to only once in seven years—only when some favour is to be asked at their hands? Mr Burke was incapable of such meanness and ingratitude. This, most assuredly, is an argument *he* never would have urged; and indeed he has expressed his sentiments upon the general subject so strongly and clearly, in a letter to the Chairman of the Buckinghamshire County Meeting of 1780, printed in the last volume of his works, that we cannot resist the temptation of extracting the passage. It is on occasion of no less a subject than a proposal for shortening the duration of Parliament.

'I most heartily wish,' says Mr Burke, 'that the deliberate sense of the kingdom on this great subject should be known. When it is known, it *must* be prevalent. It would be dreadful indeed, if there was any power in the nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, *or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people.* The people may be deceived in their choice of an object. But I can scarcely conceive any choice they can make to be so very mischievous as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it. It will certainly be the duty of every man in the situation to which God has called him, to give his best opinion and advice upon the matter; it will *not* be his duty, let him think what he will, to use any violent or any fraudulent means of counteracting the general wish, or even of employing the legal and constructive organ of expressing *the people's sense* against the sense which they do actually entertain.

'In order that *the real sense of the people* should be known upon

so great an affair as this, it is of absolute necessity that timely notice should be given;—that the matter should be prepared *in open Committees*,—from a choice into which *no class or description of men is to be excluded*—and the subsequent County Meetings should be as full and as well attended as possible. Without these precautions, *the true sense of the people will ever be uncertain.* Sure I am, that no precipitate resolution, on a great change in the fundamental Constitution of any country, can ever be called *the real sense of the people.*' Vol. V. p. 229.

We believe few men can be named of more fastidious taste—more averse to spreading delusions—to vain courting of popularity—whose nature was more abhorrent to every species of mummery and empiricism—than Mr Fox. His conduct however towards the people, even the populace of the country, is well known; and for his frequent and hearty participation in their assemblies, all our readers may recollect how his enemies attempted to attack and traduce him. In the debates on the Gagging Bills, we have repeated examples of this. Mr Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), a very natural hater of such proceedings, * and aware, it should seem, of what he had to dread from them, inveighed bitterly against that illustrious man for his '*appeals to the people.*'—'He displayed,' said Mr Dundas, 'the most extraordinary willingness to resort to them; 'so that it frequently happened that he was, without the doors 'of the House, attacking ministers with invective and asperity, 'one half of the day, where they had no means of defending 'themselves; and during the other half combating them with 'the utmost inveteracy within these walls.'—'At one time,' (added this facetious courtier) 'in order to excite the indigna-'tion of the people against ministers for their prosecution of the 'American war, Mr Fox had displayed his oratorical talents 'on a stage, erected for that purpose, in Westminster Hall.' —To this, and many other *matters* of the like kind, how did the Man of the People make answer?—By denying the charges?—by explaining away the facts?—by attempting to show that he only addressed his constituents as such—or that his speeches to the electors of Westminster were delivered to them in that capacity?—Nothing of all this. He boldly and manfully met the charge with an admission of the facts, and a broad, anxious avowal of his conduct. He said, that 'it was the duty of 'every man, and particularly of every member of Parliament,

* The last time the writer of this article had the fortune to see Mr Fox at a Westminster Meeting, he was in the act of addressing the people, in Palace Yard, on the subject of Lord Melville's misadventure.

'when the conduct of the Executive Government was called in 'question, to represent the characters and conduct of minis-'ters in their true colours.' And he plainly reminded the House of Mr Pitt's eloquent speeches, in which he had formerly described *harangues to the people*, as '*the best and most* '*useful duty which representatives in Parliament could discharge* '*to their constituents.*'—In truth, Mr Pitt did not disdain to court the people, at the beginning of his life, by speeches, as well as by professions; and his successors in the present day are strictly justified by his example—at least his early example—in promulgating their opinions during the season of civic conviviality.—But we have said enough on the subject of precedents. We are willing to fling away the authority of Mr Burke and Mr Pitt—and to rest on that of Mr Fox alone: And, with his great example before our eyes, who amongst us shall be so timid, or so delicate, as to refuse lending our aid to the popular cause in the manner most consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and the character of the English nation?

We have reserved for the last place, a remark arising out of the objections urged to popular meetings; because we conceive that it conducts us to the most commanding view of the subject which has yet been taken. The objects of such proceedings, it is said, are nugatory: For, after discussing the matters in hand, either before hearers who are already convinced, or whom no arguments can be expected to move, whether the measure is carried or lost, nothing substantial is gained—the best that can happen being, that some address should be carried, which the Crown or the Parliament may never read—or some resolutions come to, which will neither bind those who pass them, nor gain converts among the rest of the community.

Now, having stated this objection as fully and strongly as we are able, we must proceed to observe, that we partly deny the matter of fact on which it is founded. We contend, that the debates carried on in popular meetings may, and frequently do, sway the voices of those present. But we are willing to pass from this, and to grant, that full and free discussion is the grand object of such proceedings; and then we say, that he who maintains the objections to them which we are now handling, must be prepared to make another step, and to grant that all the debates in Parliament might be safely—and, if safely, sure we are, most advantageously, omitted, for the purpose of coming at the vote; unless, indeed, some yet severer critic—some more sturdy Pythagorean should also be for dispensing with the vote as a ceremony in general wholly superfluous. For in truth, who is so romantic as to

fancy that all the speaking in any one parliamentary debate ever influenced half a dozen of votes?—Who is ignorant that, each time a member brings forward a measure, and asks the ear of the House, he knows full well how the House, after hearing, will decide? Yet it is generally thought that those debates are of some use to the country, and in some degree beneficial in the conduct of public affairs.—In what way, then, are they so?—They affect the government indirectly. If they have no influence on the business immediately in hand, they appeal to the country—that is, to the sense of the people; they confound by that appeal many a bad minister, and prevent many a bad measure from being persisted in, and even propounded, which would, if pressed on the consideration of Parliament alone, be secure of its willing support. The speeches which men make in Parliament, decide their character in that body, and in the country; their weight with both is settled by the general conduct which they maintain, and the talents they on the whole display. But their weight *in* the legislature would be of no earthly moment—it would not be worth the trouble of computing, if the Houses deliberated with close doors, and the country was at once deaf to their proceedings, and dumb in its own behalf. Practically considered, the debates in parliament are a regular series of appeals to the people, of discussions for the benefit of the country, in the conduct of which no man of sense or honour will indeed ever lower himself to catch at a false and fleeting popularity, by making either his taste or his opinions bend to the gusts of public applause, but which produce in reality all the effect whereof they are capable, through the voice and influence of the people—that people which, how often soever it may err upon particular occasions, or be misled by temporary delusions, is never very long blind to political truth; because it cannot be long deceived regarding its own interests—the primary object of all political discussion. Now if these views of the uses and ends of Parliamentary discussion are just, and we believe they are universally admitted by persons of all descriptions, we challenge any man to show the distinction between the benefits of those debates, and the benefits which we expect to see result from the free communication of public opinion, and the influence of the public voice, through the medium of popular meetings.

We have written upon this subject with earnestness, because we deeply feel its importance. In conclusion, we shall only observe, that if there is a ray of hope at present in any part of the political horizon, it assuredly breaks in from the quarter to which we have been addressing ourselves—the good sense and increas-

ed information of the people. We believe them to be sound, and incorruptible; we would fain hope that the reign of delusion is over; and all our fear is, lest it should be succeeded by that of apathy and despair. From this too, however, there are certain signs of our being secured. We mentioned in our last Number the cheering example held out by the people of Westminster, who always have given the tone, as it is their right and duty to give, through the rest of the country.—The late elections have shown that the spirit of freedom is not confined to the Metropolis. It would be inconsistent with the general nature of this discourse to give instances:—But we must again turn to the free and enlightened people of Westminster; and bid both the supporters of the Constitution, and the wellwishers to the Popular cause, look to *them* at once for example and for comfort.

ART. IX. PRINCIPES MATHEMATIQUES *de feu* JOSEPH-ANASTASE DA CUNHA. *Traduits litteralement du Portugais par* J. M. D'ABREU. 8vo. A Bordeaux, 1811.

THIS is the first scientific work that has come to us from Portugal; and we are glad to find it such as would do no discredit to the countries most renowned for philosophical acquirements. The author was a native of Lisbon, and Professor of the Mathematics in the University of Coimbra. He died in 1787, and corrected the last sheet of the original of this work on the evening before his death. He left behind him several manuscripts on various interesting subjects in the Mathematics, some of the titles of which are mentioned in the Translator's Preface, viz. a Preliminary Discourse on the first Elements of Geometry; on Powers and Logarithms, which appears to have been written in English; on the Roots of Equations; on the Mathematical Idea of Infinite; against the Method of Prime and Ultimate Ratios, or the Nascent and Evanescent Quantities of Newton; Preface to the Theory of Fluxions, &c.;—all which are in the possession of M. D'Abreu, as he himself informs us.

The present work is an elementary treatise on the different branches of the Mathematics, from the Axioms of Geometry to the Problems in the Integral Calculus; and, to comprehend all this in 299 octavo pages, was no doubt an undertaking of very considerable difficulty. The execution, though certainly liable to some objections, on the whole is highly deserving of commendation; and the book forms a very useful and concise digest of Mathematical learning.

It must however naturally occur, that copious illustration, or extensive development of the principles of science, is not to be expected in a volume of this magnitude. The work is evidently intended to serve as a text, which an intelligent and skilful master may read with his pupil, following the order and method of his author; but furnishing many illustrations, and supplying many steps of the reasonings from his own ingenuity. 'It is 'evident,' says the Translator, 'that M. da Cunha, in seeking to unite in one volume, without omissions, and without 'repetitions, the severity of the ancient geometry with the rapidity of the modern calculus, has had it in view to exercise 'the attention of Professors, no less than of their Pupils; and 'the improvement of the one, does not indeed interest the 'public less than the progress of the other.' The truth accordingly is, that a very intelligent tutor, more intelligent certainly than is always to be met with, would be required to read over the whole of this volume with his scholars. We agree, however, with the Translator, that it would prove a very useful exercise for both.

A strict attention to a rigid logic is evident throughout the work; but in order to attain this object, the author has made, in many cases, what we consider as no small sacrifice, by substituting, even in Algebra, the synthetical for the analytical method of reasoning. It is only by exercise in the latter that the inventive powers are unfolded or exercised, and both the reason and imagination accustomed to the path of discovery; so that nothing but the most urgent necessity should induce an author to depart from it.

The work is divided into twenty-one books; in treating of which, we shall only notice what seems remarkable, either as an excellence or a defect. The first book begins, of course, with the Elements of Geometry; and the first definition is that of a Point, which is said to be a *body*, of which the length may be neglected without any sensible inconvenience. In like manner a Line is defined—a body, the length of which cannot be neglected without a sensible error; and a Surface—a body of which the thickness only may be neglected. We must say that we cannot consider these definitions as correct. The phrase, *sensible error*, is exceedingly vague; and any attempt to give it more precision, leads immediately to Euclid's definitions, according to which a point has no magnitude; a line is length without breadth, and a surface length and breadth without thickness. There is something however to be said for our author's manner of proceeding. A definition, in which the *genus* of the thing defined is not named, is contrary to all the ideas of

logical precision. If we must say to what class of objects a point belongs, there is no resource but to call it a *body*, or a *solid*; and as it cannot be either of these without magnitude, we can only say that it has a magnitude which may be neglected without inconvenience. The other definitions may be expressed in a similar manner; and though this way of treating the subject is less correct than that of Euclid, it has the advantage of being easily intelligible, of requiring no effort of abstraction, and of being therefore accommodated to the case of young people, or to those who have been little accustomed to metaphysical refinement.

The definition of a Straight Line is very well conceived. Straight lines are those which cannot enclose a space when two of them meet one another. An objection to this definition, which however is no better than a mere cavil, will be made by some, viz. that it is a definition, not of *a straight line*, but of *straight lines*. This may be easily obviated, by saying, if two lines cannot be so placed, as to enclose a space between them, each of them is a straight line. This is exactly Euclid's idea of a straight line; and forms into a definition that which he gave as an axiom. Of the two methods that of the Portuguese geometer is certainly the most correct.

The definition of a Plane is not materially different from Euclid's, but is less simple. It is called a surface, which cannot contain any space between it and a straight line, however placed.

The definition of an Angle is somewhat different from the common, but has much the same imperfection; it is the figure which two lines form when they terminate in the same point.

The eighth definition is that of a Rectilineal Angle; and here we think a foundation is laid for a very exceptionable method of investigating the properties of angles. It is that of taking an arch of a circle for the *value* or *measure* of an angle, without defining what is meant by a measure or a value. The properties of angles ought to be ascertained, in the first place, by the immediate comparison of the angles themselves. The logic of Euclid, in what respects angles, and the arches on which they stand, is perfectly correct; and the only improvement we think of which it admits, is that of being rendered a little more concise, which we are convinced may easily be done, without taking any thing from the strictness of the reasoning.

Our author defines a Rectangle to be a quadrilateral having four right angles; a definition of which Professor Leslie has very well remarked the incorrectness, as was noticed in the last Number of this Journal.

The manner of treating Parallel Lines has been very various

among elementary writers, and hardly in any case has been out of the reach of objection. The axiom on which M. Da Cunha founds the doctrine of parallel lines, is the same with Euclid's: he has nevertheless made a considerable improvement in the manner of deducing the properties of those lines, as we shall presently have occasion to remark.

The first proposition is the same with Euclid's, viz. to construct an equilateral triangle; and indeed there is no great departure from the method of the Greek geometer, till the eighth proposition, viz. that if straight lines make the alternate angles with a third line equal to one another, these lines are parallel. The method of demonstrating this proposition employed by Euclid, requires that it should be previously shown that two angles of a triangle are less than two right angles; and this leads into a sort of digression, or at least a circuitous route which it might be desirable to avoid, because the proposition just quoted is involved in one to be demonstrated afterwards, and is there rendered much more precise, viz. that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. M. Da Cunha demonstrates the properties of parallels just mentioned, without the subsidiary proposition which Euclid was obliged to go so far out of his road in order to obtain, and has thereby very much simplified this part of the Elements. This is the circumstance, in the first book, which appears to us most worthy of notice; and it is without doubt a considerable improvement in elementary geometry. The book consists of 16 propositions and their corollaries; and proceeds as far as to demonstrate, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles; and to prove that, when the opposite sides of a quadrilateral are equal and parallel, the quadrilateral is a parallelogram. In this proposition, however, we must remark an inaccuracy. If the opposite sides of a quadrilateral are equal, they are necessarily parallel: so the proposition ought to have been, that if the opposite sides of a quadrilateral are equal, they are also parallel, and the quadrilateral is a parallelogram.

The second book treats of the Circle, and consists only of nine propositions, and is confined to some of the more obvious properties of that curve. The third treats of Proportion; and as every attempt to unite accuracy and precision in considering that subject deserves attention, the method of our author is worthy of notice. The definition which is the foundation of it is this.—*If several antecedents and their consequents are such, that none of the antecedents can contain a submultiple of its consequent, oftener than any other antecedent contains a similar submultiple of its consequent, these numbers are called proportionals.*

This definition seems to us to have great merit, as it conveys the same idea with Euclid's definition in a much simpler form, so as to be both more easily understood and more easily remembered. It may be brought still nearer to Euclid's definition, however, and we think with some additional advantage in point of simplicity, as follows—If in a series of quantities an antecedent cannot be found oftener in a multiple of its consequent than any other antecedent is found in the same multiple of its consequent, the quantities are proportionals.

We have very little hesitation about saying, that the definition of proportion, as last given, is the simplest that is consistent with the universality and accuracy of demonstration. It has the advantage over Euclid's of stating only one hypothesis concerning the relation of the multiples of the antecedents and their consequents; whereas Euclid states three, corresponding to the relations of Majority, Equality, and Minority. One of these is sufficient, if it be properly introduced;—and the idea of proportion is thus kept nearer to that which we obtain from arithmetical calculation, or from the division of one number by another.

The doctrine of proportion derived from the first of these definitions is contained in eleven propositions, which do not indeed amount to a full enumeration of the properties of proportionals, though they lay a foundation from which the rest may be derived with little trouble. They appear to us to be quite logically and rigorously deduced, and that too with great simplicity. It is perhaps needless to observe that these demonstrations extend to quantities that are not, as well as those that are, commensurable; the definition of proportionals being obviously calculated to render the demonstrations applicable to both cases. The elementary propositions here deduced, relate chiefly to the inversion, alternation, and other different ways of arranging the same series of proportionals; and we think our author has extricated himself from the difficulties of his subject, which are certainly very considerable, with great skill and success. The fourth book contains the elements of arithmetic; and what regards proportion in numbers is deduced from the properties of proportionals above explained. Here, also, by generalizing the notation of number, or denoting numbers by letters, the foundations of algebra are laid, and the arithmetic of fractions, both decimal and continued, is explained. This book is much longer than any of the preceding, and contains 23 propositions with their corollaries.

The extraction of roots is treated in the 20th and 21st propositions. The subject is handled with remarkable brevity and

clearness; and we do not remember to have seen the principle and practice of the method more briefly and clearly explained in any elementary treatise whatsoever. In these points, and they are not of small importance, we conceive that the Portuguese author can hardly be excelled.

The properties of similar triangles are treated of in the fifth book. The intersection of planes, and some properties of the parallelopiped and the prism, are the subjects of the sixth. The seventh relates to the circle. The eighth explains the fundamental operations of algebra. The idea of negative quantities is here first introduced; but we do not observe that there is any thing particular in the manner of treating it.

The arithmetic of Powers, as delivered in the ninth book, is one of the great peculiarities in our author's method, but is hardly to be explained without making more use of algebra than is suited to the character of our Journal. The definition of a power is this. Let a and b be any two numbers, and let c be a third number, such that $1 + c + \frac{cc}{2} + \frac{ccc}{2.3} +$ &c. $= a$, then the series $1 + bc + \frac{bbcc}{2} + \frac{bbbccc}{2.3} +$ &c. is denoted by a^b, and is called the Power of a indicated by the exponent b.

This definition of a power, it will be readily allowed, is quite singular; and we cannot admit that the inconveniency of following the ordinary method is such as to justify so great an innovation. It becomes difficult to demonstrate in this way that aaa is a power of a, or that powers are formed by the repeated multiplication of the same number into itself. Yet this is the simplest idea of a power, and that, from the generalization of which, the whole doctrine is usually derived. Thus, if the exponent be an integer as m, then a^m is a multiplied into itself as many times as there are units in $m - 1$. If the expression is $a^{\frac{1}{m}}$ this signifies a quantity which, if multiplied into itself m times, would produce a. If the expression is $a^{\frac{m}{n}}$, then calling its value b, $a^m = b^n$, that is, b is a number which, if multiplied into itself $(n - 1)$ times, is equal to a multiplied into itself $m - 1$ times. Thus, the idea of a power in its most general form is deduced from the simple arithmetical process of multiplication. The idea which our author would substitute for this, though it may, by a great deal of reasoning, be proved to be the same, is infinitely more complicated at the first outset. His reason no doubt for

preferring the method he has pursued, is, that it seems so immediately connected with the Binomial Theorem, and the doctrine of Logarithms. This, however, is counterbalanced by the disadvantages already mentioned, and by the additional one of leading to demonstrations that are synthetical, and little calculated to exercise the powers of invention.

We do not think that this inversion of method was necessary for the purpose of demonstrating either the Binomial Theorem, or the series for Logarithms and Exponentials, all which have already been deduced from the usual notion of powers, by more than one author, with great accuracy and simplicity of reasoning. We would particularly refer our readers to a work, not so much known in this country as it ought to be, viz. *Principiorum Calculi differentialis et Integralis Expositio Elementaris*, by Simon L'Huilier * professor of mathematics at Geneva. Several excellent demonstrations of the Binomial theorem have also been given by Euler. One of the most elegant of these is to be found in La Croix, *Complement des Elemens d'Algebre*, sect. 65, where it is followed by another from the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1796, hardly less commendable.

On the whole, therefore, though we cannot but praise the ingenuity and the skill that appear in the demonstrations of the ninth book, and the attention to strict and logical argumentation, of which the author seldom loses sight, we must regret a want of simplicity, a great deviation from the natural path of discovery, and the substitution of synthetical proof for analytical investigation.

The tenth book treats of the roots of equations, and gives a very distinct and accurate account of them, free from several of the difficulties that occur in this part of Algebra. If such a quantity as $x^3+a\,x^2+b\,x+c$ is reduced into three simple binomial factors, so as to be equal to $(x-\alpha)(x-\beta)(x-\gamma)$, α, β, γ are said to be roots of the given quadrinomial. Here then is no difficulty about negative roots; because, when any of the simple factors becomes of the form $x+\beta$, then the root β is accounted negative.

In this way the difficulty about imaginary roots is also removed. The roots of a Polynomial, if they can be found by any general method, must be of a certain form, so as to depend on the coefficients a, b, c, d, &c. or to be deduced from them according to a certain system of operations. Now, this form and

* Introduction, p. 5. &c.

these operations become impossible when the coefficients are related, in a particular manner to one another, and in that case the root of the Polynomial has no real value. A paradox still remains behind. Now, does this impossible root admit of arithmetical operations being applied to it, as if it actually denoted quantity? and how comes it, that when so treated, it leads to true and useful conclusions concerning quantities that really exist? The solution of this difficulty is not considered by our author, and indeed does not belong to the elements of the science.

In the 10th book are contained several methods, of which the demonstrations are reserved to a subsequent part of the work. Thus, the 6th proposition of the 10th, is Cardan's rule for the solution of cubic equations: but the demonstration is not given till the 21st book, p. 288. The reason of this proceeding does not appear. The method of approximating to the roots of equations is also contained in the 10th book.

We shall pass over the intermediate books, as not containing any thing of which the method is very different from that which is usually followed; till we come to the 15th, which treats of the method of Fluxions. Here the definition of a fluxion is very difficult to be understood, and such as we think, to a learner, must be quite incomprehensible. We do not indeed remember to have seen a definition, accounted elementary, which is involved in so much obscurity, or which requires so much previous instruction to render it intelligible. It contains in it, indeed, the idea of a Fluxion; but to discover what it contains, requires one to be already familiar with the calculus. How much better it would have been, to call the fluxion of any function *the first term of the increment of that function*, which, after all, is the idea meant to be conveyed. The fault of introducing synthetical demonstrations occurs here again; we remark, however, a demonstration that has merit, viz. that the infinite series $Ax + Bx^2 + Cx^3$, &c. &c. is infinitely small when x is infinitely small. The proof is satisfactory, and we believe new.

Trigonometry is not introduced till the 16th book; and it is then only analytical trigonometry, and not that which treats of the arithmetical solution of the cases of plane and spherical triangles. This is referred to the end of the book; and is treated in a manner much too general and concise to be of much practical utility.

In the 17th book the method of drawing tangents to curves is considered; and some properties of the conic sections are also deduced, and of the radius of curvature. The method of finding fluents is delivered in the 18th, and a number of curious theo-

rems are laid down;—and here also is introduced something on the arithmetic of impossible quantities. The obscurity of the original idea of a fluxion contributes to render all this part much darker than it ought to be.

The 20th book contains the doctrine of finite differences, which is given, we think, very distinctly, and in a manner that may be truly useful, always making an allowance for the extreme conciseness of the work. The best treatise on this subject which we know of, that can be considered as quite elementary, is one by the Abbé Bossut, contained in the *Encyclopedie Methodique*, to which the treatise here given has a considerable resemblance. The 21st book demonstrates several propositions before referred to, such as the investigation of Cardan's rule, the investigation of the Binomial theorem, and certain propositions concerning fluents. It concludes with theorems relating to the *maxima* and *minima* of variable quantities, some of which are of the most difficult kind, —that, viz. where the quantity that is to be a *maximum* or a *minimum*, is not expressed as a finite algebraic *function*. This includes the very difficult problems called *Isoperimetrical*; so that this small volume comprehends the elements of the pure mathematical sciences, from the Axioms of Geometry up to some of the highest parts of the Integral Calculus.

Though we have stated several objections to the work, we admit that it has great merit on the whole, and may be very useful to two classes of readers; 1*mo*, To the students who attend the prelections of a master, to whom it serves as a text-book; and, 2*do*, To those who are already instructed in the mathematics, but wish to have at hand a portable compendium for reminding them of those formulas and demonstrations which may have escaped their recollection. The work to which that before us may be most readily compared, is the elementary treatise of the Abbé de la Caille, equally comprehensive, and hardly less concise. The French author does not so much affect originality of method as the Portuguese; and on that account perhaps his work is the more useful. In clearness it very much excels the other; and is, we believe, the best compendium of mathematical science, in the same compass, which has yet been given to the world. To be second to La Caille's treatise, amounts to high praise; and we have great pleasure in bestowing this encomium on the production of a country from which the sciences have not hitherto received much of their improvement.

ART. X. *Rejected Addresses; or the New Theatrum Poetarum.* 12mo. pp. 126. London, 1812.

AFTER all the learning, wrangling, and solemn exhortation of our preceding pages, we think we may venture to treat our readers with a little morsel of town-made gayety, without any great derogation from our established character for seriousness and contempt of trifles. We are aware, indeed, that there is no way by which we could so certainly ingratiate ourselves with our provincial readers, as by dealing largely in such articles; and we can assure them, that if we have not hitherto indulged them very often in this manner, it is only because we have not often met with any thing nearly so good as the little volume before us. We have seen nothing comparable to it indeed since the publication of the poetry of the Antijacobin; and though it wants the high seasoning of politics and personality, which no doubt contributed much to the currency of that celebrated collection, we are not sure that it does not exhibit, on the whole, a still more exquisite talent of imitation, with powers of poetical composition that are scarcely inferior.

We must not forget however to inform our country readers, that these 'Rejected Addresses' are merely a series of imitations of the style and manner of the most celebrated living writers—who are here supposed to have tried their hands at an address to be spoken at the opening of the New Theatre in Drury-Lane—in the hope, we presume, of obtaining the twenty pound prize which the munificent managers are said to have held out to the successful candidate. The names of the imaginary competitors, whose works are now offered to the public, are only indicated by their initials; and there are one or two which we really do not know how to fill up. By far the greater part, however, are such as cannot possibly be mistaken; and no reader of Scott, Crabbe, Southey, Wordsworth, Lewis, Moore, or Spencer, could require the aid, even of their initials, to recognize them in their portraits. Coleridge, Coleman, and Lord Byron, are not quite such striking likenesses. Of Dr Busby's and Mr Fitzgerald's, we do not hold ourselves qualified to judge —not professing to be deeply read in the works of these originals. There is a prose address however from Mr Cobbett, which is admirable—one from the Editor of the Morning Post, which was scarcely worth making—and one from the ghost of Samuel Johnson, which is more unequal than most of the others. The total number is twenty-one.

There is no talent so universally entertaining as that of mimickry—even when it is confined to the lively imitation of the

air and manner—the voice, gait, and external deportment of ordinary individuals. Nor is this to be ascribed entirely to our wicked love of ridicule; for, though we must not assign a very high intellectual rank to an art which is said to have attained to its greatest perfection among the savages of New Holland, some admiration is undoubtedly due to the capacity of nice observation which it implies; and some gratification may be innocently derived from the sudden perception which it excites of unexpected peculiarities. It rises in interest, however, and in dignity, when it succeeds in expressing, not merely the visible and external characteristics of its objects, but those also of their taste, their genius and temper. A vulgar mimic repeats a man's cant-phrases and known stories, with an exact imitation of his voice, look and gestures; but he is an artist of a far higher description, who can make stories or reasonings in his manner, and represent the features and movements of his mind, as well as the accidents of his body. The same distinction applies to the mimickry, if it may be so called, of an author's style and manner of writing. To copy his peculiar phrases or turns of expression—to borrow the grammatical structure of his sentences, or the metrical balance of his lines—or to crowd and string together all the pedantic or affected words which he has become remarkable for using—applying or misapplying all these without the least regard to the character of his genius, or the spirit of his compositions, is to imitate an author only as a monkey might imitate a man—or, at best, to support a masquerade character on the strength of the dress only; and at all events, requires as little talent, and deserves as little praise, as the mimetic exhibitions in the neighbourhood of Port-Sydney. It is another matter, however, to be able to borrow the diction and manner of a celebrated writer to express sentiments like his own—to write as he would have written on the subject proposed to his imitator—to think his thoughts in short, as well as to use his words—and to make the revival of his style appear a natural consequence of the strong conception of his peculiar ideas. To do this in all the perfection of which it is capable, requires talents, perhaps, not inferior to those of the original on whom they are employed—together with a faculty of observation, and a dexterity of application, which that original might not always possess; and should not only afford nearly as great pleasure to the reader, as a piece of composition,—but may teach him some lessons, or open up to him some views, which could not have been otherwise disclosed.

The exact imitation of a good thing, it must be admitted, promises fair to be a pretty good thing in itself; but if the resem-

blance be very striking, it commonly has the additional advantage of letting us more completely into the secret of the original author, and enabling us to understand far more clearly in what the peculiarity of his manner consists, than most of us should ever have done without this assistance. The resemblance, it is obvious, can only be rendered striking by exaggerating a little, and bringing more conspicuously forward, all that is peculiar and characteristic in the model; and the marking features, which were somewhat shaded and confused in their natural presentment, being thus magnified and disengaged in the copy, are more easily observed and comprehended, and their effect traced with infinitely more ease and assurance;—just as the course of a river, or a range of mountains, is more distinctly understood when laid down on a map or plan, than when studied in their natural proportions. Thus, in Burke's imitation of Bolingbroke (the most perfect specimen, perhaps, which ever will exist of the art of which we are speaking), we have all the qualities which distinguish the style, or we may indeed say the genius, of that noble writer, as it were, concentrated and brought at once before us; so that an ordinary reader, who, in perusing his genuine works, merely felt himself dazzled and disappointed - delighted and wearied he could not tell why, is now enabled to form a definite and precise conception of the causes of those opposite sensations,—and to trace to the nobleness of the diction and the inaccuracy of the reasoning—the boldness of the propositions and the rashness of the inductions—the magnificence of the pretensions and the feebleness of the performance, those contradictory judgments with the confused result of which he had been perplexed in his study of the original. The same thing may be said of the imitation of Darwin, contained in the Loves of the Triangles, though confessedly of a satirical or ludicrous character. All his peculiarities are there brought together, and crowded into a little space, where they can be compared and estimated with ease. His essence, in short, is extracted, and separated in a good degree from what is common to him with the rest of his species;—and while he is recognized at once as the original from whom all those characteristic traits have been borrowed, that original itself is far better understood—because the copy presents no traits but such as are characteristic.

This highest species of imitation, therefore, we conceive to be of no slight value in fixing the taste and judgment of the public, even with regard to the great standard and original authors who naturally became its subjects. The pieces before us, indeed, do not fall correctly under this denomination:—the subject to which they are confined, and the occasion on which

they are supposed to have been produced, having necessarily given them a certain ludicrous and light air, not quite suitable to the gravity of some of the originals, and imparted to some of them a sort of mongrel character in which we may discern the features both of burlesque and of imitation. There is enough, however, of the latter to answer the purposes we have indicated above; while the tone of levity and ridicule may answer the farther purpose of admonishing the authors who are personated in this exhibition, upon what quarters they trespass on the borders of absurdity, and from what peculiarities they are in danger of becoming ridiculous. A mere parody or travestie, indeed, is commonly made, with the greatest success, upon the tenderest and most sublime passages in poetry; the whole secret of such performances consisting in the substitution of a mean, ludicrous, or disgusting subject for a touching or noble one. But where this is not the case, and where the passages imitated are conversant with objects nearly as familiar, and names and actions almost as undignified as those in the imitation, the author may be assured, that what a moderate degree of exaggeration has thus made eminently laughable, could never have been worthy of a place in serious and lofty poetry.—But we are falling, we perceive, into our old trick of dissertation, and forgetting our benevolent intention to dedicate this article to the amusement of our readers.—We break off therefore abruptly, and turn without farther preamble to the book.

The first piece, under the name of the loyal Mr Fitzgerald, though as good we suppose as the original, is not very interesting. Whether it be very like Mr Fitzgerald or not, however, it must be allowed that the vulgarity, servility, and gross absurdity of the newspaper scribblers is well rendered in the following lines.

'Gallia's stern despot shall in vain advance
From Paris, the metropolis of France;
By this day month the monster shall not gain
A foot of land in Portugal or Spain.
See Wellington in Salamanca's field
Forces his favourite General to yield,
Breaks thro' his lines, and leaves his boasted Marmont
Expiring on the plain without an arm on:
Madrid he enters at the cannon's mouth,
And then the villages still further south.
Base Buonaparte, filled with deadly ire,
Sets one by one our playhouses on fire:
Some years ago he pounced with deadly glee on
The Opera House, then burnt down the Pantheon;
Nay, still unsated, in a coat of flames,

Next at Millbank he crossed the river Thames:
Thy hatch, O Halfpenny! pass'd in a trice,
Boil'd some black pitch, and burnt down Astley's twice, &c.
Who, while the British squadron lay off Cork,
(God bless the Regent and the Duke of York,)
With a foul earthquake ravaged the Caraccas,
And raised the price of dry goods and tobaccos?
Who makes the quartern loaf and Luddites rise?
Who fills the butchers' shops with large blue flies?
Who thought in flames St James's court to pinch?
Who burnt the wardrobe of poor Lady Finch?
Why he, who, forging for this Isle a yoke,
Reminds me of a line I lately spoke,
" The tree of freedom is the British oak. "
Bless every man possessed of aught to give;
Long may Long Tilney Wellesley Long Pole live;
God bless the army, bless their coats of scarlet,
God bless the navy, bless the Princess Charlotte,' &c. p. 2—4.

The next, in the name of Mr W. Wordsworth, is entitled 'The Baby's Debut,' and is characteristically announced as intended to have been 'spoken in the character of Nancy Lake, 'a girl eight years of age, who is drawn upon the stage in a 'child's chaise, by Samuel Hughes, her uncle's porter.' The author does not, in this instance, attempt to copy any of the higher attributes of Mr Wordsworth's poetry; but has succeeded perfectly in the imitation of his maukish affectations of childish simplicity and nursery stammering. We hope it will make him ashamed of his Alice Fell, and the greater part of his last volumes—of which it is by no means a parody, but a very fair, and indeed we think a flattering imitation. We give a stanza or two as a specimen.

'My brother Jack was nine in May,
And I was eight on New Year's Day;
So in Kate Wilson's shop
Papa, (he's my papa and Jack's)
Bought me last week a doll of wax,
And brother Jack a top.

Jack's in the pouts, and this it is,
He thinks mine came to more than his,
So to my drawer he goes,
Takes out the doll, and, Oh, my stars!
He pokes her head between the bars,
And melts off half her nose!' p. 5, 6.

We pass over this family feud, and the history of her conveyance to the theatre; and proceed to this interesting young lady's observations upon its appearance.

' My father's walls are made of brick,
But not so tall, and not so thick,
As these; and, goodness me!
My father's beams are made of wood,
But never, never half so good,
As these that now I see.

What a large floor! 'tis like a town!
The carpet, when they lay it down,
Won't hide it, I'll be bound!
And there's a row of lamps, my eye!
How they do blaze! I wonder why
They keep them on the ground.

At first I caught hold of the wing,
And kept away; but Mr Thing-
umbob, the prompter man,
Gave with his hand my chaise a shove,
And said, Go on, my pretty love,
Speak to 'em, little Nan.' p. 8, 9.

The exit is equally characteristic.

' But while I'm speaking, where's papa?
And where's my aunt? and where's mama
Where's Jack? Oh, there they sit!
They smile, they nod, I'll go my ways,
And order round poor Billy's chaise,
To join them in the pit.

And now, good gentlefolks, I go
To join mama, and see the show;
So, bidding you adieu,
I curtsey, like a pretty miss,
And if you'll blow to me a kiss,
I'll blow a kiss to you.
[*Blows a kiss, and exit.*]' p. 9, 10.

The next is ascribed to Lord Byron. But the author has succeeded better in copying the moody and misanthropic sentiments of Childe Harold, than the nervous and impetuous diction in which his noble biographer has embodied them. The attempt, however, indicates very considerable power; and the flow of the verse and the construction of the poetical period are imitated with no ordinary skill.

' Sated with home, of wife, of children tired,
The restless soul is driven abroad to roam;
Sated abroad, all seen, yet nought admired,
The restless soul is driven to ramble home;
Sated with both, beneath new Drury's dome
The fiend Ennui awhile consents to pine,
There growls, and curses, like a deadly Gnome,
Scorning to view fantastic Columbine,
Viewing with scorn and hate the nonsense of the Nine.' p. 11.

We can add but one stanza more from the indignant attack on the dissipated frequenters of playhouses.

'Your debts mount high—ye plunge in deeper waste;
The plaintiff calls—no warning voice ye hear;
The plaintiff sues—to public shows ye haste;
The bailiff threats—ye feel no idle fear;
Who can arrest your prodigal career?
Who can keep down the levity of youth?
What sound can startle age's stubborn ear?
Who can redeem from wretchedness and ruth
Men true to falsehood's voice, false to the voice of truth?' p. 14.

Mr Cobbett's Address follows; but we shall leave it, with the rest of the prose pieces, to the end; and proceed to Mr Moore's, which is entitled 'The Living Lustres,' and appears to us a very fair imitation of the fantastic verses which that ingenious person indites when he is merely gallant, and, resisting the lures of voluptuousness, is not enough in earnest to be tender. It begins,

'O why should our dull retrospective addresses
Fall damp as wet blankets on Drury Lane fire?
Away with blue devils, away with distresses,
And give the gay spirit to sparkling desire!
Let artists decide on the beauties of Drury,
The richest to me is when woman is there;
The question of Houses I leave to the jury;
The fairest to me is the house of the fair.' p. 25.

The main drift of the piece, however, as well as its title, is explained in the following stanzas.

'How well would our artists attend to their duties,
Our house save in oil, and our authors in wit,
In lieu of yon lamps if a row of young beauties
Glanced light from their eyes between us and the pit.
Attun'd to the scene when the pale yellow moon is on
Tower and tree they'd look sober and sage,
And when they all wink'd their dear peepers in unison,
Night, pitchy night would envelop the stage.
Ah! could I some girl from yon box for her youth pick,
I'd love her as long as she blossom'd in youth;
Oh! white is the ivory case of the toothpick,
But when beauty smiles how much whiter the tooth!' p. 26-27.

The next, entitled 'The Rebuilding,' is in name of Mr Southey; and is one of the best in the collection. It is in the style of the Kehama of that multifarious author; and is supposed to be spoken in the character of one of his Glendoveers. The imitation of the diction and measure, we think, is nearly almost perfect; and the descriptions as good as the original.

It opens with an account of the burning of the old theatre, formed upon the pattern of the Funeral of Arvalan.

' Midnight, yet not a nose
From Tower-hill to Piccadilly snored!
Midnight, yet not a nose
From Indra drew the essence of repose!
See with what crimson fury,
By Indra fann'd, the god of fire ascends the walls of Drury;
The tops of houses, blue with lead,
Bend beneath the landlord's tread;
Master and 'prentice, serving man and lord,
Nailor and taylor,
Grazier and brazier,
Thro' streets and alleys pour'd,
All, all abroad to gaze,
And wonder at the blaze.' p. 29—30.

And a little after,

' Drury Lane! Drury Lane!
Drury Lane! Drury Lane!
They shout and they hollow again and again.
All, all in vain!
Water turns steam;
Each blazing beam
Hisses defiance to the eddying spout;
It seems but too plain that nothing can put it out;
Drury Lane! Drury Lane!
See, Drury Lane expires!' p. 31.

There is then a great deal of undescribable intriguing between Veeshnoo, who wishes to rebuild the house through the instrumentality of Mr Whitbread, and Yamen who wishes to prevent it. The power of restoration, however, brings all the parties concerned to an amicable meeting; the effect of which, on the power of destruction, is thus finely represented.

' Yamen beheld, and wither'd at the sight;
Long had he aim'd the sun-beam to control,
For light was hateful to his soul:
Go on, cried the hellish one, yellow with spite;
Go on, cried the hellish one, yellow with spleen;
Thy toils of the morning, like Ithaca's queen,
I'll toil to undo every night.

The lawyers are met at the Crown and Anchor,
And Yamen's visage grows blanker and blanker.
The lawyers are met at the Anchor and Crown,
And Yamen's cheek is a russety brown.
Veeshnoo, now thy work proceeds;
The solicitor reads,
And, merit of merit!
Red wax and green ferret
Are fix'd at the foot of the deeds! p. 35—36.

'Drury's Dirge,' by Laura Matilda, is not of the first quality. The verses, to be sure, are very smooth, and very nonsensical—as was intended; but they are not so good as Swift's celebrated Song by a Person of Quality; and are so exactly in the same measure, and on the same plan, that it is impossible to avoid making the comparison. The reader may take these three stanzas as a sample.

'Lurid smoke and frank suspicion,
Hand in hand reluctant dance;
While the God fulfils his mission,
Chivalry resign thy lance.
Hark! the engines blandly thunder,
Fleecy clouds dishevelled lie;
And the firemen, mute with wonder,
On the son of Saturn cry.
See the bird of Ammon sailing,
Perches on the engine's peak,
And the Eagle fireman hailing,
Sooths them with its bickering beak.' p. 40, 41.

'A Tale of Drury,' by Walter Scott, is upon the whole admirably executed; though the introduction is rather tame. The burning is described with the mighty Minstrel's characteristic love of localities.

'As chaos which, by heavenly doom,
Had slept in everlasting gloom,
Started with terror and surprize,
When light first flash'd upon her eyes;
So London's sons in nightcap woke,
In bedgown woke her dames,
For shouts were heard mid fire and smoke,
And twice ten hundred voices spoke,
"The Playhouse is in flames."
And lo! where Catherine Street extends
A fiery tail its lustre lends
To every window pane:
Blushes each spout in Martlet Court,
And Barbican, moth-eaten fort,
And Covent Garden kennels sport,
A bright ensanguin'd drain;
Meux's new brewhouse shows the light,
Rowland Hill's chapel, and the height
Where patent shot they sell:
The Tennis Court, so fair and tall,
Partakes the ray with Surgeons' Hall,
The ticket porters' house of call,
Old Bedlam, close by London wall,
Wright's shrimp and oyster shop withal,
And Richardson's Hotel.' p. 46, 47.

The mustering of the firemen is not less meritorious.

' The summon'd firemen woke at call,
And hied them to their stations all.
Starting from short and broken snooze,
Each sought his pond'rous hobnail'd shoes,
But first his worsted hosen plied,
Plush breeches next in crimson dyed,
His nether bulk embraced;
Then jacket thick of red or blue,
Whose massy shoulder gave to view
The badge of each respective crew,
In tin or copper traced.
The engines thunder'd thro' the street,
Fire-hook, pipe, bucket, all complete,
And torches glared, and clattering feet
Along the pavement paced.' p. 48.

The procession of the engines, with the badges of their different companies, and the horrible names of their leaders, is also admirable—but we cannot make room for it. The account of the death of Muggins and Higginbottom, however, must find a place. These are the two principal firemen who suffered on this occasion; and the catastrophe is described with a spirit not unworthy of the name so venturously assumed by the describer. After the roof falls in, there is silence and great consternation.

' When lo! amid the wreck uprear'd
Gradual a moving head appear'd,
And Eagle firemen knew
'Twas Joseph Muggins, name rever'd,
The foreman of their crew.
Loud shouted all in sign of woe,
" A Muggins to the rescue, ho!"
And pour'd the hissing tide:
Meanwhile the Muggins fought amain,
And strove and struggled all in vain,
For rallying but to fall again,
He totter'd, sunk, and died!
Did none attempt, before he fell,
To succour one they lov'd so well?
Yes, Higginbottom did aspire
(His fireman's soul was all on fire,)
His brother chief to save;
But ah! his reckless generous ire
Serv'd but to share his grave!
Mid blazing beams and scalding streams,
Thro' fire and smoke he dauntless broke,
Where Muggins broke before.
But sulphury stench and boiling drench
Destroying sight o'erwhelm'd him quite,
He sunk to rise no more.

Still o'er his head, while Fate he braved,
His whizzing water-pipe he waved;
" Whitford and Mitford ply your pumps,
" You, Clutterbuck, come stir your stumps,
" Why are you in such doleful dumps?
" A fireman and afraid of bumps!
" What are they fear'd on, fools? 'od rot 'em!"
Were the last words of Higginbottom.' p. 50—52.

The rebuilding is recorded in strains as characteristic, and as aptly applied.

' Peace to his soul! new prospects bloom,
And toil rebuilds what fires consume!
Eat we and drink we, be our ditty,
" Joy to the managing committee."
Eat we and drink we, join to rum
Roast beef and pudding of the plum;
Forth from thy nook John Horner come,
With bread of ginger brown thy thumb, &c.

Didst mark, how toil'd the busy train
From morn to eve, till Drury Lane
Leap'd like a roebuck from the plain?
Ropes rose and sunk, and rose again,
And nimble workmen trod;
To realize bold Wyatt's plan
Rush'd many a howling Irishman,
Loud clatter'd many a porter can,
And many a ragamuffin clan,
With trowel and with hod.' p. 52, 53.

' The Beautiful Incendiary,' by the Honourable W. Spencer, is also an imitation of great merit. The flashy, fashionable, artificial style of this writer, with his confident and extravagant compliments, can scarcely be said to be parodied in such lines as the following.

' Sobriety cease to be sober,
Cease labour to dig and to delve,
All hail to this tenth of October,
One thousand eight hundred and twelve.
Hah! whom do my peepers remark?
'Tis Hebe with Jupiter's jug;
Oh no, 'tis the pride of the Park,
Fair Lady Elizabeth Mugg.
But ah! why awaken the blaze
Those bright burning-glasses contain,
Whose lens, with concentrated rays,
Proved fatal to old Drury Lane.
'Twas all accidental, they cry,
Away with the flimsy humbug!
'Twas fir'd by a flash from the eye
Of Lady Elizabeth Mugg.

Thy face a rich firé-place displays;
The mantlepiece marble—thy brows:
Thine eyes are the bright beaming blaze;
Thy bib, which no trespass allows,
The fender's tall barrier marks;
Thy tippet's the fire-quelling rug
Which serves to extinguish the sparks
Of Lady Elizabeth Mugg.
The Countess a lily appears,
Whose tresses the dewdrops emboss;
The Marchioness blooming in years,
A rose-bud envelop'd in moss;
But thou art the sweet passion flower,
For who would not slavery hug,
To pass but one exquisite hour
In the arms of Elizabeth Mugg?' p. 61—64.

'Fire and Ale,' by M. G. Lewis, is not less fortunate; and exhibits not only a faithful copy of the spirited, loose, and flowing versification of that singular author, but a very just representation of that mixture of extravagance and jocularity which has impressed most of his writings with the character of a sort of farcical horror. For example—

'The fire king one day rather amorous felt;
He mounted his hot copper filly;
His breeches and boots were of tin, and the belt
Was made of cast iron, for fear it should melt
With the heat of the copper colt's belly.
Sure never was skin half so scalding as his!
When an infant, 'twas equally horrid,
For the water when he was baptized gave a fizz,
And bubbled and simmer'd and started off, whizz!
As soon as it sprinkled his forehead.
Oh then there was glitter and fire in each eye,
For two living coals were the symbols;
His teeth were calcin'd, and his tongue was so dry
It rattled against them as though you should try
To play the piano in thimbles.' p. 68—69.

The drift of the story is, that this formidable personage falls in love with Miss Drury the elder, who is consumed in his ardent embrace; when Mr Whitbread, in the character of the Ale King, fairly bullies him from a similar attempt on her younger sister, who has just come out under his protection.

We have next 'Playhouse Musings,' by Mr Coleridge—a piece which is unquestionably Lakish—though we cannot say that we recognize in it any of the peculiar traits of that powerful and misdirected genius whose name it has borrowed. We rather

think, however, that the tuneful brotherhood will consider it as a respectable eclogue. This is the introduction—

'My pensive Public, wherefore look you sad?
I had a grandmother, she kept a donkey
To carry to the mart her crockery ware,
And when that donkey look'd me in the face,
His face was sad! and you are sad, my Public!
Joy should be yours: this tenth day of October
Again assembles us in Drury Lane.
Long wept my eye to see the timber planks
That hid our ruins; many a day I cried
Ah me! I fear they never will rebuild it!
Till on one eve, one joyful Monday eve,
As along Charles Street I prepar'd to walk,
Just at the corner, by the pastry cook's,
I heard a trowel tick against a brick.
I look'd me up, and strait a parapet,
Uprose at least seven inches o'er the planks.
Joy to thee, Drury! to myself I said,
He of Blackfriars Road who hymn'd thy downfal
In loud Hosannahs, and who prophesied
That flames like those from prostrate Solyma
Would scorch the hand that ventur'd to rebuild thee,
Has proved a lying prophet. From that hour,
As leisure offer'd, close to Mr Spring's
Box-office door, I've stood and eyed the builders.' p. 73, 74.

'A New Halfpenny Ballad,' by a Pic-Nic poet, is a good imitation of what was not worth imitating—that tremendous mixture of vulgarity, nonsense, impudence, and miserable puns, which, under the name of humorous songs, rouses our polite audiences to a far higher pitch of rapture than Garrick or Siddons ever was able to inspire.

Of 'Architectural Atoms,' translated by Dr Busby, we can say very little more than that they appear to us to be far more capable of combining into good poetry than the few lines we were able to read of the learned Doctor's genuine address in the newspapers. They might pass, indeed, for a very tolerable imitation of Darwin;—as for instance,

'I sing how casual bricks, in airy climb,
Encounter'd casual horse hair, casual lime;
How rafters borne through wondering clouds elate,
Kiss'd in their slope blue elemental slate,
Clasp'd solid beams in chance-directed fury,
And gave to birth our renovated Drury.' p. 82, 83.

And again,

'Thus with the flames that from old Drury rise
Its elements primæval sought the skies,

There pendulous to wait the happy hour,
When new attractions should restore their power.
Here embryo sounds in æther lye conceal'd
Like words in northern atmosphere congeal'd.
Here many an embryo laugh and half encore
Clings to the roof, or creeps along the floor.
By puffs concipient some in æther flit,
And soar in bravos from the thundering pit;
While some this mortal life abortive miss,
Crush'd by a groan, or murder'd by a hiss.' p. 87.

'An Address' by S. T. P. we can make nothing of; and, professing our ignorance of the author designated by these letters, we can only add, that the address, though a little affected, and not very full of meaning, has no very prominent trait of absurdity, that we can detect; and might have been adopted and spoken, so far as we can perceive, without any hazard of ridicule. In our simplicity, we consider it as a very decent, mellifluous, occasional prologue; and do not understand how it has found its way into its present company.

We come next to three ludicrous parodies—of the story of the Stranger—of George Barnwell—and of the dagger scene in Macbeth, under the signature of Momus Medlar. They are as good, we think, as that sort of thing can be; and remind us of the happier efforts of Colman,—whose less successful fooleries are professedly copied in the last piece in the volume. Our readers, we hope, will be satisfied with one stanza from Macbeth.

'Now o'er this terrestrial hive
A life paralytic is spread,
For while the one half is alive,
The other is sleepy and dead.
King Duncan in grand majesty
Has got my state bed for a snooze,
I've lent him my slippers, so I
May certainly stand in his shoes.' p. 104.

'The Theatre,' by the Rev. G. Crabbe, we rather think is the best piece in the collection. It is an exquisite and most masterly imitation, not only of the peculiar style, but of the taste, temper and manner of description of that most original author; and can hardly be said to be in any respect a caricature of that style or manner—except in the excessive profusion of puns and verbal jingles—which, though undoubtedly to be ranked among his characteristics, are never so thick sown in his original works as in this admirable imitation. It does not aim, of course, at any shadow of his pathos or moral sublimity; but seems to us to be a singularly faithful copy of his passages of mere description. It begins as follows.

' 'Tis sweet to view from half past five to six,
Our long wax candles, with short cotton wicks,
Touch'd by the lamplighter's Promethean art,
Start into light, and make the lighter start:
To see red Phœbus through the gallery pane
Tinge with his beam the beams of Drury Lane,
While gradual parties fill our widen'd pit,
And gape, and gaze, and wonder, ere they sit.
At first, while vacant seats give choice and ease,
Distant or near, they settle where they please;
But when the multitude contracts the span,
And seats are rare, they settle where they can.
Now the full benches, to late comers, doom
No room for standing, miscall'd *standing room.*
Hark! the check taker moody silence breaks,
And bawling "Pit full," gives the check he takes.' p. 116, 117.

The tuning of the orchestra is given with the same spirit and fidelity; but we rather choose to insert the following descent of a playbill from the upper boxes.

' Perchance, while pit and gallery cry, "hats off,"
And aw'd consumption checks his chided cough,
Some giggling daughter of the queen of love
Drops, reft of pin, her play-bill from above;
Like Icarus, while laughing galleries clap,
Soars, ducks, and dives in air, the printed scrap:
But, wiser far than he, combustion fears,
And, as it flies, eludes the chandeliers;
Till sinking gradual, with repeated twirl,
It settles, curling, on a fiddler's curl;
Who from his powder'd pate the intruder strikes,
And, for mere malice, sticks it on the spikes.' p. 118.

The quaintness and minuteness of the following catalogue, is also in the very spirit of the original author—bating always the undue allowance of puns and *concetti* to which we have already alluded.

' What various swains our motley walls contain!
Fashion from Moorfields, honor from Chick Lane;
Bankers from Paper Buildings here resort,
Bankrupts from Golden Square and Riches Court;
From the Haymarket canting rogues in grain,
Gulls from the Poultry, sots from Water Lane;
The lottery cormorant, the auction shark,
The full price master, and the half price clerk;
Boys who long linger at the gallery door,
With pence twice five,—they want but twopence more,
Till some Samaritan the twopence spares,
And sends them jumping up the gallery stairs.

Critics we boast who ne'er their malice baulk,
But talk their minds,—we wish they'd mind their talk;
Big wordied bullies, who by quarrels live,
Who give the lie, and tell the lie they give;
Jews from St Mary Axe, for jobs so wary,
That for old clothes they'd even axe St Mary;
And bucks with pockets empty as their pate,
Lax in their gaiters, laxer in their gait.' p. 118—19.

We shall conclude with the episode of the loss and recovery of Pat Jennings's hat—which, if Mr Crabbe had thought at all of describing, we are persuaded he would have described as follows.

'Pat Jennings in the upper gallery sat,
But leaning forward, Jennings lost his hat;
Down from the gallery the beaver flew,
And spurn'd the one to settle in the two.
How shall he act? Pay at the gallery door
Two shillings for what cost when new but four?
Now, while his fears anticipate a thief,
John Mullins whispers, take my handkerchief.
Thank you, cries Pat, but one won't make a line;
Take mine, cried Wilson, and cried Stokes, take mine.
A motley cable soon Pat Jennings ties,
Where Spital-fields with real India vies,
Like Iris' bow, down darts the painted hue
Starr'd, strip'd, and spotted, yellow, red, and blue.
Old Calico, torn silk, and muslin new.
George Green below, with palpitating hand,
Loops the last kerchief to the beaver's band:
Upsoars the prize; the youth, with joy unfeign'd,
Regain'd the felt, and felt what he regain'd,
While to the applauding galleries grateful Pat
Made a low bow, and touch'd the ransom'd hat.'

'Punch's Apotheosis,' by G. Colman junior, is too purely nonsensical to be extracted; and both gives less pleasure to the reader, and does less justice to the ingenious author in whose name it stands, than any other of the poetical imitations.

Of the pieces in prose, we can only afford room for a word on Mr Cobbet's; and on that by the ghost of Dr Johnson. The first is a very good copy throughout. It sets off thus.

'Most thinking People,

'When persons address an audience from the stage, it is usual, either in words or gesture, to say, "Ladies and Gentlemen, your servant." If I were base enough, mean enough, paltry enough, and *brute beast* enough, to follow that fashion, I should tell two lies in a breath. In the first place, you are *not* Ladies and Gentlemen; but I hope something better, that is to say, honest men and women; and

in the next place, if you were ever so much ladies, and ever so much gentlemen, I am not, *nor ever will be*, your humble servant,' &c.—'You are now (thanks to *Mr Whitbread*) got into a large, comfortable house; not into a *gimcrack palace;* not into a *Solomon's temple;* not into a frost-work of Brobdignag filagree; but into a plain, honest, homely, industrious, wholesome, *brown brick playhouse.* You have been struggling for independence and elbow-room these three years; and who gave it you? Who helped you out of Lilliput? Who routed you from a rat hole, five inches by four, to perch you in a palace? Again and again I answer, *Mr Whitbread,*' &c.

And a little after— p. 19—21.

'*Apropos*, as the French valets say, who cut their masters' throats, —*apropos*, a word about dresses. You must, many of you, have seen, what I have read a description of, Kemble and Mrs Siddons in Macbeth, with more gold and silver plastered on their doublets, than would have kept an honest family in butchers' meat and flannel from year's end to year's end! I am informed—now mind I do not vouch for the fact—but I am informed, that all such extravagant idleness is to be done away with here. Lady Macbeth is to have a plain quilted petticoat, a cotton gown, and a *mob cap* (as the court parasites call it;—it will be well for them if, one of these days, they don't wear a mob cap—I mean a *white cap*, with a *mob* to look at them); and Macbeth is to appear in an honest yeoman's drab coat, and a pair of black calamanco breeches. Not *Sal*amanca; no, nor *Talavera* neither, my most Noble Marquis; but plain, honest, black calamanco, stuff breeches. This is right; this is as it should be,' &c. &c. p. 22, 23.

Samuel Johnson is not so good. The measure and solemnity of his sentences, in all the limited variety of their structure, is indeed imitated with singular skill;—but the diction is caricatured in a vulgar and unpleasing degree. To make Johnson call a door 'a ligneous barricado,' and its knocker and bell its 'frappant and tintinabulant appendages,' is neither just nor humorous; and we are surprised that a writer who has given such extraordinary proofs of his talent for finer ridicule and fairer imitation, should have stooped to a vein of pleasantry so low, and so long ago exhausted; especially as, in other passages of the same piece, he has shown how well qualified he was both to catch and to render the true characteristics of his original. The beginning, for example, we think excellent.

'That which was organized by the moral ability of one, has been executed by the physical effort of many, and DRURY LANE THEATRE is now complete. Of that part behind the curtain, which has not yet been destined to glow beneath the brush of the varnisher, or vibrate to the hammer of the carpenter, little is thought by the public, and little need be said by the committee. Truth, however, is not to be sacrificed for the accommodation of either; and he who should pronounce that our edifice has received its final em-

bellishment, would be disseminating falsehood without incurring favour, and risking the disgrace of detection without participating the advantage of success.'

'Let it not, however, be conjectured, that because we are unassuming, we are imbecile; that forbearance is any indication of despondency, or humility of demerit. He that is the most assured of success will make the fewest appeals to favour; and where nothing is claimed that is undue, nothing that is due will be withheld. A swelling opening is too often succeeded by an insignificant conclusion. Parturient mountains have ere now produced muscipular abortions; and the auditor who compares incipient grandeur with final vulgarity, is reminded of the pious hawkers of Constantinople, who solemnly perambulate her streets, exclaiming, "In the name of the prophet—figs!" p. 54, 55.

It ends with a solemn eulogium on Mr Whitbread, which is thus wound up.

'To his never-slumbering talents you are indebted for whatever pleasure this haunt of the Muses is calculated to afford. If, in defiance of chaotic malevolence, the destroyer of the temple of Diana yet survives in the name of Herostratus, surely we may confidently predict, that the rebuilder of the temple of Apollo will stand recorded to distant posterity in that of—SAMUEL WHITBREAD.' p. 59, 60.

Our readers will now have a pretty good idea of the contents of this amusing little volume. We have no conjectures to offer as to its anonymous author. He who is such a master of disguises, may easily be supposed to have been successful in concealing himself;—and with the power of assuming so many styles, is not likely to be detected by his own. We should guess, however, that he had not written a great deal in his own character—that his natural style was neither very lofty nor very grave—and that he rather indulges a partiality for puns and verbal pleasantries. We marvel why he has shut out Campbell and Rogers from his theatre of living poets;—and confidently expect to have our curiosity in this and in all other particulars very speedily gratified, when the applause of the country shall induce him to take off his mask.

ART. XI. *American State Papers: Containing the Correspondence between Messrs Smith, Pinkerton, Marquis Wellesley,* &c. 8vo. pp. 60. London, 1811.

So little is to be gained, and so much to be lost by an American war, that though our preposterous policy has at last brought the disputes between the two nations to this issue, no

class of politicians seems wholly satisfied with the result. Strictly speaking, indeed, we have no real quarrel with America; our contest with that power arising incidentally out of our main quarrel in Europe. America invades us in no substantial interest—she crosses us not in any favourite walk of policy—she aims no blows at our prosperity or independence;—and, being excluded from all the common scenes of European ambition, her case afforded, to all appearance, no great scope to the common jealousies of politicians. After a twenty years' war with France, however, we are now fairly involved in an additional war with this apparently harmless power,—having for this purpose sacrificed all those ancient connexions of trade which gave the two countries so great an interest in the maintenance of peace. The exports of Great Britain to America amounted annually to ten millions. All this vast trade, and the animating scenes of industry and business which it produced, the war lays waste at one blow. But it is not merely as a case of profit and loss, though in this view it is sufficiently important, that the subject ought to be contemplated. The trade between Britain and America, independent of its profits to individuals, accomplished objects which must ever be dear to the friends of human improvement. Our readers are no doubt aware, that America, like all other rising communities, having her whole spare capital embarked in agriculture, must necessarily depend on other countries for a supply of manufactures, in exchange for which they receive an equivalent in rude produce. Such was the nature of the trade carried on with this country; by means of which America, assisted by the wealth and industry of Britain, was left free to pursue the great work of domestic improvement, while Britain found, in the demands of America, ample employment for her overflowing capital and her numerous artisans. The trade thus diffused industry, plenty, and smiling looks through this once prosperous and happy land; while it gave energy to the wide-spreading agriculture of the New World, and extended cultivation over its lonely wastes.

From a picture so delightful to contemplate, we turn with no pleasing emotions to the policy by which it has been defaced. The correspondence before us relates to the Orders in Council, and to other unfriendly acts committed against the American trade; and though we have no intention of reviving these hateful controversies—though we would willingly forget this everlasting stain on the character and policy of our country,—yet there is one view of the case suggested by these papers which we cannot avoid laying before our readers. It is instructive to look back to what has happened, that we may draw lessons, for the future, from the dear-bought experience of the past.

It was long the anxious business of the American minister, as appears from thedocuments before us, to procure by persuasion an abandonment of the measures hostile to the American trade. He urged his case on views of justice and of general policy;—he calmly combated the pretexts by which he was met—he boldly and pointedly asserted, that the claims of this country must, sooner or latter, be abandoned; and he added, what ought never to be forgotten, that they were unjust,—and that time, therefore, could do nothing for them. His representations were met by declarations of 'what his Majesty owed to the honour, dignity, and essential rights of his crown,' and by all the other sounding commonplaces usual on such occasions. These sentiments were afterwards explained at greater length, and promulgated to the world in the deliberate record of a state paper. But in spite of the honour of Majesty thus pledged to these obnoxious measures, *they were repealed.* A laborious investigation into their merits ended in their unqualified reprobation and abandonment;—their authors were unable to look in the face the scenes of beggary, disorder and wretchedness, which their policy had brought on the country;—they were borne down by the cries of suffering millions;—and they yielded at length to necessity, what they had formerly refused to justice. This was clearly, therefore, an act of unwilling submission. It bore not the stamp of conciliation; and the only inference to be drawn from it was, that the plotters of mischief, being fairly caught in their own snare, were glad to escape, on any terms, from the effects of their ill considered measures. How forcibly does this transaction teach the necessity of a prudent and moderate conduct! How strikingly does it mark the contrast between insolence, which delights in abusing power,—and true dignity, which, being founded on a reverence for justice, can never be humbled!

The repeal of the Orders in Council has considerably narrowed the controversy between the two countries; and were it not for the rankling of past injuries, the few remaining points of difference might, we should imagine, be very speedily adjusted. The Americans still complain of the undue extension we have given to the privileges of blockade,—and of the impressment of their seamen under the character of British deserters.

On both those points the rulers of the two countries are agreed, as far as the principle is concerned. America insists that no place shall be held blockaded, unless it is so surrounded as to make it dangerous to enter: and we do not object to this definition of blockade. On the other question still at issue, it may be shortly observed, that as we have gone to war with America in defence of the supposed privileges of naval war, we would do well to ascertain to what extent those privileges can be safely

pushed. Will the warmest advocates of maritime supremacy now assert, that we have not suffered equally with our enemies in the contest of mischief which has been stirred up between us in Europe? Admit that we have ruined our enemy's trade—that our hostility has been deeply felt in the misery which it has produced in France—have we ourselves not participated largely in the general distress? It is of little moment what privileges we may be entitled to, according to the theory of the law of nations; since it is plain, that if we push our abstract notions of maritime right to their extreme consequences, no nation will agree in the result:—universal war and misery will be the consequence,—and every state will suffer exactly in proportion to its interest in peace and good order. In such a struggle, it is just as likely that we should be the first to cry for quarter as our enemies; and in point of fact, the first concession has come from this country. We were unable any longer to bear the interruption of trade occasioned by the Orders in Council;—and therefore these measures were repealed.

It is clear, therefore, that some limits must either be fixed to the persecution of our enemy's trade, or we must come in for a large share of the miseries resulting from our hostility. However high we may hold our abstract rights, they must always, when reduced to practice, admit of some temperament, and amicable compromise with the rights of others. During the whole of the last war, accordingly, such a compromise existed; and the dreadful crisis which has befallen the present times was thus happily avoided. The policy then pursued, though not perhaps strictly consonant to theory, was safe in practice. Its effect was, to permit, under certain restrictions, neutral states to carry on the colonial and coasting trade of the enemy. But it laid the intercourse under some disadvantages. It threw considerable inconvenience in the way of the French merchant, and increased to him the price of all his imported produce. And to this extent, and no farther, is it possible to carry the damage of a naval war. In this privilege of laying the enemy's trade under some little increase of charge, consists the full value of what has been so vehemently admired in this country, under the specious appellation of maritime rights. Naval warfare cannot be pursued to the utter extinction of trade. It cannot prevent mankind from a mutual exchange of their surplus produce,—as this would be equivalent to an interdict on the productive powers of nature; and whenever it is pushed to such an excess, it must reduce all who are engaged in it, to one common level of distress and ruin We would humbly recommend, therefore, a return to those established maxims

of maritime law, under which the industry of unoffending states reposed in security, while this country presented a picture of comparative comfort and peace. The labourer was then peaceable and happy—he was enabled to provide, by his industry, for himself and his helpless offspring—he was not driven, by want, to acts of riot and desperation. These are the evils which it is so desirable to prevent; and it cannot be denied, that they lye deep in the policy of the country.

The impressing of American seamen into the British service, which has naturally arisen from the resemblance of the two nations in language and manners, has given rise, we fear, to much deep-rooted animosity. On this subject, however, both parties profess a complete union of principle; but the difficulty consists in finding some practicable arrangement for preserving to each its respective rights. Hitherto British ships of war have been in the practice of searching American merchantmen, and taking out, in a summary manner, such of their crew as they judged to be British. Certificates of American citizenship, or other evidence, might be offered,—on which it rested with the British officer to decide; so that every American seaman might be said to hold his liberty, and ultimately his life, at the discretion of a foreign commander. In many cases, accordingly, native born Americans were dragged on board British ships of war—they were dispersed in the remotest quarters of the globe—and not only exposed to the perils of service, but shut out, by their situation, from all hope of ever being reclaimed. The right which we undoubtedly possess of reclaiming runaway seamen, was exercised, in short, without either moderation or justice; and though the government was no party in the first instance to these proceedings, yet there is no doubt that these outrages might, with some little activity, have been prevented. The natural consequence of injury is resentment; and we are not therefore to wonder if the Americans came a little heated to the discussion of these long-contested claims. But we have great faith in the efficacy of conciliation for the termination of strife, whether foreign or domestic: It is seldom, we imagine, that those who seek peace, as Mr Burke expresses it, in the spirit of peace, ever finally miss their object. Without yielding the claim of right, therefore, might we not, in consideration of what America has suffered by its practical assertion, allow her to propose some other expedient equally effectual and less offensive? If it be ultimately found that no such expedient can be suggested, then we might claim the right of search with a better grace; and were we to guard against its abuse with due caution, it might possibly be re-established without any offence to neutral powers. The mere discretion of naval officers ought certainly to be relied on as little as possible: for,

sorely as they are frequently beset for want of men, they must clearly have a strong bias against the rights of American citizens. Some strict provision ought therefore to be made for landing, within a given time, those who are detained under so suspicious a judgment, that their case may be calmly reviewed; and while ample and speedy redress ought to be made to the injured parties, every act of outrage or palpable injustice ought to be visited with exemplary damages. It is not only necessary, we should recollect, to possess rights; but those rights must be exercised without offence—or they *must* be resisted. It is the business of this country, therefore, to seek an amicable discussion of contested privileges—to listen to objections—and, finally, to modify and compromise, that the thing contended for may be made practicable; otherwise it is good for nothing.

After all, however, the value of the object in dispute is the thing as to which we candidly confess that we have the greatest doubts. The question is, What is the actual amount of the damage sustained—what is the number of seamen who take refuge from the naval conscription of Britain in the service of America? Would the number of men likely to be annually lost to the country, under such an arrangement as would satisfy the Americans, and under the most rigorous exercise of our rights, differ in such a degree as to have any perceptible influence on our naval operations? These are questions of great importance; as it is highly necessary to know how far the object at issue bears any proportion to the risks and losses of the contest: For if it be of little value, then we are quarrelling for an abstract principle, a mere theory in the law of nations, which is no way binding on our policy.—We had occasion, in a former Number, to remark, while discussing the same subject, that as a nation which raises a surplus of subsistence for exportation always ensures a supply for its own consumption, so there is every reason to think, that by training a surplus number of seamen for the use of others, we shall have always more abundance for our own service. The maritime trade of the country is the great fund for recruiting our navy; and there is surely no great reason for jealousy or apprehension, because the supply overflows into the service of other countries. Every view of the case, then, seems strongly to prescribe the policy of caution and forbearance in the prosecution of this claim; and in any negociation to which it may give rise, it never ought to be forgotten that the trade which this quarrel has already interrupted gives bread to thousands of industrious mechanics in this country; while, in America, it clothes the desert with cultivation, and extends the boundaries of rational nature.

We touch but lightly at present on these topics; both because we still entertain a hope that matters may be accommodated in such a way as to render it unnecessary to go more deeply into the subject—and because we must return to them in another tone and another temper, if it shall appear that the means of accommodation have been ignorantly neglected or madly refused.—It is impossible to leave the subject, however, without again calling the attention of our readers to the unexampled and unnatural folly of this war between men of the same kindred and tongue—the only two free nations that are now left in the world—and the only two that have a constant, an equal, and an evident interest to keep well with each other. On our part especially, it is obvious that we have absolutely nothing whatever to gain, and almost every thing to lose, in this deplorable conflict.—Since the revocation of the Orders in Council, there is really no *principle* at issue between the two countries. The limits of the right of blockade are fixed by the law of nations upon grounds that admit of no serious dispute; and stand declared by our own living Judges in terms with which America professes to be completely satisfied. With regard to the impressment of seamen, again, America does not deny that we have a right to reclaim such men as we can prove to be British subjects, and owing allegiance to our Crown; and we do not pretend to have any right to impress any who are really and truly citizens of America. The whole quarrel is about the proper means of asserting these rights—of the substantial value of which, we have already said a little—and as to the practical exercise of which, we take it to be utterly impossible that two nations, like England and America, can ever cordially agree. The truth is, that there are very many such cases; and that neutrals and belligerents do but very seldom agree as to the regulations by which the rights of war and of neutrality are to be respectively secured. The matter is always practically adjusted by a sort of compromise, under which both parties consent to pass from a part of what they maintain to be their legal right; and things go on, with a little grumbling, till the restoration of peace takes away all occasion of discussion.

We are now at war, however, for the assertion of our own way of exercising those rights; and have begun accordingly by destroying the very thing for the beneficial possession of which we profess to be contending. What we claim is a right to treat *neutrals* in a certain way—to derive what they consider as an excessive advantage from their neutrality—and to impose what they call an unreasonable restraint on their intercourse with the enemy;—and, in pursuit of this object, we put an end to the very name of neutrality. We convert all

neutrals into open enemies; and drive them into the cordial alliance of that hostile power with whom we would not allow them a very limited communication!—Such is the object and pretext of the war,—and such its immediate and necessary effect.

Other object or pretext it can have none. America has no possessions that we can take from her—none, we believe, that we have even a desire to obtain. We have no hope, therefore, of acquiring any thing whatsoever by persisting in this contest; and we are at war for the naked and barren power of asserting our belligerent rights in our own way; or, to speak more properly, we have turned the last neutral into an enemy, rather than submit to an amicable discussion upon the least oppressive way of exercising a right, the existence of which is not so much as disputed.—Such is the utmost amount of our possible gains:—our losses, certain and probable, do not admit, we fear, of so short an enumeration. We shall speak only of the former.

In the *first* place, then, we lose our whole trade with America—almost the only foreign trade that was left to us—and at all times worth infinitely more than all the rest put together. After what we said in our last Number on this subject—and while the universal and agonizing distress into which the country has relapsed, speaks in accents too piercing to be borne in every quarter of the land, we forbear to add one word upon a theme so copious and so conclusive. In the *second* place, we lose all the men and the money that must be sacrificed to the carrying on of this war—at a moment when our finances are confessedly almost inadequate to the prosecution of the other wars in which we are engaged—and when the success of those great and glorious exertions appears to be almost desperate, from the mere circumstance of the impossibility of finding men to supply the place of those who perish. In the *third* place, we take it to be one of the *certain* consequences of the continuance of this war, that we shall either lose Canada for ever, to the great disgrace and mortification of the country—or be obliged to abandon the Peninsula, and carry on a still more sanguinary and expensive war for its preservation. In the *fourth* place, our West-India colonies will be starved; and their trade, which so many other causes have concurred to depress, almost entirely ruined by the swarms of privateers which will issue from every point of the adjoining continent;—while our own supplies of grain, in the event of a deficiency at home, and of naval stores in the event of disasters in the North, will be almost entirely cut off. Finally, we shall excite not only a spirit of rooted hostility among a people obviously destined to outnumber any European nation—but we shall train them before their day to the

cultivation of their home manufactures, and lose for ever that trade which it is our most obvious interest to retain.

But it may be said, we did not make the war:—The defiance was given, and the blow struck by America;—and now we are under the absolute necessity of fighting, or of giving up the honour and the substantial interests of the nation. We cannot bring ourselves to admit this:—But if the fact were made out, we should concur most heartily in the conclusion—A nation like England, should submit to any thing rather than to the slightest impeachment of her honour. It is not only her pride and her enjoyment—but her actual strength and security, and the vital spring of all her prosperity. If our honour is really committed in this contest,—and if America will listen to no terms of pacification which it is fitting for us to concede:—Then the contest must go on;—and every thing else must be sacrificed to maintain it with spirit and effect. But if matters are come at last to this deplorable extremity—if it be true that we are *now* under the necessity of yielding up the national honour, or of persisting in such a war as we have described, it cannot at least be denied, that it is a crisis which has been very recently produced; and that it has been produced by men, and by measures, that are sufficiently notorious. There is not a man in the kingdom who can doubt, that if the Orders in Council had been rescinded six months sooner, the war might have been entirely avoided, and all other points of difference between the countries adjusted upon an amicable footing. Nor is there an individual who has attended at all to the progress of the dispute, who does not see that it was embittered from the first, and wantonly urged to its present fatal issue, by the insolent, petulant, and preposterous tone of those very individuals who insisted upon that miserable experiment—and plunged their own country in wretchedness, only to bring down upon it the reluctant hostility of its best customers and allies. If those mischievous and despicable councils were once cordially renounced—if this paltry and irritating tone were for ever interdicted at our public offices—if the negotiation were committed to a man acceptable to the Americans, and free from the suspicion of insincerity which the character of our late diplomatic communications with her have so naturally excited;——we are fully persuaded, that a speedy and an honourable termination might yet be put to this unnatural contest, which, if it be purely ruinous and disreputable to us, promises also to be so much more detrimental than beneficial to our opponent.

At present, however, we confess that we look in vain for the indications of such a salutary change of policy—and are even

disposed to fear, that the same spirit of animosity and unconciliating contempt which has evidently pervaded the whole proceedings of the Government, still prevails to a considerable extent among the body of our people. The pressure of present distress is too heavy, indeed, to allow the war itself to be popular;—but we suspect that the temper and disposition which have provoked it are still pretty general:—and such are the arts by which courtly prejudices have been fomented, and antient grudges kept alive, that no small part of the nation look with feelings of peculiar hostility towards the people to which they bear the nearest resemblance; and willingly abet their rulers in treating the Americans with less respect, and less cordiality, than any other foreign nation. If this proceeds from considering them as weaker than any other nation, we cannot say it is very magnanimous:—if from regarding them as our own rebellious offspring, it is neither very generous nor very wise. They asserted their independence upon principles which they derived from us, and upon which we still make it our boast and our glory to act. Their revolt was the real evidence of their consanguinity—their rebellion against us the surest proof of their genuine descent: and, while all rational men are now satisfied that their independence is much more advantageous to us than any form of their submission could have been, surely there is nothing in their having established a free government, that ought to give rise to any feelings of repugnance or hostility in us. They are descended from our loins—they speak our language—they have adopted our laws—they retain our usages and manners—they read our books—they have copied our freedom—they rival our courage: and yet they are less popular and less esteemed among us than the base and bigotted Portugueze, or the ferocious and ignorant Russians.

From what does this arise,—or on what pretext is it justified? We can hear but one answer to this: and it is really so weak and so absurd an answer, that if it had not met us in so many quarters, we should not have believed that it could ever have been seriously given. Their manners, it seems, are not agreeable:—society with them is not on a good footing:—and, upon the whole, they are far from being so polite and well-bred as might be desired. Now, we should really be inclined to doubt whether it would be a justifiable cause for seriously quarrelling, even with a next-door neighbour, that he had a bad taste in anecdotes, and did not thoroughly understand the arrangement of evening parties: But to insist upon going to war—with a whole nation—at the other side of the Atlantic—because it has been reported that their rich people are not very elegant—that their dinners are vulgar,

and their routes dull—does appear to us to be somewhat extravagant and unreasonable. It is impossible however not to remark, that those who hate the Americans so much for their inattention to the Graces in their manners and conversation, cannot be supposed to feel any great love or respect for the greater part of their own countrymen; for, though we are not absolutely nor altogether a nation of shopkeepers, we are very much afraid that more than nine-tenths of the middling and better sort of people among ourselves belong to this reprobated class of traders and dealers, and have very much the same manners with their brethren in America. The society of New York and Philadelphia in short, we imagine, must be at least as good as that of Glasgow or Manchester; and though we make no doubt that the *beau monde* of the latter places will be extremely scandalized at the supposition, we can assure them that the Americans consider it as just as little flattering to them; at least we have now lying before us a New York publication, in which one of these Republican wits makes himself exceedingly merry with the ignorance, vulgarity and forwardness, of the *English* traders and agents that occasionally resort to his city.

This objection, then,—though we hear it daily made by persons who have not the slightest conception of what polite society is,—is obviously quite ridiculous in the mouth of all but the few who move in the very highest circles of fashion; and can only relate to the few who hold a similar rank in the scale of American society, and discharge its functions, it seems, in a less perfect manner. The great body of the people is better educated, and more comfortably situated, than the bulk of any European community; and possess all the accomplishments that are any where to be found in persons of the same occupation and condition. The complaint is, that there are no people of fashion—that their column still wants its Corinthian capital—or, in other words, that those who are rich and idle have not yet existed so long, or in such numbers, as to have brought to full perfection that system of ingenious trifling, and elegant dissipation, by means of which it has been discovered that wealth and leisure may be most agreeably disposed of. Admitting the fact to be so—and in a country where there is no court, no nobility, and no monument or tradition of chivalrous usages—and where, moreover, the greatest number of those who are rich and powerful have raised themselves to that eminence by mercantile industry, we really do not see how it could well be otherwise—we would still submit, that this is no lawful cause either for national contempt, or for national hostility. It is a peculiarity in the structure of society among that people, which, we take it, can only give offence to their vi-

siting acquaintance; and, while it does us no sort of harm while it subsists, promises, we think, very soon to disappear altogether, and no longer to afflict even our imaginations. The number of individuals born to the enjoyment of hereditary wealth is, or at least was, daily increasing in that country; and it is impossible that their multiplication,—with all the models of European refinement before them, and all the advantages resulting from a free government, and a general system of good education—should fail, within a very short period, to give birth to a better tone of conversation and society, and to manners more dignified and refined. Unless we are very much misinformed indeed, the symptoms of such a change may already be traced in their great cities. Their youths of fortune already travel over all the countries of Europe for their improvement; and specimens are occasionally met with even in these islands, which, with all our prejudices, we must admit, would do no discredit to the best blood of the land from which they originally sprung. Mr Weld, indeed, and farmer Parkinson, give a very uninviting picture of their society; but M. Talleyrand, and the Duc de Liancourt, are by no means so fastidious; and we cannot help suspecting that, upon a point of this nature, their opinion is entitled to full as much weight as either of those English authorities. We are not anxious, however, to establish their title to the capabilities of politeness. We only wish to encourage a disposition to be at peace, and to trade with them; and for that purpose we really think it enough, if it can be shown that they are good customers, and dangerous enemies.

ART. XII. *Some Account of a Boy born Blind and Deaf.* By DUGALD STEWART, Esq. F.R.S. Edinburgh, &c. (Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh.) 4to. pp. 70. Edinburgh, 1812.

WE hasten to lay before the public, a short statement of the most important facts contained in this Memoir, which relates to a more extraordinary defect in the powers of human perception, than any that has hitherto fallen under the cognizance of a philosophical observer.

JAMES MITCHELL, the son of a clergyman lately deceased, in the county of Nairn in Scotland, was born on the 11th November 1795. His mother soon noticed his blindness, from his discovering no desire to turn his eyes to the light, or to any bright object; and in early infancy also she ascertained his deafness, from observing that the loudest noises did not disturb his

sleep. The deafness was from the beginning complete; but the defect of sight, as in other cases of cataract, did not amount to a total absence of vision.

'At the time of life when this boy began to walk, he seemed to be attracted by bright and dazzling colours; and though every thing connected with his history appears to prove that he derived little *information* from that organ, yet he received from it much *sensual gratification*.

'He used to hold between his eye and luminous objects, such bodies as he had found to increase, by their interposition, the quantity of light; and it was one of his chief amusements, to concentrate the sun's rays by means of pieces of glass, transparent pebbles, or similar substances, which he held between his eye and the light, and turned about in various directions. These, too, he would often break with his teeth, and give them that form which seemed to please him most. There were other modes by which he was in the habit of gratifying this fondness for light. He would retire to any out-house, or to any room within his reach, shut the windows and doors, and remain there for some considerable time, with his eyes fixed on some small hole or chink which admitted the sun's rays, eagerly catching them. He would also, during the winter nights, often retire to a dark corner of the room, and kindle a light for his amusement. On these occasions, as well as in the gratification of his other senses, his countenance and gestures displayed a most interesting avidity and curiosity.

'It was difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with precision, the degree of sight which he enjoyed; but from the preternatural acuteness which his senses of touch and smell had acquired, in consequence of their being habitually employed to collect that information for which the sight is peculiarly adapted, it may be presumed with confidence, that he derived little, if any, assistance from his eyes, as organs of vision. The appearances of disease, besides, in the eyes, were such as to render it in the highest degree probable that they enabled him merely to distinguish colours, and differences in the intensity of light.' p. 7. 8.

He early showed an extraordinary acuteness of the senses of touch and smell.

'When a stranger arrives, his smell immediately and invariably informs him of the circumstance, and directs him to the place where the stranger is, whom he proceeds to *survey* by the sense of touch. In the remote situation where he resides, male visitors are most frequent; and, therefore, the first thing he generally does, is to examine whether or not the stranger wears boots; if he does wear them, he immediately quits the stranger, goes to the lobby, feels for, and accurately examines his whip; then proceeds to the stable, and handles his horse with great care, and with the utmost seeming attention. It has occasionally happened, that visitors have arrived in a carriage; and, on such occasions, he has never failed to go to the

place where the carriage stood, examined the whole of it with much anxiety, and tried innumerable times the elasticity of the springs. In all this he is undoubtedly guided by the smell and touch only.' p. 18.

From his childhood he has been accustomed to strike his fore teeth with a key, or any instrument that gives a sharp sound. His chief pleasures are obviously derived from taste and smell; and he often eats with a disagreeable voracity. He finds amusement also in the exercise of touch; and has often employed himself for hours, in gathering from the bed of a river, round and smooth stones, which he afterwards arranged in a circular form, seating himself in the midst of the circle. He explored by touch a space of about two hundred yards round the parsonage, to every part of which he walked fearlessly, and without a guide; and scarcely a day elapsed in which he did not cautiously feel his way into ground which he had not explored before. In one of these excursions of discovery, his father with terror observed him creeping on his hands and knees, along a narrow wooden bridge which crossed a neighbouring river, at a point where the stream was deep and rapid. He was immediately stopped; and to deter him from the repetition of such perilous experiments, he was once or twice plunged into the river, which had the desired effect. The servants were instructed to prevent his visits to the horses of strangers in the stable; and after his wishes in this respect had been repeatedly thwarted, he had the ingenuity to lock the door of the kitchen on the servants, in the hopes that he might accomplish unmolested his visits to the stable. He applies bodies to his tongue for the sake of feeling their surface more accurately; and Dr Gordon, the most scientific observer, who has often seen him, ascribes his disposition to ring objects against his teeth, rather to a more exquisite perception of their comparative hardness which he thus acquires, than to any impression on the nerves of hearing. His limited commerce with the visible world, has served for little more than amusement, and (if analogies between different senses could in any case be permitted), his perceptions of light and colours might be likened to the sensations of heat, which by a classification, of ancient and universal adoption, though perhaps of dubious propriety, are referred to the sense of touch. The information of his understanding and the guidance of his conduct seem entirely to depend either on touch or on the organs of smell and taste, which, in perfectly formed men, have almost dwindled into mere instruments of sensual gratification.

No defect or disease is observable in any member of his family; nor is the extraordinary privation under which he suffers, attended either by general imperfection, or by morbid peculiarity in the structure or functions of other organs. His health has

always been sound and his frame robust. His thoughts, feelings, and actions are governed by the ordinary laws of human nature. His docility and contrivance, seem often to indicate a degree of understanding which (if due allowance be made for his privations) is superior to that of many in whom every inlet is unobstructed through which the materials of knowledge enter the mind.—All observers agree in representing his countenance as intelligent.

'He had received a severe wound in his foot, and during its cure, he usually sat by the fire-side, with his foot resting on a small foot-stool. More than a year afterwards, a servant-boy with whom he used to play, was obliged to confine himself to a chair from a similar cause. Young MITCHELL perceiving that his companion remained longer in one situation than he used to do, examined him attentively, and seemed quickly to discover by the bandages on his foot, the reason of his confinement. He immediately walked up stairs to a garret, sought out, amidst several other pieces of furniture, the little foot-stool which had formerly supported his own wounded limb, brought it down in his hand to the kitchen, and gently placed the servant-boy's foot upon it.' * p. 28.

Having lately appeared to distinguish, by feeling, a horse which his mother had sold a few weeks before, the rider dismounted to put his knowledge to the test; and MITCHELL immediately led the horse to his mother's stable, took off his saddle and bridle, put corn before him, and then withdrew, locking the door, and putting the key in his pocket. He knows the use of most ordinary utensils; and is pleased with every addition which he makes to this sort of knowledge. One of his amusements is, to visit the shops of carpenters and other mechanics, obviously with a view to understand the nature of their tools and operations. He has assisted the farm servants, to whom he was attached, in their work, particularly in cleaning the stable. He has himself endeavoured to repair breaches in the farm houses, and has even attempted to build small houses with turf, leaving little openings like windows. Means were used to teach him to make baskets; but he seemed to want the perseverance necessary to

* 'Somewhat similar to the above anecdote, is the following very pleasing fact, communicated to MR GLENNIE by HUGH IRVINE, Esq. (son of Mr IRVINE of Drum). 'I give it in Mr IRVINE's own words.

"Mr LESLIE of Darkland, a clergyman, called one day, and was taken by MISS MITCHELL to see something out of doors. When they returned, JAMES MITCHELL perceived (no doubt by the sense of smell) that his sister's shoes were wet: he then went and felt them, and would not let her rest till she changed them."

finish his work. He seems to have acquired some sense of property—to value and keep things as his own—and to abstain from what he has known to be habitually used or enjoyed by others. If gentle means are used to make him sensible that he has done wrong, he shows sorrow; but, if harshly treated, he is irritated. He discovers uneasiness when separated from his family, and originally showed pain at separation from his attendants; but, of late, (probably since he has been familiarized to a change of servants), he parts from mere attendants with unconcern.

In 1808 his father brought him to London, for the sake of surgical aid. The membrane of each tympanum was pierced with no apparent benefit; and such attempts were made to operate with the needle on the cataract in the left eye, as the violent resistance of the poor boy would allow, but without advantage. In 1810 he was again brought to London; and Mr. Wardrop having fixed his head by machinery, operated on his right eye with an immediate effect scarcely to have been hoped, and with such subsequent improvement of vision as seems to justify sanguine expectations that further relief may yet be afforded.

In June 1811 this poor boy lost the guidance of his kind and respectable father. His feelings on occasion of the death and funeral of his father are somewhat variously represented. Some of his relations represent him as betraying the liveliest sense of his irreparable loss. But the testimony of his sister and of Dr. Gordon appears to prove, that attention, curiosity and wonder, were excited by the novelty of the outward circumstances, rather than that he felt those sentiments which presuppose some conception of the nature of the change which had occurred in the state of his parent. The traces of moral and social sensibility in the general course of his life, very naturally led to some error on an occasion so interesting.

He had previously amused himself with placing a dead fowl repeatedly on its legs, laughing when it fell; but the first human dead body which he touched was that of his father, from which he shrunk with signs of surprise and dislike. He felt the corpse in the coffin; and, on the evening after the funeral, he went to the grave, and patted it with both his hands; but whether from affection, or imitation of the act of beating down the turf after the grave was closed, his excellent sister, as she was not near enough to observe the workings of his countenance, with her usual modesty and caution, forbears to determine. For several days, he returned repeatedly to the grave, and regularly attended every funeral that afterwards occurred in the same churchyard.

'When a tailor was brought to make a suit of mournings for him, the boy took him into the apartment where his father had died, stretched his own head and neck backwards, pointed to the bed, and then conducted him to the churchyard, to the grave in which his father had been interred.

'Being lately very ill, he was put into the same bed where his father had died. He would not lye a moment in it, but became quite peaceable when removed to another.

'On one occasion, shortly after his father's death, discovering that his mother was unwell, and in bed, he was observed to weep.

'Three months after the death of his father, a clergyman being in the house, on a Sunday evening, he pointed to his father's Bible, and then made a sign that the family should kneel.' p. 56.

His sister has devised some means for establishing that communication between him and other beings, from which nature seemed for ever to have cut him off. By various modifications of touch, she conveys to him her satisfaction or displeasure at his conduct. Touching his head with her hand is her principal method. This she does with various degrees of force, and in various manners; and he seems readily to understand the intimation intended to be conveyed. When she would signify her highest approbation, she pats him much, and cordially, on the head, back, or hand. This expression more sparingly used, signifies simple assent; and she has only to refuse him these signs of her approbation entirely, and repel him gently, to convey to him in the most effectual manner the notice of her displeasure. In this manner she has contrived a language of touch, which is not only the means of communication, but the instrument of some moral discipline. To supply its obvious and great defects, she has had recourse to a language of *action*, representing those ideas which none of the simple natural signs cognizable by the sense of touch could convey. When his mother was from home, his sister allayed his anxiety for her return, by laying his head gently down on a pillow once for each night that his mother was to be absent; implying that he would sleep so many times before her return. It was once signified to him that he must wait two days for a suit of new clothes, and this also was effectually done by shutting his eyes and bending down his head twice. In the mode of communicating his ideas to others, there is a very remarkable peculiarity. When his eye was pressed by Dr Gordon, he stretched out his arm, as if to denote, that the pressure reminded him of the operation performed at the most distant place which he had visited. When he wishes for meat, he points to the place where he knows it to be; and when he was desirous of informing his friends that he was going to a shoemaker's shop, he imitated the action of mak-

ing shoes. But though no information is intentionally communicated to him without touching some part of his body, he did not attempt, in any of these cases, to touch that of others. To say that he addressed these signs to their sight would be incorrect; but he must have been conscious that they were endowed with some means of interpreting signs, without contact, by an incomprehensible faculty which nature had refused to him.

He seems to have no conception of any beings superior to human, and is consequently without any appearance of those religious feelings which are among the most general characteristics of our species. His only attempts at utterance are the uncouth bellowings by which he sometimes labours to vent that violent anger to which his situation renders him prone. His tears are most commonly shed from disappointment in his wishes; but they sometimes flow from affectionate sorrow. He displays by boisterous laughter, his triumph at the success of contrivances to place others in situations of ludicrous distress. Of one train of thoughts and desires which pervades all living nature, he has not hitherto been observed to give any indications.

Diderot alludes to such a case as the present: and the Abbé de L'Epée had not only anticipated the possibility of such a misfortune, but some methods of instruction were farther developed and improved by the Abbé Sicard, which might be tried in a situation so apparently hopeless. But no account of any being, doomed from birth to a privation so nearly complete both of sight and hearing, has hitherto been discovered in the records of science. The case of MITCHELL must therefore be regarded as among the most interesting anomalies in the natural history of the human species. It has fortunately fallen into the hands of one of the greatest masters of the philosophy of mind, who will doubtless in due time avail himself of every means which it can afford for the advancement of knowledge, or for the relief of the individual. For the present, MR STEWART has cautiously forborn from speculations which might be misplaced, and which are probably better postponed till there be an opportunity of longer and more accurate observation. In one or two characteristic passages, the reader will however catch a glimpse of some conclusions, congenial to those sentiments of calm benevolence and reverence for the dignity of human nature which breathe through all his writings, and which, if they should ever seem to disturb the operations of the mere metaphysician, make ample compensation by qualifying him for the higher office of a teacher of moral wisdom. If he has prejudices, they are such as Socrates would not have disclaimed.

As the materials of all human thought and reasoning enter the mind, or arise in it at a period which is prior to the operation of memory, and under the simultaneous action of *all* the senses, it is extremely difficult to ascertain what perceptions belong originally and exclusively to each of the organs of external sense. Our notion of every object is made up of the impressions which it makes on all the organs. Whatever may be thought of the mental act which originally unites these various impressions, it seems evident, that, in the actual state of every human understanding, the labour is to disunite them. Every common man thinks of them, and employs them in their compound state. To analyze them is an operation suggested by philosophy; and which, in the usual state of things, must always be most imperfectly performed. A man who, from the beginning, had all his senses complete, must have had all these impressions; and never can banish any of them from his mind. He can indeed attend to some of them so much more than to others, that he may seem to himself to exclude altogether that which he neglects. But to the perceptions of which he is conscious much will adhere, composed of ingredients so minute and subtle, as to elude the power of will, and to escape the grasp of consciousness. He can approach analysis only by efforts of attention very imperfectly successful, and by suppositions often precarious; and, when pressed to their ultimate consequences, often also repugnant and inconceivable. For such purposes some philosophers have imagined intelligent beings with no other sense than that of vision; and others have represented their own hypothesis respecting the origin and progress of perception, under the history of a statue *successively* endowed with the various organs of sense. It is evident, however, that such suppositions can do no more than illustrate the peculiar opinions of the supposer, and cannot prove that which, in the nature of things, they presuppose.

But when one inlet of perception is entirely blocked up, we then really see the variation in the state of the compound, produced by the absence of part of its ingredients; and hence it has happened, that the cure and education of the deaf and blind, besides their higher character among the triumphs of civilized benevolence, acquire a considerable though subordinate value, as almost the only great experiments which metaphysical philosophy can perform. Even these experiments are incomplete. Knowledge, opinion, and prejudice, are infused into the blind through the ear; and when they are accustomed to employ the mechanism of language, they learn the use of words as signs of things unknown, and speak with coherence and propriety on subjects where they may have no ideas. To fix the limits of the thoughts of a blind man who hears and speaks, is a pro-

blem beyond the reach of our present attainments in philosophy. That Sanderson and Blacklock could use words correctly and consistently, without correspondent ideas, seems to be certain; but how far their privation of thought extended beyond the province of light and colours, we do not seem yet to possess the means of determining. On the other hand, the deaf employ the sense of sight, the most rapid and comprehensive of the subordinate faculties, of the highest importance for the direct original information which it conveys, as well for the great variety of natural signs of which it takes cognizance, and for the conventional signs which the abbreviation of its natural language supplies. *Massieu*, evidently a mind of a far higher order than that of the poet or the mathematician whom we have mentioned, is also excluded from less knowledge: and if he were to reason on the theory of sound, there appears no ground for expecting that he might not employ his words with as much exactness as Sanderson displayed in the employment of algebraic signs. The information conveyed by the ear respecting the condition of outward objects, is comparatively small. But its great importance consists in being the organ which renders it possible to use a conventional language on an extensive scale, and under almost all circumstances. The eye is the grand interpreter of natural signs. A being almost entirely deprived of both is a new object of philosophical examination.

When he has been very long and closely observed by persons qualified for observations of such extraordinary delicacy, some light may perhaps be thrown on the origin of those perceptions of extension, figure and distance, which are generally supposed to be common to the senses of touch and sight; a supposition which some subtle speculators conceive to be utterly repugnant to the laws of sensation, which seem to them to limit each perception to one sense; though they differ with regard to the organ to which these ideas are to be referred, some ascribing them exclusively to the visual, and others to the tactile nerves. The improvement of which he may be found capable, under the continuance of his privations, or the changes of which he must be conscious in the happier event of his cure, will be almost equal objects of philosophical curiosity. The education of the inferior senses, for which he is probably the best human subject, and the enlargement of that *manual language* which was conceived by the Abbé de L'Epée, and invented by Miss Mitchell, are not merely curious subjects, but closely connected with the fundamental principles of knowledge. It is scarcely possible to conceive a question more interesting than that which respects the degree of intellect which may be exerted by a creature deprived of the two senses which are most observably subservient to in-

tellectual culture, both as inlets of direct knowledge, and as the channels through which the least educated man of this age imbibes, in a few years, the result of the experience and meditation of the human race during a progress through innumerable generations.

A man, whose condition as an animal, is lower than that of the species in the imaginary period placed before the use of language or the invention of picture-writing, and who yet exhibits rude lineaments of almost every intellectual power and moral sentiment, receiving aid and instruction, perhaps cure, from science, which he repays by information to be extracted from no other being, is a spectacle well calculated to inspire reverence for cultivated intellect, and lofty hopes of the attainments of mankind. Had the lot of this helpless creature been cast among savages, or even among some of those barbarians whom we still continue too much to admire, he must have perished from his own helplessness, if his sufferings had not been abridged by their humane barbarity. How different is the state of a civilized community! Compassion springs up, as it were, by the side of every signal calamity, to soothe where it cannot heal. The science which civilization produces is called forth in the service of the benevolence which it fosters. The education of *Massieu* is the boast of philosophy on the continent of Europe; and in the present Memoir, one of the wisest and most celebrated men of our own country deems it a worthy exercise of his powers to endeavour to obtain from the liberality of Government, through the interposition of a learned Society, the means of placing Mitchell in a situation where he may be observed and instructed at least, if not cured; so that the boundaries of knowledge may be enlarged by the same means which relieve the sufferings of an interesting individual, and lighten the burdens of a meritorious family.

ART. XIII. *Papers relating to the East-India Company's Charter, &c. viz. Copies of the Correspondence that has taken place between the President of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company; together with the Minutes of the Court of Directors of the said Company, respecting the Renewal of their Exclusive Privileges; as laid before the Proprietors of East-India Stock, at their General Court, on the 25th of March* 1812.

THESE papers, which have been printed for the use both of the Members of the House of Commons, and of the Pro-

prietors of East-India stock, afford not only a view of the various propositions brought forward by the Ministry, on the one hand, and the Court of Directors on the other, on the subject of the renewal of the Company's charter, but also a condensed and authoritative statement of the arguments by which the Honourable Company continue to plead for a renewal of the monopoly. It is a publication, therefore, peculiarly adapted for suggesting those reflections which the existing state of the national deliberations on the grand subject of the government of India, and the trade with that country, appears to us at the present moment most particularly to demand.

We have already made several efforts to dispel some of the delusions which unfortunately overshadow this subject; and to direct to it the salutary inquiries of independent men; who have hitherto (to use the language of a celebrated Committee of the House of Commons on this very subject) 'been fatigued into such a despair of ever obtaining a competent knowledge of the transactions in India, that they are easily persuaded to remand them back to that obscurity, mystery and intrigue, out of which they have never been forced upon public notice, but by the calamities arising from their extreme mismanagement.'* But though we have good reason to think that we have not altogether laboured in vain, we are still more certain that fresh efforts are required, not only to communicate the knowledge in which on this subject most men are so far in arrear, but to excite in regard to it any thing like the proper degree of interest and curiosity. It is far from being generally understood, what important interests of our own, and our posterity, are involved in the discussion. In the space to which we are now compelled to restrict ourselves, it is a very general view of the interests of the several parties concerned which it is possble for us to take. We shall endeavour, however, to trace the outline. To fill it up, must be left to the capacity or demand of future occasions.

There are three principal parties whose interests are involved

* Ninth Report of the Select Committee 1783, drawn up by Mr Burke. The Report continues, 'This mismanagement has itself (as your Committee conceive) in a great measure arisen from dark cabals, and secret suggestions of persons in power, without a regular public inquiry into the good or evil tendency of any measure, or into the merit or demerit of any person entrusted with the Company's concerns.' There have been various inquiries since the time of the above quoted Report; but the question is, whether they have been so conducted as to throw light upon the subject, or, as far as possible, to keep it wrapt in pristine darkness.

in the questions of Indian trade and government. These are, the East-India Company; the British nation; and the people of India.

1. The relative magnitude and importance of these several interests and parties, is no mean part of the consideration, in any rational attempt to think wisely on this interesting subject: but fortunately, the difficulty of weighing them in the balance is not extraordinary. The first is, out of all comparison, the least to be regarded or attended to; and wherever an incompatibility of interests occurs, the conclusion of all the disinterested men in the world must be, that it is the Company's which ought to give way. Between the British nation and the people of India, the one greatly below 20,000,000; the other, it is said, not below 70,000,000 of souls; there may appear to be as little reason for hesitating. But, allowing a good deal for superior power and intelligence, and a great deal for selfishness, we shall not dispute our own title to the first place in our own consideration,—but content ourselves with merely expressing a hope, that it will be thought rather unreasonable to sacrifice either the interests of the British nation, or those of 70,000,000 of our subjects beyond the water, to the *East India Company.*

That distinguished Body will scarcely venture, we presume, to maintain, in direct terms, that they should be so sacrificed. But we are not a little alarmed at the tone in which their advocates have begun to talk of their *rights* to the territory and the exclusive trade—rights which they rest upon *the sovereignty* which they allege they themselves have acquired from the native powers; and with which, they more than insinuate, that the Legislature of Great Britain has no more business to interfere, than with the rights of any other sovereign. The manifest absurdities that are implied in this audacious doctrine, are such as to require no refutation. It is quite enough, and indeed too much, to reply in one word, that this pretended Sovereign —the East India Company—is itself a creature of the British Legislature,—created for a limited period,—and not only subject, in all its proceedings, to the control of the supreme power from which it originates, but depending for its very existence upon its good pleasure.

With regard to the Company, then, the first of the parties concerned, it is enough to say, that there can be no doubt that Parliament has a right to do what it pleases with the trade and the government of India as soon as the charter expires; and it seems equally manifest, that it is the interest of the Company to recognize that right. The only grounds then upon which that Body can propose or suggest any thing as to these great ques-

tions of policy, must be, that what they propose is for the benefit of the nation at large: And this leads us at once to the consideration of the interests of this second party.

2. The Honourable Company then maintain, that it is for the interest of the nation that the territory and trade of India should remain in their hands, and upon terms nearly the same as before. Let us hear their reasons. First of all, they have the old serviceable plea of their having been formerly thought competent to this great trust. The East India Company have managed the territory and the trade in time past; and therefore they ought to manage it in time to come. According to this very convenient argument, any thing mischievous needs only a beginning, to be entitled to endless duration. An abuse exists; therefore, it ought to continue to exist. An abuse has *long* existed; it is still more entitled to perpetuity.

Another plea equally familiar, and almost as commonly perverted, is, that *experience* ought not to be sacrificed to *speculation;* the meaning of which is, that a narrow and partial experience should always be preferred to a large and enlightened one; or rather, that experience of *evil* should make all prudent people cling to it the closer,—and resist, with all their might, any speculation as to the means of its removal.

The Company indeed seems aware, that these general maxims can do them no service;—and they come, at last, to the real merits of the case. And here they assert, first, that the opening of the trade would be attended with no advantage—because it is a trade which admits not of any enlargement, either in the export or the import branch.

That a trade between two vast portions of the globe, differing widely in soil, climate, and productions, and accessible to one another by means of a moderate voyage, should at any one moment be declared incapable of increase, must excite a gentle emotion of surprise, we imagine, in every man who is moderately acquainted with the natural principles of traffic,—with the physical qualities of the globe,—and the moral nature of man. What is the *cause* of trade?—That one country is peculiarly adapted to the production of one set of commodities, and another of another; and that, by the mutual exchange of those commodities, the comforts and accommodations of all are multiplied and increased. Hardly any two regions can be conceived, in this respect, more adapted to one another, by diversity of soil and climate, than Europe and the countries washed by the seas included in the Company's monopoly, embracing the principal shores both of Africa and Asia.

The picture, however, which the Company *now* draws of this

vast traffic, affords an amusing contrast to the representations in which they used formerly to indulge. After exhausting for ages all the powers of their rhetoric, in conveying to us the most lofty ideas of its importance, they tell us, all of a sudden, that it is, and ever must be, quite insignificant. The particulars and the causes of this opportune decay are equally curious and important.

It seems the cotton manufactures of England now rival the piece-goods, as they are called, of India. The necessity of the existing high duties on the latter, proves this statement to be fallacious. But the productive powers of the soil and trade of India are not limited to one sort of fabric; and fifty new articles, we doubt not, could be produced, were the vivifying powers of individual enterprise, and of augmenting capital, to be allowed their free operation. Of this indeed we have a striking proof and example in the culture of indigo, now so important an article in the cargoes from India; which is entirely the fruit of the intelligence, capital, and adventure of private merchants, under all the enormous disadvantages which the monopoly of the Company imposes upon them. The fact is, as may be proved undeniably by figures, that, under the cheap freight, the expedition and economy of private trade, all the more valuable productions of the *soil*—not to speak of the arts actual or possible of India—might be brought to Europe with a profit.

But *the war*, it seems, operates to the diminution of the importations from India; and accordingly, in their letter to the President of the Board of Control, of 13th of January 1809, where they argue the question of the monopoly, among the causes which they assign for the insignificance of the trade, the Directors add, that 'the almost incessant wars which have prevailed 'for the last sixteen years (wars still without any near pros-'pect of termination), have reduced the value of that trade to a 'very low point.' Now, upon this matter, we are happily relieved from the necessity of refuting the learned Directors, by finding that they have taken that trouble themselves. In their Third Report, dated 25th March 1802, the Special Committee of the Court of Directors give it as their 'clear, unequivocal 'conviction, that it will be impossible for the Legislature, by 'any regulation whatever, to bring to the river Thames, *in* 'time of peace, the same quantity (in bulk and value) of the 'produce and manufacture of India, which has been brought 'here *in time of war.*' This, too, was no hasty opinion suggested by the convenience of the moment, but a doctrine familiar to the Company in their moments of maturest deliberation. In the late Lord Melville's famous letter, of 30th June 1801,

on the liquidation of the Company's debts, he takes the *diminution* of the Company's sales, during a period of peace, as *an expected result;* and, instead of 7,400,000*l.*, the amount of the sales of that year, ventures to estimate them, for a period of peace, at no more than 5,550,000*l.* With all this before them, however, the Directors are bold enough to charge the war as a cause of their diminished sales. It is thus a cause of increase or a cause of diminution, just as it suits the requisite delusion of the moment.

And why, in truth, should a war, which has continually *increased* our exports, (with the exception of one disastrous year of the Orders in Council), have diminished our power of exporting *Indian* goods alone? It is evident, to certainty, that it could have no such effect. It is evident that the contrary doctrine—the doctrine of Lord Melville and the Directors in 1801 and 1802, is the true one; and that, in a war wherein we alone engross the supply of Europe, we may sell to Europe more than during peace, when it may have an opportunity of supplying itself.

The grand push of the Directors, however, is reserved for the subject of exportation to India. They have long, indeed, declared, that the Company lost by their export trade; and certainly, in their hands, the business of exportation has always been sufficiently expensive. But they now proceed to greater lengths, and actually tell us, that it never can be any thing else than contemptible; because, forsooth, the people of India, the people of Asia, will not purchase our goods. Now, this is in reality to tell us, that the resources and ingenuity of Europe can produce nothing, either useful or agreeable, to the people of Asia. That a great portion of the commodities which the people of Europe make for their own taste and accommodation, commodities to which the careless ignorance of a chartered Company has confined their exports, should not be adapted to the taste and accommodation of the people of Asia, we do not at all wonder. But it would, indeed, be a matter of astonishment, if the acuteness and ardour of private adventurers should not find means of producing commodities to the taste of every people in the world who have enough to give for them.

But this the Company will tell us is *theory*; and nobody at all acquainted with the Hindu character can be the dupe of it. To us it appears to be confirmed by the experience of the whole world. But we have no objection to meet them on their own ground; and are willing to rest this matter on authority which no person who has been in India will dare to call in question. Mr Henry Colebrooke, the first oriental scholar, and the best in-

formed man in Bengal, aided by some of his friends, produced in 1794 a very curious work at Calcutta, on the subject of the agriculture and commerce of that country. The work was not then sold, but circulated privately among friends. The part which relates to *agriculture* has since been published in England, and has been received with that favour, to which it is so well entitled by the important information it contains. Why the second part has *not* been published will perhaps sufficiently appear, when we add, that it not only condemns the monopoly, but the government of the Company; and strongly argues for depriving them of both. On the subject in question, this indisputably well-informed and experienced author thus expresses himself.

'It is averred' (says he, p. 197, 198) 'that no greater vend can be found for the manufactures of Great Britain than the Company already supply; that wrought metals would find no market; that the unwrought metals, and the woollens they now export, exceed the demand, and are sold at a loss. In support of these assertions it is argued, that the natives of India are restrained by religious prejudices from the use of articles wrought by people of another persuasion; and that the climate of India, and the prejudices of its inhabitants, admit not the wear of woollens, the staple manufacture of Great Britain. Professing to combat no argument we cannot confute, and not simply to deny, but refute every assertion we oppose, we shall quote from the Hindus, *That all things come undefiled from the shop;* or, in the words of Menu, *The hand of an artist employed in his art is always pure, so is every vendible commodity when exposed to sale.* This is a practical maxim, which regulates the daily practice of the highest and lowest classes. It permits the use of any article purchased at a shop, without inquiry how wrought, or by whom handled. To this may be added, the information furnished by learned pundits, to whom the prejudices ascribed to Hindus were stated. They quoted the maxim above mentioned; they repeated others which inculcate the positive preference of woollen above every other fabric; and allow the purification of woollen actually defiled by a simple exposure to air, while water is required to purify other cloths. The daily observation of every person resident in India will come in aid of our argument, if further proof be thought requisite; for numbers of Hindus may be seen in the rainy season, and in winter, walking the streets of Calcutta, wrapped in a piece of English broad cloth, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather.' The author goes on to say, that the rainy season and winter of India afford real occasion for the use of woollens; and that 'the fabrics of Europe are always preferred, when the means of the wearer can reach the purchase.' He adds, that if the articles were adapted, in the manufacture, to Indian use, and the price reduced, (as by the powers of the private dealer it would infallibly

be) 'the consumption would descend from the middle even to the more numerous classes.' With regard to other articles he observes, 'It may suffice to say, that the natives of India do not want a taste for porcelain and other elegant wares; that they require vast quantities of metallic vessels, and of hardware; and that in proportion to their means they would gladly consume the product of many of the British arts. Considering the greatness of the population, and *the disposition of the natives to use European manufactures*, it cannot be doubted that *a great vend* may actually be found for British manufactures, if imported on reasonable charges; and the demand will increase with the restoration of wealth to these provinces.' p. 202.

We have given these extracts at length, because the book, which has never been published, is extremely scarce in England, and because the authority, which is very high, could not otherwise have been laid fully before the public. There is great choice, however, of testimonies to the same purpose.

Mr Bazett, a gentleman who had been engaged in one of the principal mercantile houses in Calcutta since the year 1788, was examined by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1809, and asked—'Are you of opinion, from your knowledge of the trade to and from India, that, if the restrictions and inconveniences which you have stated were removed, the trade either from India or from Europe would admit of considerable extension?—I am decidedly of opinion, that were the merchants residing in India allowed to export their goods on the India-built bottoms, and to load those goods without the interference of the Government there, that the trade of India to this country would be *very greatly extended*.—Would the trade from Europe to India, if the restrictions were removed, admit of any extension?—Certainly, *of very great extension*. We should export largely, that the ships might not return without cargo; which exports would not take place under the present system.' * Mr Henry Fawcett, in like manner, who had been long resident at Bombay, both in the Company's service and as a merchant, answered,—'that if European articles could be afforded *cheaper* than at present, the exports might be increased.' † But there is no need to multiply individual authorities; for *the whole body of private merchants resident in India*, who have the best opportunity and the deepest interest to make themselves acquainted with the state of the case, afford the most satisfactory of all authorities, by the eagerness with which they

* Supplement to the Fourth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company, p. 86, 87.

† Ibid. p. 95.

crave to be admitted to the trade, free from the burthens and restrictions of the Company.

The Company, however, hold out their own experience. *We*, they cry, have never been able to increase our exports. *We* have always lost by our attempts to extend them. We verily believe them: And had the Company possessed the monopoly of the trade to *North America*, to which, under the system of freedom, we exported 12,000,000*l.* annually, we have no doubt that they would have had the same disastrous experience to plead. Under their management, the goods would necessarily have been offered at such a price, that beyond a mere pittance it would have been unprofitable to sell them.

The Company say that the smallness of the exports which have been sent in their ships by private merchants, under the permissory regulations of 1793, is a proof that this branch of business is incapable of extension. To us, however, it appears clear, on the other hand, that the fact of the private merchants having found it for their interest to send *any* goods to India by such a channel, is the strongest proof that it would be their interest to send immense quantities if any other channel could be opened.

We shall confine ourselves to the illustration of a single circumstance. The Company are bound by the Act of Parliament which granted the last extension of the monopoly, to furnish 3000 tons of shipping annually to the private merchants. The rate of freight which they are accustomed to charge on their extra ships, is, as stated in their Memoir of April 1806, 5*l.* outward and 15*l.* homeward in time of peace; 7*l.* 10s. outward and 22*l.* 10s. homeward in time of war. This, however, is by no means uniform. A sufficient number of ships called extra ships is sometimes not provided. The merchants are then obliged to take their freight on board the ships called regular; and for them a much higher rate is demanded. Mr Innes, in his evidence before the Select Committee, stated—'that for the outward voyage, 1807–8, the 'private traders paid to the Company 8*l.* 10s. per ton; that the 'rate homeward for 1805–6, when no extra ships were provided, 'was 44*l.* per ton; that so high a freight as 52*l.* has been 'charged; that even on the extra ships in 1809, 9*l.* was charged 'on the voyage outward, and 22*l.* 15s. on the voyage home.—Even at these rates it is remarkable that the Company complain that they are losers; and that the freight both on the regular and extra ships costs them dearer than they charge.

The question is, How far these enormous costs are necessary; or whether, if the trade were thrown open, a great part of them might not be spared? Upon this subject we shall pro-

duce, from the unpublished work of Mr Colebrooke already quoted, a passage, by which a great deal of light is thrown upon the subject.

'The expenses' (says this sensible and well-informed writer, p. 262) 'attendant on a private ship to this country, under the embarrassment of foreign colours and a contraband commerce, which obliges the adventurer to purchase his security by lucrative wages, and a submission to every act of rapacity in his agents, are multiplied beyond all conception; and cannot be adduced in proof of the real charge of navigation between India and Europe. To form a fair and true estimate of what would be the rate of freight were the trade thrown open, we ought to inquire what is the price of tonnage out of Great Britain for ships employed in other trades, when the outfit is equal to an Indian voyage. We shall by doing this find, that the freight of a West-Indiaman homeward bound (that outward being little or nothing) does not exceed 3s. 6d. per cwt., or 3*l.* 10s. per ton, payable on delivery, and upon articles of great bulk and unprofitable stowage; although she only performs, in general, one voyage in twelve months. At the beginning of last war, Government hired transports to go to America, and remain there on an enemy's coast, at 9s. 6d. per ton per month, or 5*l.* 14s., per annum, carpenters' tonnage; which is not more than two-thirds of what a merchant ship will really carry or stow. The outfit and equipment of a transport to America, and the expense of navigating her there, are full as much as what it would cost to navigate a ship to and from India, allowing an equal space of time to each. Say, then, that the Indian voyage will take twelve months, in which period I know it can be performed; or five months out, and five months home, and two months to deliver and receive the cargo;* and allow the ship the same hire, in time of peace, which Government paid to transports in time of war: a merchant ship measuring 300 tons will carry 450 tons, many of them a greater proportion; of course, we have the neat tonnage at 6s. 4d. per ton per month, or 3*l.* 16s. per annum. Admit even that the voyage will require eighteen months, the freight only amounts to 5*l.* 14s. 6d. An allowance, therefore, of 6*l.* per ton for the voyage, or 3*l.* out, and 3*l.* home, must be considered ample. The highest freight ever paid by Government, was 15s. per ton *per mensem* to the Atlantic transport to Botany-Bay, coppered, and to be maintained in the Pacific Ocean, or Indian seas, by the owners, for an indefinite period: con-

* 'The voyage from America to Calcutta is frequently performed in less than four months. In the last season, several American ships disposed of their imports, purchased their cargo for exportation, and left the port within twenty-five, and some within twenty days from the date of their arrival.' Letter from the Governor-General (Lord Wellesley) to the Court of Directors, 30th December 1800.

sequently, the expense of outfit far exceeded what it would have been for a definite voyage. The ship was taken for 500 tons, and her burden was 750: the real price, then, per ton, was 10s. *per mensem.* A voyage home would be four months; but allowing six, and as much for the voyage out, or twelve for both, including the stay in port, the freight is 3*l.* outward, and the same homeward. If Government can hire tonnage at this rate, what prevents individuals supplying themselves at the same rate?'

We consider this as a very instructive passage. What difference may have taken place, in the rates in question, since the time it was written, we have not at hand the means of ascertaining; nor is it of much importance. The *principles* of an accurate calculation are here unfolded; and the merchants concerned well know what is the rate of freight in West Indiamen and Government transports. We should be much surprised, according to these *data*, if the freight of a ship to India should be found to exceed 10*l.* per ton, or 5*l.* out and 5*l.* home; which is less than *one-third* of the expense on the Company's extra ships; and not more than *one-sixth* of the expense on their regular ships.

Let us now see how this affects the price of commodities. Let us suppose, at an average, that commodities are worth 50*l.* per ton, which for bulky commodities is a great deal too much, (sugar is worth from 30*l.* to 40*l.*); 5*l.* per ton is then exactly 10 per cent; 10*l.* per ton is 20 per cent.; 15*l.* per ton is 30 per cent.; 20*l.* per ton is 40 per cent; 30*l.* per ton is 60 per cent.; 40*l.* per ton is 80 per cent.; 50*l.* per ton is 100 per cent.; and 60*l.* per ton, which the Company's regular ships are said to cost the Company, is 120 per cent. The Company's freight, at this rate, without including the other numerous causes of extraordinary expense, is sufficient of itself to double the price at which goods might be sold, if transported from the one country to the other by private merchants. Take this as a sample;—and say, whether, under such a management, the Company's want of profit on the export or import trade with India, is a proof of the impossibility of carrying it on with advantage.

We hear it predicted, however, from various quarters, that the expectations of the merchants, upon the opening of this trade, are likely to be extravagant, and to lead them into speculations which will be attended with misery and ruin; and we should not be much surprised to find considerable use made of this topic in the debates that are about to take place on the renewal of the charter. It would be strange, however, if intelligent individuals, who have dedicated their whole lives to the study and the practice of trade, should not understand their own interest almost as well as the meddling and *speculative* po-

liticians who are so ready to take care of them. But the merchants, we are told, did actually involve themselves in calamities by the extravagance of their speculations to South America. We believe the fact to be so:—But, in the first place, the politicians were, in that case, the great instigators of those fatal speculations; and, in the next place, we think that disaster affords the strongest of all possible securities, that the parties concerned will be sufficiently on their guard against a similar mistake on an immediately succeeding occasion. These ingenious politicians, however, appear to imagine, that merchants are like governments;—that they go on, from occasion to occasion, *repeating* eternally their own blunders, without profiting in the smallest degree by experience. Because in a season of unexampled stagnation, when every warehouse was surcharged with perishable and unsaleable commodities, distress urged a portion of the merchants to hurry somewhat too eagerly to a new and extraordinary market, must we of necessity suppose, that they will exhibit a similar folly upon the late and gradual opening of a trade which has long been the object of their study and actual observation? If so, let our wise politicians give them warning and instruction; but for God's sake, let the Legislature leave them perfect freedom to *act* as their own interests and experience may direct. When a body of men pay for their folly all out of their own pockets, we need not fear that it will be a folly of very long duration.

But when the Honourable Company, and their Court of Directors, despair of being able to persuade us that the shores of Africa and Asia afford no scope for commerce, they still hope to deter us from laying open the trade by a new and more formidable danger. The frequent intercourse of Europeans with the people of India would be attended, they say, with fatal consequences. It would be sure to disgust them with us, and make them revolt. It would also fill India with Europeans, who would soon become sufficiently strong to throw off their allegiance to the mother country.

Now we must observe, in the first place, that these two alarming results, which the Company predict both together, and with equal certainty, are opposite to, and absolutely inconsistent with one another. If the people of India, by the nearer contact of Europeans, would be irritated into general revolt, the Europeans could never be strong enough to wish to deprive themselves of the protection of the mother country. And if the Europeans should become strong enough to set at defiance the mother country, the natives must, of necessity, be far from a disposition to revolt.

We have observed, however, that there is no prejudice of the

Company and their agents which the people of this country are more ready to adopt, than this of the tendency to revolt which is likely to be created among the Indians, by the frequent intercourse of Englishmen. Yet no opinion ever was founded upon slighter or more improbable grounds. It is a conclusion, indeed, which appears to us to be drawn in direct contradiction to experience. There is not a single fact in the history of India to afford it support; and the whole current of the history is against it.

Why is it not remembered, that the Indians are not now, for the *first time*, made acquainted with strangers? Have they not been subject to the intercourse of Mahomedans, a coarse, intolerant, and oppressive people, for many centuries? And not a single instance can be produced of a revolt of the Hindu *people*, against the Mahomedan. Whatever revolts, whatever wars, have taken place, have been the work of princes and chiefs for their own ambitious purposes; never of the people, from national or religious antipathies.

Aware that the Mahomedan history is an answer in point, and a complete one, to the pretence of danger from an increased intercourse with Europeans, the adherents of the prejudice try to elude the argument by alleging the *numbers* of the Mahomedans. But we really do not think their logic much better, on this occasion, than on that of the dangers of revolt and colonization. The Hindus submitted to the Mahomedans because they were many; they submit to the English, because they are few. They dared not to revolt against the Mahomedans, because they were numerous; but if the English become numerous, that is the very cause to make them revolt! If we come, however, to the matter of fact, we shall find, that a body of 500 Europeans not only seems, but really is, more powerful by far than many thousand Mahomedans. The battle of Plassy, which decided the fate of India, was gained by 900 Europeans, and 2,000 Sepoys, at that time most imperfectly disciplined, against an army of more than 60,000 men. It is also to be remembered, that though in the course of ages the Mahomedans became numerous in one part of India, they were not numerous at first; and in Deccan, the Mahomedan kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda were founded and maintained by a handful of men; nor was it till the time of Aurungzebe that any considerable number of Mahomedans were introduced into that region of India, where even now they are in no great abundance.

But it is idle talking, when the question is decided by indisputable experiment. We are well acquainted with the condition of the natives in the Black towns of Cuddalore, Madras,

and Calcutta, who are subject to a daily and extensive intercourse with Europeans of all descriptions. But did any one ever perceive, that the antipathies to Europeans, and the disposition to revolt, of this portion of the Indian people, were greater than those of the rest of their countrymen? The very reverse is the fact. It will be said, indeed, that these towns are under the immediate eye of government, where such evils are less likely to spring up. Allowing this to be true, *tendencies* might still be perceived. But these are notoriously all of an opposite description. With regard to the eye of government, indeed, a government is good in proportion only as its eye is everywhere, to protect the innocent, and repress the bad. Afford but such regulations as to secure the natives against the injustice of Europeans, to which a skilful administration of law is all that is required, and they will bless the presence of the strangers. But as governments are generally constituted, experience certainly does not prove, that the seat of the ruler is the place *least* exposed to disaffection and disturbance.

But Englishmen of bad characters, it is insinuated, would intrude themselves into India, and alienate the affections of the natives by the fraud and violence of their proceedings. We cannot, however, persuade ourselves, that it is likely that Englishmen without power, superintended and watched by law and government, should be more offensive in their dealings than those agents now spread all over the country, who are at once both law and government in their own persons. Read but the accounts rendered by Sir Philip Francis, by the Select Committee in 1783, and by other authorities, of the modes of procedure pursued by the Company's agents in the Pergunnahs, and the Aurungs toward the natives at the plough, at the looms, and the salt-works; and then say, if you can, whether the modes of buying and selling, by private individuals, under any thing like a tolerable administration of justice, will make a people who submitted passively to the one sort of treatment revolt under the other.

If the Indians are, as they easily may be, protected from the *violence* of Europeans, they may with all safety be left to themselves, as to the matter of *fraud*. In that point, indeed, it will rather be necessary to protect the Europeans from them. In all other respects, it is only by indecency that Europeans can be supposed to give offence. With regard to sexual indecency, the most corrupt of Europeans are patterns of modesty compared with the Indians themselves. And as to intoxication, though as effected by liquor, it is not very familiar to them, it is perfectly so, in a shape altogether as disgusting, effected by opium

or bang. Besides, there is no other place where the natives are likely to see intoxication so much as among the soldiers and sailors at Fort St David, Madras, and Calcutta, where it certainly has not inspired any tendency to revolt.

It is alleged, however, that their mere familiarity with the countenances and persons of Europeans, will destroy that admiration of them, on which it is pretended that the obedience of the Indians depends. We are told at one time, that the Hindus are a highly civilized and intelligent people: at another, we are desired to believe, that they are so very stupid as to be governed permanently by the most debasing illusions. They must indeed be far under the common standard of human nature to be guided as this argument supposes. The superstitious veneration towards a whole people, which sometimes produces great effects among a barbarous race, is never of long duration. In fact, it never had any existence among the Hindus, who reckon themselves the foremost people in the world. Their obedience proceeds from no such superstitious terror; but from their real and substantial experience of our superior military force; and from their habits of submitting, with perfect passiveness, to any hands whatsoever in which the military power is placed. To this character of theirs, through all ages, there is not a single exception. From the combinations of the princes and chiefs of the country, we may have more or less to fear, according to the skill of our administration. From the people, considered as people, we shall never have any thing to fear, till a total change is effected in their character and circumstances.

On the supposed danger of colonization, as leading to a rupture between the colonists and the mother country, we shall say but little at present; because we have treated this objection to freedom at considerable length on former occasions; and we are happy to perceive that it is a prejudice which has now lost much of its force. As we have observed, however, that in this whole question of the monopoly, great stress is laid upon authority—upon the opinions of persons of eminence who have been upon the spot—we shall produce evidence of this sort which it will not be very easy for those who depend upon authority, to resist.

Mr Hastings, in his Review of the Present State of Bengal, says—

'Although we have so long been in possession of the sovereignty of Bengal, yet we have not been able so far to change our ideas with our situation, as to quit the contracted views of monopolists. Hence it is, that in all the correspondence of the Board of Trade, we find constant complaints of private merchants making advances

to the Company's weavers—of their giving greater prices than have hitherto been given by the Company, &c.....Let all his be. It is of less consequence that the investment should be procured cheap, than that the commerce of the country should flourish; and I insist upon it, as a fixed and incontrovertible principle, *that commerce can only flourish when it is equal and free.*' p. 142.

Mr Boughton Rouse, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1783, * said—

'It had long been his opinion, and one which actuated his public conduct when chief of the Dacca province, to oppose the Company's claim of preemption, and thereby render *the trade completely free and open:* and he thought that the most likely mode of recovering a valuable trade which had very much declined.'

The same gentleman, in a letter of his to General Clavering, in September 1776, adduced in evidence by the same Committee, † says—

'I confess I am a hearty advocate *for unrestrained freedom of trade;* but it might be unsafe to establish it in its fullest extent, until the effects of arbitrary and erroneous principles are in some degree removed: so that some measures I might now propose for temporary convenience would not be perfectly consistent with that extensive freedom I would desire to establish, and which, I am confident, will be the more established and maintained, in proportion as the British administration in India shall become more liberal and enlightened.'

We have met with nothing more instructive, on the whole of this subject, than a passage in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of 1783. Among the various monopolies which the Company created in the internal trade of Bengal, that of Opium, granted to some of their servants, was one. It is curious to remark, that arguments were adduced in its defence as exactly as possible the same with those which are so pertinaciously brought forward in defence of the exclusive privileges of the Company. Let us see how the Committee dispose of them.

'The policy' (says the Report, p. 35) 'was justified on the usual principles on which monopolies are supported, and on some peculiar to the commodity, to the nature of the trade, and to the state of the country:—The security against adulteration—the prevention of the excessive home-consumption of a pernicious drug—the stopping an excessive competition, which, by an over-proportioned supply, would at length destroy the market abroad—the inability of the cultivator to proceed in an expensive and precarious culture, without a large advance of capital—and, lastly, the incapacity of private merchants to supply that capital on the feeble security of wretched

* Sixth Report, p. 20.

† Ninth Report, Appendix, No. 50.

farmers. These were the principal topics on which the monopoly was supported. The last topic leads to a serious consideration on the state of the country: For, in pushing it, the gentlemen argued, that in case such private merchants should advance the necessary capital, the lower cultivators *would get money in abundance.* Admitting this fact, it seems to be a part of the policy of this monopoly, to prevent the cultivator from obtaining the natural fruits of his labour. Dealing with a private merchant, he could not get money in abundance, unless his commodity would produce an abundant profit. Further reasons, relative to the peace and good order of the province, were assigned for thus preventing the course of trade from the equitable distribution of the advantages of the produce, in which the first, the poorest, and the most laborious producer ought to have his just share. The cultivators (they add) would squander part of the money, and not be able to complete their engagements to the full;—lawsuits and even battles would ensue between the factors contending for a deficient produce;—and the farmers would discourage the culture of an object which brought so much disturbance into their districts. This competition, the operation of which they endeavour to prevent, is the natural corrective of the abuse, and the best remedy which could be applied to the disorder, even supposing its probable existence. Upon whatever reasons or pretences the monopoly of opium was supported, the real motive appears to be—the profit of those who were in hopes to be concerned in it. As these profits promised to be very considerable, at length it engaged the attention of the Company; and, after many discussions and various plans of application, it was at length taken for their benefit. In the year 1773, it had been taken out of the hands of the Council of Patna, and leased to two of the natives: but for a year only. The proceedings on this contract demonstrated the futility of all the principles on which the monopoly was founded. The Council, as a part of their plan, were obliged, by heavy duties, and by a limitation of the right of emption of foreign spiceries to the contractors for the home produce, to check the influx of that commodity from the territories of the Nabob of Oude and the Rajah of Benares. In those countries no monopoly existed; and yet, there, the commodity was of such a quality, and so abundant, as to bear the duty,—and, even with the duty, in some degree to rival the monopolist even in his own market. There was no complaint, in these countries, of want of advances to cultivators, or of lawsuits and tumults among the factors; nor was there any appearance of the multitude of other evils, which had been so much dreaded from the vivacity of competition.'

In the unpublished work of Mr Colebrooke, which we have already quoted, it is said,

'The facts, adduced in the course of the preceding observations, sufficiently establish, that the *unfettered enterprise of individuals would give a great impulse to the industry of Bengal, for productions in demand in Europe:* that, through the medium of private trade,

Great Britain would become the depot for the supply of Europe with Indian productions; not only for the commerce now conducted upon British capital under foreign flags, but for a considerable portion of the supply which foreign nations now draw through their own direct commerce with India; and also for the supply of many productions which European nations now draw from other countries, and which might be furnished by British India. Great Britain becoming the channel for the returns in money and commodities with which foreign nations must purchase Indian commodities, would reap commercial profit, and increase her own navigation. She would also find a new vent for her own manufactures; and British India, exporting more to Europe, and receiving greater returns, would feel less sensibly the drain of an annual tribute.' p. 217.

Mr Francis (now Sir Philip) in the last paragraph of his Plan for the Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, says,

'If the subject of the Inland trade of Bengal should, at any time hereafter, come again under the consideration of the Legislature, the question, Whether the restrictions now imposed on his Majesty's European subjects, not employed in the collections or in offices of authority, are necessary to be continued? will, I think, deserve their serious attention. At a time when the Company's servants claimed exemptions from the duties paid by the natives,—when the operation of the *Dustuck* manifestly tended to engrossing the whole trade of the country, or while one of the bad effects of such claims was to involve us in disputes with the Country government, the prohibitions now imposed by law would have been highly necessary. *At present, I apprehend, they cease to be so,*—because all distinctions of that kind are laid aside; and, *cæteris paribus,* the native must always have a great natural advantage over the European in conducting any branch of the inland trade. In general, *prohibitions or restrictions are destructive to commerce.* In this particular case, they are not only less necessary than heretofore, but perhaps do not entirely produce their intended effect.'

By all those by whom freedom of trade in India is recommended, the futility of the pleas by which the Company uphold the policy of restriction is recognized. Mr Hastings, therefore, and Messrs Rouse and Colebrooke, and the Select Committee, and Sir Philip Francis, concur in declaring their conviction, that from the pretended colonization, or from the increase of European intercourse with the Indians, no danger is to be feared. Mr Hastings actually recommended colonization, by permitting Englishmen to become purchasers of land; Mr Colebrooke argues strongly in its favour; and Marquis Wellesley treats as altogether visionary the apprehension of danger from the intercourse of Europeans. *—But we must come abruptly to a close,

* See his Letter, quoted above, p. 61, 65.

leaving the interests of the third party, the poor natives, as they have in general been left by our betters—to another opportunity.

Before concluding, however, there is one remark which we must offer, because it may be of practical and immediate utility. If the Legislature, as there is now happily some appearance, should so far comply with the principles of an enlightened age, as to put an end to this relict of a semi-barbarous one—the monopoly of the Company; let them not imagine they have done all that is necessary. If things are still left upon such a foundation, that it shall be the interest of the Company to discourage, and throw impediments in the way of the private merchant in his dealings with the natives, easy will it be for them to render his trade an unprofitable one. They are the sovereigns, and the despotic sovereigns; and for the collection of their revenues, and investment, their agents are spread through the country, and mixed with the natives, in a way of which persons acquainted with European governments alone can hardly form a conception. Throughout Asia, and above all parts of Asia, in Hindostan, the weak are devoted to the will of the strong, to a degree of which Europe yields no example. Let the natives but understand that they may ingratiate themselves with their masters by supplying badly, or by defrauding and disappointing the private dealer, and they will speedily render his business a troublesome one. By the most oblique, as well as by direct means, the agents of the Company may deter as many of the natives as they please from having dealings with their rivals, or render necessary those expensive arts of concealment which will devour the natural profits of the trade. We shall produce a few testimonies to their powers and inclinations, which will speak more forcibly than any general description of ours.

'In 1768,' says the Select Committee, * 'the Company gave to the Presidency of Madras the following memorable instruction, strongly declaratory of their general system of policy—"We shall depend upon your prudence (say they) to discourage foreigners; and, being intent, as you have been repeatedly acquainted, on bringing home as great a part of the revenues as possible in your manufactures, the outbidding them in those parts where they interfere with you, would certainly prove an effectual step for answering that end. We therefore recommend it to you to offer such increase of price as you shall deem may be consistently given; that, by beating them out of the market, the quantities by you to be provided may be proportionally enlarged: And if you take this me-

* Report *ut supra*, p. 29.

thod, it is to be so cautiously practised, as not to enhance the prices in the places immediately under your control. On this subject, we must not omit the approval of your prohibiting the weavers of Cuddalore from making up any cloth of the same assortments that are provided for us; and if such prohibition is not now, it should by all means be in future *made general, and strictly maintained.*" *

In the Letter of Mr Boughton Rouse, which we have already quoted, he states,

'The European merchants complain against undue influence of the Company's commercial agents, in preventing the free purchase of those goods even, which the Company never takes.' †

The Committee say, ‡

'General Clavering, who most severely censured monopoly in general, thought that this monopoly (that of opium) ought to be retained; but for a reason which shows his opinion of the wretched state of the country: for he supposed it impossible, with the power and influence which must attend British subjects [meaning the Company's servants, the agents of the sovereignty] that *monopoly could be avoided*' [or, in other words, freedom be enjoyed].

The Committee say again, ‖

'The great and valuable articles of the Company's investment drawn from the articles of internal trade, are raw silk and various descriptions of piece-goods, made of silk and cotton. These articles are not under any *formal* monopoly; nor does the Company at present exercise a *declared* right of preemption with regard to them. But it does not appear that the trade in these particulars *is or can be perfectly free.*'

In another place they say,

'It does by no means satisfactorily appear to your Committee, *that the freedom held out by the Company's various orders has been ever fully enjoyed.*' §

In fact, it must be evident to the most ordinary powers of reflection, that so long as the Company trade themselves, it must be their interest to discourage all other traders; that where it is the interest of the sovereign, and of a despotic sovereign;—especially such a despotic sovereign as the sovereign of India, to discourage traders, he cannot be without the power; and when *interest* and *power* operate as causes, the effects cannot be very doubtful. This is an evil of great magnitude. We see no remedy for it, but one; and that is, that the Company should altogether cease to be traders, and content themselves with the revenues. This would every way be a great improvement. Instead of an interest in discouraging trade, which must ever re-

* Ib. Appendix, 43. General Letter, 25th March 1768.
† Ninth Report, *ut supra*, Appendix, No. 50. ‡ Ib. p. 36.
‖ Ib. p. 23. § Ib. p. 30.

tain it in a depressed and wretched condition, they would then have a very unambiguous interest in promoting it to the utmost; whence the country would be improved, and their revenues augmented. Having more time for the business of government, and that no longer complicated with the details of a multifarious trade, they would govern better; the prospect of trade would augment the happiness of the poor natives; and all the parties concerned would be gainers.

As the Company now declare that the trade is of little or no importance,—or rather indeed that it is a losing concern; no good reason can be conceived why they should object to so beneficial an arrangement. Some of the most intelligent of their Indian servants have in fact declared,

'That they should, (understanding even their own interests, independent of the dictates of justice and the claims of humanity) rest satisfied with the surplus revenues of Bengal, and drop every doubtful advantage of monopoly, which must lessen the sources from whence the revenue is drawn:—that the fate of the Dutch settlements is a striking and melancholy instance of the baneful consequences which follow the acquisition of territorial possessions, when the governing principle vests the commerce of the country in the hands which exercise paramount sway.' *

Though this article has now swelled to a size, to which we can afford to add no more, yet we have been able to illustrate but few of the important questions which now press for consideration. Of these, the following may be taken as a specimen.

1. Ought the Legislature, when it takes the exclusive Trade out of the hands of the Company, to take the Government of the country at the same time?

2. Ought the British nation to be burthened with the debts of the Company, when their charter of exclusive privileges is deemed unfit to be renewed?

3. Whether the expense of wars kindled in India, from causes which arose in Europe, should be defrayed by European funds?

4. Whether the Indian army should be transferred to the King?

5. Whether the trade should be confined to the port of London?

6. Whether there is, or ever has been, or is ever likely to be, any surplus revenue in India?

7. Whether the East India Company should be allowed to pay themselves 10½ per cent. per annum upon their capital stock,

* The unpublished Work of Colebrooke, which we have already quoted, pp. 170—172.

when their annual receipts are less than their annual disbursements, and when they can only give to themselves this 10½ per cent. by borrowing money, and adding to their debts?

8. And last, not least, What is the state of the people in India,—happy or miserable,—under the Company's government, and of what improvements is that government susceptible?

The Legislature must enter upon the consideration of Indian affairs during the next Session of Parliament. But sure we are, that in one Session it will not become ripe for a decision. We are now come to that state, with regard to Indian policy, that a thorough investigation is not merely expedient;—it is absolutely necessary. In former days it used to be deemed requisite to institute a complete inquiry into the state and management of the great Indian interest, both at home and abroad, at every great decision upon the Company's affairs. We have the result of two grand investigations of this sort, one in 1772, another in 1782. Up to the last of these periods, the nation resounded with complaints of our Indian government, and of the enormous oppression which it exercised over the natives. In 1782, both parties in parliament agreed in reprobating that government with every term of condemnation and abhorrence. Since that time, however, we have heard little else than descants in its praise; and, though it must be owned that they have been delivered in circumstances somewhat suspicious, this at least may with confidence be said, that no inquiry has been instituted to sift them. Shortly after 1782, the scheme of Mr Pitt was realized, and the state of India was screened from investigation by the ascendancy of his power; by the interest of the extraordinary scenes which were passing in Europe; by boasting representations of prosperity, which the result of 30 years has now proved to be totally delusive; and by the perfect subordination at last established among the different departments of the government in India. 'No dispute,' said Burke significantly,* 'arises amongst the English subjects, which does not divulge the misery of the natives: But when the former are in harmony, all is well with the latter.' No inquiry, during so long a period, having taken place into the state and condition of the 60 millions of souls who are said to be our subjects in India, we hope it will not be deemed too much to institute another solemn investigation, before a new decision is passed upon their fate. Intimations are not wanting, that the country continues poor and exhausted. The condition of the revenue, and still more

* Ninth Report, *ut supra*, p. 36.

of the trade, speaks to the same conclusions; and the work of Mr Colebrooke, in 1794, expressly says, 'Bengal is actually 'exhausted; the fact is admitted by the first authorities; and 'our speculations have led us to the same inference.'—'Informed and convinced, by close inspection, that the welfare of 'our Indian subjects has not been sufficiently consulted, we 'cannot be altogether silent.'—'When we notice that Bengal, 'lately the wealthiest country in the world, has been rapidly 'impoverished, and *is now beggared*, a reflection forces itself 'on the mind, that the management of this acquisition has 'been essentially defective; perhaps it has been radically bad.' pp. 218, 224, 228.

We shall conclude, then, with humbly suggesting, that a committee be formed, composed of the most competent men in parliament;—that the whole system of Indian policy be submitted to their consideration;—that it be imperative upon the members, as in the case of election committees, to attend;—that they have adequate powers to make forthcoming all species of evidence;—and be ordered to publish short reports, which people will read, at short intervals. By such means, and we apprehend by such alone, the subject will be thoroughly and generally understood; and, in the course of two years, we may hope to have information enough to come to some rational conclusions upon this most important matter of state.

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